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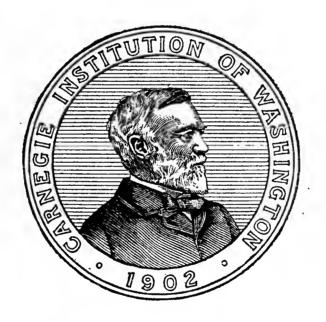
THE

INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON

 \mathbf{BY}

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PREFACE.

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An attempt is here made to give a detailed history of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon and to treat some substitutes therefor. The study is based upon a statistical reading of the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature with the exception of the glosses and of a few out-of-prints. For a specific statement, see the bibliography. Moreover, in all the more definitely known translations, the Latin originals, duly noted in the bibliography, have been read statistically. I have endeavored to make my statistics complete,1 but, in such a mass of details, occasional omissions are inevitable. I trust, however, that they will not prove so numerous or so serious as to invalidate this history of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. A chapter is added on "the Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages," which of necessity rests upon the investigations of others, but which will, I hope, be found something more than a summary.

Perhaps a word concerning its general plan may facilitate the reading of my study. After a brief discussion concerning the nature and the classification of the infinitive, I have striven to give, first, the facts concerning its several uses in Anglo-Saxon; and, secondly, an interpretation of these facts. Accordingly, in the appendix, all occurrences of each use are recorded in alphabetic sequence; and, in the chapters dealing with the respective uses, copious illustrations are given in smaller syntactic groups, in which latter, again, the words are arranged alphabetically. Differences of opinion as to the classification of individual examples are inevitable, but I have tried in each use to distinguish the normal from the abnormal, and, without ignoring the latter, to base my classification and my discussion mainly upon the former. Readers and critics will be the more generous in their judgment of my classifications when they consider the large number of examples to be classified and the inherent difficulty of the task, — a difficulty aggravated by the fact that, in both the English and the Germanic fields, minute classification is not attempted in several of the special investigations made of the infinitive.

The comment is, for the most part, given in the sections headed "Differentiation of the Two Infinitives" and in the chapter on "the Origin of the Constructions of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon." In this latter chapter, too, are summarized the Latin correspondents of the infinitives in the closer Anglo-Saxon translations. Both in the historical and in the interpretative sections I have given, so far as I have been able to discover it, the history of opinion concerning the construction in question. As the table of contents shows, I have made the use rather than the form of the infinitive the determining factor in my chapter-division; but, while this is true, I have everywhere sharply separated the inflected infinitive from the uninflected. In a word, I have endeavored to preserve the due balance between form and function so much

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¹ Except of the Predicative Infinitive with Auxiliary Verbs, the full tabulation of which seemed unnecessary.

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insisted upon by Professor E. P. Morris in his instructive work, On Some Principles of Latin Syntax; whether or not I have succeeded, must be left to others for determination. It is believed that the devices already named and the full table of contents render an index unnecessary.

In the chapter on "the Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages," the same general plan is followed as far as is possible. As already stated, this chapter is based mainly upon the studies of others. What makes me hope that, despite this, the chapter may prove of interest to Germanic grammarians, is the fact that, with slight modifications for some of the individual languages, the theories that I have advanced for the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon seem to apply also to the infinitive in the other Germanic languages. It is hardly probable that, where so many different lines apparently converge, they should not more or less converge in reality.

This is the first attempt to treat the syntax of the Infinitive in the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature, prose and poetical. Portions of the field, however, have been treated hitherto. The accusative-with-infinitive construction has been discussed by Dr. Carl Krickau, in his Goettingen dissertation, Der Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv in der Englischen Sprache, Besonders in dem Zeitalter der Elisabeth, 1877; by Professor J. H. Gorrell, in his Johns Hopkins dissertation, Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon, 1895; and by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, in his Columbia dissertation, The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English, 1908. But, as the titles of the first and the third of these monographs indicate, neither is restricted to the Anglo-Saxon period; and, as shown in their bibliographies, no one of the three attempts to cover the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature. The final use of the infinitive is briefly treated by Professor H. G. Shearin, in his Yale dissertation, The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose, 1903, and in his pendant thereto, The Expression of Purpose in Old English Poetry, 1909. Less restricted in one way and more restricted in another is the scope of Dr. Karl Koehler's Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im Beowulf, Muenster, 1886; Dr. T. J. Farrar's The Gerund in Old English, a Washington and Lee dissertation of 1902; Dr. Georg Riggert's Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie, a Kiel dissertation of 1909; and Dr. H. Willert's "Vom Infinitiv mit To," in Englische Studien, XLIII, 1910, pp. 100-104. Several uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon are touched on in the dissertations dealing with the syntax of the verb in a single monument, the full titles of which are given in my bibliography. Moreover, most of the uses of the infinitive are briefly discussed in these standard grammars of Anglo-Saxon: A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language, by F. A. March, New York, 1873; Angelsaechsische Grammatik, by Theodor Mueller, Goettingen, 1883; Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen, by Dr. J. E. Wuelfing, Bonn, 1894-1901; and in these standard grammars of the English language as a whole: Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, by C. F. Koch, 2d ed., Cassel, 1878-1891; Englische Grammatik, by Eduard Maetzner, 3d ed., Berlin, 1880-1885; Historical Outlines of English Syntax, by Dr. Leon Kellner, London, 1892; A New English Grammar,

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by the late Dr. Henry Sweet, Oxford, 1892–1898; and the "Syntax" by Professor Eugen Einenkel, in Kluge's Geschichte der Englischen Sprache, 2d ed., Strassburg, 1899. Naturally, too, I have examined the special treatises dealing with the infinitive in Middle English and in Modern English, all chronicled in my bibliography.

Of the special treatises dealing with the infinitive in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon, the most important for Gothic are Dr. Arthur Koehler's "Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Gothischen," in Germania, XII, 1867, pp. 421-462; and Dr. Otto Apelt's "Ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Gothischen," in Germania, xxx, 1874, pp. 280-297. Scandinavian languages the only special study known to me is Dr. C. Grimberg's "Undersökningar om Konstruktionen Accusativ med Infinitiv i den Aeldre Fornsvenskan," in the Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi," xx1, 1905, pp. 205-For Old Saxon the chief articles are Dr. R. Steig's "Ueber den 235, 311–357. Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altniederdeutschen," in the Zeitschrift fuer Deutsche Philologie, xvi, 1884, pp. 307-345, 470-501, and Dr. H. Pratje's "Syntax des Heliand, I. Das Verbum," in the Jahrbuch des Vereins fuer Niederdeutsche Sprachforschung for 1885, x1, 1886, pp. 1-84. For High German the most important treatises are Dr. Otto Apelt's "Bemerkungen ueber den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Althochdeutschen und Mittelhochdeutschen," in the Weimar Jahresbericht of 1875; Dr. Arthur Denecke's Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den Althochdeutschen Uebersetzern des Achten und Neunten Jahrhunderts, a Leipzig dissertation of 1880; Dr. E. Herford's "Ueber den Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv im Deutschen," in the Thorn Program of 1881; and Dr. S. Von Monsterberg-Muenckenau's Der Infinitiv in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue, Breslau, 1885. Other special articles and the standard grammars for the several Germanic languages are noted in Chapters xiv and xvi.

From all these works, both general and special, I have striven to glean whatever is pertinent to my theme, in each instance to give credit therefor, and, whenever possible for me, to add a sheaf to the garnerings of my predecessors.

This monograph could not have been written but for the kindness of the library authorities at several of our older and larger universities, who have generously lent me rare books. For this kindness I wish to express my sincere thanks to the librarians of the following universities: Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins. To the authorities of our own library at the University of Texas, I am likewise indebted for many courtesies.

Professor Hermann Collitz, of the Johns Hopkins University, has kindly read the chapter dealing with the infinitive in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon, and has made helpful comments upon the same, especially upon the bibliographical side. Professor James W. Bright has again deepened my indebtedness to him, which began some years ago when I had the good fortune to study under his personal instruction at the Johns Hopkins University. He has read most of the proof, and has offered many valuable suggestions for the improvement of my study. And my esteemed colleague, Professor Killis

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Campbell, of the University of Texas, has twice read the proofs, each time with the eye of a scholar and the heart of a friend.

To the Carnegie Institution of Washington, I am no less grateful than I am indebted for the publication of this monograph. But for this kindness, the work could not have appeared in so full or in so handsome a form.

To all these helpers and friends I tender my abiding gratitude. May they not have cause to regret their participation in the launching of this study!

MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,

Austin, Texas, February 15, 1913.

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THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

INTRODUCTION.

Age-long was the discussion as to the nature and the origin of the infinitive in the Indo-Germanic family of languages. For something over two thousand years, from Panini to Bopp, it was disputed as to whether the infinitive should be classed with the verb or with the noun. Of this discussion an excellent history is given by Professor Jolly in his Geschichte des Infinitive im Indogermanischen (München, 1873), the main conclusions of which are accepted by Professor Delbrück in his chapter on the infinitive in his Vergleichende Syntax der Indogermanischen Sprachen (Strassburg, 1897). To recount the history of this discussion is not called for here. Suffice it to say that, by a careful study of the forms of the words used more or less as infinitives in the older Indo-Germanic languages, Bopp, in his Conjugations ystem der Sanskritsprache (1816), reached the conclusion, now almost universally accepted, that originally the infinitives were petrified cases of nouns of action, — a discovery that, according to Delbrück, was in a sense the beginning of the science of comparative syntax.

The process by which these cases of nouns of action became petrified into infinitives is thus stated by Professor Delbrück: 2

"Demnach dürfen wir uns die Genesis der Infinitive etwa so vorstellen. Zu den ältesten Zeiten der Ursprache konnten gewisse Kasus von nomina actionis verbale Konstruktion haben und dadurch eine innere Beziehung zum Verbum erhalten. Noch in der Ursprache war bei einigen derselben die Erstarrung so weit vorgeschritten, dass eine neue Kategorie, die des Infinitivs, in's Bewusstsein trat. Einige Exemplare dieser neuen Formgattung mögen schon in formal ausgeprägte Beziehung zu einzelnen Tempussystemen getreten sein. Viele andere Kasus waren erst auf dem Wege, sich zu Infinitiven umzubilden. Diesen Zustand erbten die Einzelsprachen. Im Arischen hat er sich nicht eben erheblich verändert. Im Griechischen aber hat sich die Erstarrung soweit vollendet, dass nur noch isolierte Formen vorhanden sind, und dass eine Auftheilung der gesammten Masse unter die Tempusstämme und unter die Genera des Verbums stattgefunden hat. Von dem letztgenannten Vorgang findet sich im Arischen noch keine Spur."

In the foregoing quotation describing the evolution from noun of action to infinitive, Professor Delbrück states that various cases of the noun were involved. These cases, as we learn from Professor Delbrück ³ and from Professor Brugmann, ⁴ in the older Indo-Germanic languages, were largely the locative, the dative, and the accusative.

When we turn to our own branch of the Indo-Germanic family, the Germanic, we find a much simpler state of affairs. The history of the infinitive forms in the Germanic languages, including English, is succinctly given by Professor Joseph Wright, in his Old English Grammar (London, 1908), § 480:

¹ See Jolly, l. c., pp. 47 f., 78; Delbrück, l. c., I, p. 50, and II, p. 440; Brugmann, l. c., pp. 351 ff.

<sup>Delbrück, 1. c., II, p. 451.
Brugmann, 2. l. c., pp. 351 ff. See, too, Brugmann and Delbrück, l. c., p. 167; Fay, 1. c., pp. 191-192; and Solmsen, l. c., pp. 161-169.</sup>

"The infinitive was originally a nomen actionis, formed by means of various suffixes in the different Indo-Germanic languages. The suffix -ono-, to which was added the nominativeaccusative neuter ending, -m, became generalized in primitive Germanic; thus the original form of beran was *bhéronom, the -onom of which regularly became -an in Old English, Gothic, Old Saxon, and Old High German. On the loss of the final -n in Northumbrian, see § 288. In primitive West Germanic the infinitive was inflected in the genitive and dative like an ordinary noun of the ja-declension (§ 355), genitive -ennes, dative -enne. The inflected forms of the infinitive are sometimes called the gerund. The genitive disappeared in prehistoric Old English. The dative to berenne generally became -anne through the influence of the infinitive ending -an. Beside -enne, -anne there also occur in late Old English -ene, -ane, and -ende with d from the present participle."

As to form, then, the Anglo-Saxon had two infinitives: (1) the uninflected, or simple, infinitive in -an (occasionally written -on, -un, -en, and in Northumbrian -a, with loss of n^{-1}), which in origin is the petrified nominative-accusative case of a neuter verbal noun; and (2) the inflected, or gerundial, or prepositional, infinitive, made up of the preposition to plus the dative case of a verbal noun ending in -anne (-enne, occasionally -onne; and, with simplification of the double consonant, -ane, -ene²), though occasionally the to is followed by an infinitive in -an 3 and occasionally by an infinitive in -ende 2 (by confusion with the form of the present participle), both of which forms are counted as inflected in this study. Very rarely, too, we have the -anne infinitive not preceded by to; 4 and twice preceded by for to.5

The origin of the infinitive as above given is suggested in the now generally accepted definition of the infinitive as a verbal noun, provided we remember that, as Professor Delbrück 6 tells us, the dual nature of the infinitive has been won, not inherited from the outset. This dual nature of the infinitive is manifested in the fact that in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, of almost any transitive verb may at one and the same time perform the office both of a noun and of a verb. But, in most instances, one of these two natures (or tendencies), the substantival and the verbal, predominates in Anglo-Saxon, and, from this point of view, we may roughly divide all infinitives into two comprehensive classes: (1) substantival, when the substantive idea is dominant, as when the infinitive is used as the subject or the object of a verb; and (2) verbal (or predicative), when the verbal, or assertive, idea is dominant, as when an infinitive completes the sense of an auxiliary verb. But, as already stated, these two classes are not mutually exclusive, since, even when used as subject or object, the infinitive may likewise govern an object, and to this extent be verbal. But it will generally be allowed, I think, that, in He will sing the song, sing is more verbal than to sing in He wishes to sing the song. does the fact that the more verbal uses of the infinitive were derived originally from the substantival invalidate the helpfulness of this classification.

Although, as just stated, most, if not all, infinitives may by nature be roughly classed as substantival or verbal, it is perhaps best for practical purposes to classify the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, according to its dominant function in the sentence. From this consideration of function, we distinguish, as before, the substantival and the verbal (or predicative) uses of the

¹ Sievers, ² l. c., § 363, anmk. 1.

¹ Ibidem, § 363, anmk. 2.

^{*} Ibidem, § 363, anmk. 3. See Ælf. L. S., xxxi. 980; Laws 442 (2); etc. For the abbreviations used here and elsewhere in this study, see the bibliography. See Chron. 256^b, 1127 E^{c, d}. ⁶ Delbrück, ¹ l. c., I, p. 50.

infinitive, but, also, two other uses, the adverbial and the adjectival. According to its dominant function, then, an infinitive is substantival, predicative, adverbial, or adjectival.

In the substantival function, as the name indicates, the infinitive is used as a noun. With a verb the infinitive occurs often as (a) its subject, or (b) its object, or, occasionally, as (c) its predicate nominative, in each of which uses we have both the uninflected and the inflected infinitive. With a noun or pronoun, the infinitive occurs (d) as an appositive, normally in the uninflected (e) As the object of a preposition I have found no clear example of the infinitive; but concerning a possible example see Chapter III below. Typical illustrations of these substantival uses are the following:—

- (a) As subject: uninflected: Greg. 279.6: Æt ærestum lyst vone monn unnytt sprecan be odrum monnum = 210.15: ut prius loqui aliena libeat; inflected: Greg. 237.11: sua dereð eac hwilum sumum monnum væt sov to gehierenne = 178.26: ita nonnunguam quibusdam audita vera nocuerunt.
- (b) As object: uninflected: Greg. 55.12: Donne væt mod denced gegripan him to upahefenesse a eatmodnesse = 32.2: Cumque mens humilitatis culmen arripere ad elationem cogitat; Beow. 101: of feet an ongan fyrene fremman; inflected: Greg. 53.3: Be $\delta \approx m \delta e \ wilna \delta biscephad to \ underfonne = 28.23$: De his, qui præesse concupiscunt.
- (c) As predicate nominative: uninflected and inflected: Ælf. L. S. xxv. 310^{a, b}: Nis nan earfoonyss om . . . gode on feawum mannum ooo on micclum werode to helpenne on gefeohte and healdan (sic!) da de he wile.
- (d) As an appositive: uninflected: Bede 78.22a, b, c, d, e: for on hyngran, dyrstan, hatian, calan, wærigian, — al dæt is of untrymnesse dæs gecyndes =55.32a, b, c, 33a, b : Esurire namque, sitire, aestuare, algere, lassescere ex infirmitate naturae est: — inflected: Solil. 16.16, 17: forðam me ys egðer dara alyfad, ge dæt good to lufianne ge dæt yfel to hatianne = Licet enim mihi in quovis amare rationem, cum illum jure oderim qui male utitur eo quod amo.
 - (e) As the object of a preposition: see below, Chapter III.

In the predicative (or verbal) function, the infinitive approaches nearest to a finite verb, and is used to complete the assertion of a verb of incomplete assertion, specifically: (a) the auxiliary verbs, after which we have habitually the uninflected infinitive; (b) verbs of motion (and occasionally of rest) other than in the (w)uton locution, likewise followed by the uninflected infinitive; (c) (w)uton, also with the simple infinitive; and (d) the verb beon (wesan), which is habitually followed by the inflected infinitive of obligation or of necessity. Under the predicative function, also, I should put the use of the infinitive (e) as a quasi-predicate to an accusative subject, or the so-called accusative-with-infinitive construction, in which we have habitually the simple infinitive. Some hold that we have (f) a predicative infinitive with a dative subject, but to me the infinitive in such locutions seems more substantival than predicative, — a topic that is discussed somewhat at length in Chapter IX. The following are typical examples of these predicative uses:—

(a) With auxiliary verbs: — uninflected: Beow. 51: Men ne cunnon secgan ... hwa etc.; Beow. 191: ne mihte snotor hæleð wean onwendan; etc.; inflected: Rid. 37.13: Du wast gif du const to gesecganne, det we sod witan hu

The wise gonge.

- (b) With verbs of motion other than (w)uton: uninflected: Beow. 234: Gewat him at to warobe wiege ridan degn Hrodgares; Mart. 26.10: culfre com fleogan of heofonum ond gesæt ofer his heafde.
- (c) With (w)uton: uninflected: Greg. 415.6: Wuton cuman ær his dome andettende = 336.4: Præveniamus faciem Domini in confessione.
- (d) With beon (wesan): uninflected: Ælf. L. S. 336.223: Sas feower ana syndon to underfonne on geleaffulre gelasunge and forlætan (sic!) Sa osre se lease gesetnysse gesetton; inflected: Greg. 315.23: Ac us is suise geornlice to gehieranne hwæt Dryhten . . . cuæs to Iudeum = 244.1: Solerter namque audiendum est, quod etc.; Greg. 13.20: Dætte on osre wisan sint to manianne weras, on osre wiif = 130.6: Aliter namque admonendi sunt viri, atque aliter feminæ.
- (e) With an accusative subject: uninflected: Bede 34.25: Da het he . . . his degnas hine secan 7 acsian = 18.25: iussit milites eum . . . inquirere; Greg. 139.13: ne eft hi ne scoldon hira loccas lætan weaxan = 100.9: neque comam nutrient; Bede 156.21: Da gehyrde he sumne dara brodra sprecan, dæt etc. = 130.19: audiret unum . . . disposuisse; Wærf. 203.25: hwæt cwede wit dis beon? = 248 D: Quidnam, quæso te, hoc esse dicimus? inflected: for possible examples see Chapter VIII.
 - (f) With a dative subject: see Chapter IX.

In the adverbial use, the infinitive modifies a verb or an adjective (occasionally an adverb) as does an ordinary adverb. Of the adverbial uses of the infinitive, the most common is (a) to denote purpose, with verbs, in which the infinitive is sometimes uninflected (especially after verbs of motion, of rest, and of giving), but is usually inflected except in the poetry. Frequent, too, is the use of the infinitive (b) to denote specification, or respect wherein, with adjectives (occasionally with adverbs), in which the infinitive is habitually inflected. Less frequent and less clear uses of the adverbial infinitive, discussed in the chapter entitled "Other Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive," are to denote (c) cause, in which the infinitive is more commonly inflected; (d) specification with verbs, in which the infinitive is always inflected; and (f) the absolute relation, in which the infinitive is habitually inflected. Of these adverbial uses, the following are typical illustrations:—

- (a) Of purpose: Greg. 309.14: eodon him plegean = 238.10: surrexerunt ludere; Gen. 526: me her stondan het his bebodu healdan 7 me das bryd forgeaf (?); Greg. 329.3b: Me dyrste, & ge me ne sealdon drincan = 254.4: sitivi, et non dedistis mihi bibere; inflected: Mk. 4.3: Ut eode se sædere his sæd to sawenne = Ecce exiit seminans ad seminandum; Ælf. Hom. I. 542m: he him behet...det hi... ofer twelf domsetl sittende beod to demenne eallum mannum; Greg. 319.1: da mettas de God self gesceop to etanne geleaffullum monnum = 246.1: a cibis, quos Deus creavit ad percipiendum... fidelibus. That some consider the infinitive in sealdon drincan objective rather than final is discussed in the chapter on "the Final Infinitive."
- (b) Of specification with adjectives: uninflected: Ælf. Hom. I. 534^{b3}: ic eom gearo to gecyrrenne to munuclicre drohtnunge, and woruldlice deawas ealle forlætan (sic!); inflected: Greg. 281.5: Sie æghwelc mon suide hræd & suide geornful to gehieranne = 212.9: Sit omnis homo velox ad audiendum.

- (c) Of cause: uninflected: Bede 484.15: mynstres, on Sam ic gefeo Siowian Sære uplican arfæstnesse = 359.13: in quo supernae pietati deservire gaudeo; inflected: A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.189: ic nu forsceamige to secganne mine ungeleaffulnesse.
- (d) Of specification with verbs: inflected: Wærf. 180.26: δ æt he gelæred wæs wyrta to begangenne = 217 C¹: Quod vir gentilis valde libenter accepit, cum in nutriendis oleribus quia peritus esset audivit.
- (e) Of result: inflected: Bede 174.22: wundro . . . , &a &e nu to long to secgenne syndon = 143.30: sed haec nos ad alia tendentes, suis narrare permittimus; Bede 468.7^{a, b}: he hine 7 his &eode gelædde to mærsianne 7 to weor&ianne &a . . . tide = 332.19: se suosque omnes ad . . . tempus celebrandum perduxit.
- (f) Of absolute relationship: uninflected: see Chapter XII, section vi; inflected: Wulf. 115.3: dider sculan deofas . . . and, hrædest to secganne, ealle da manfullan.

In the adjectival use, the infinitive, habitually inflected, modifies a noun or pronoun. A few examples will suffice for illustration: — uninflected: L. 12.5: adrædað done de anweald hæfd, seddan he ofslyhd, on helle asendan = timete eum qui, postquam occiderit, habet potestatem mittere in gehennam; — inflected: Greg. 307.9: us salde bisne urne willan to brecanne = 234.27: ut exemplum nobis frangendæ nostræ voluntatis præbeat; Greg. 127. 1, 2: Gif dær donne sie gierd mid to dreageanne, sie dær eac stæf mid to wredianne = 88.14, 15: Si ergo est districtio virgæ, quæ feriat, sit et consolatio baculi, quæ sustentet; Bede 100.2: disses geleafa 7 wyrcnis seo lefed God (sic for Gode?) onfenge 7 allum to fylgenne = 82.2: huius fides et operatio Deo deuota atque omnibus sequenda credatur.

This classification does not differ greatly from that current in most of the treatises on Anglo-Saxon syntax. The chief variations, adopted here primarily for the sake of simplicity, are (1) the limitation of the term adverbial to those uses in which the infinitive is an adverbial modifier of verb, adjective, or adverb, — which excludes the objective use, though the latter is included in the wider sense given to adverbial in many Germanic treatises; (2) the extension of the term predicative so as to cover, not simply, as with Professor Delbrück, the infinitive complementary to the verb to be, but also the infinitive complementary to the auxiliaries and to certain other verbs (of motion and of rest), as well as the infinitive quasi-predicative to a subject accusative, the aim being to put under the one head all the uses in which the verbal (or assertive) power of the infinitive is strongest. As a separate chapter is given to each of these subdivisions of the predicative infinitive, the discussion will be equally clear to those who may prefer not to adopt the classification suggested. Nor, I believe, will the fact that the predicative use of the infinitive is, in some instances, of substantival (objective) origin, as when complementary to the auxiliary verbs, and, in others, of adverbial (final) origin, as when complementary to beon (wesan) and to (w)uton, invalidate the usefulness of the proposed classification.

Finally, it should be added that, while for the sake of clearness my discussion is arranged according to the function of the infinitive, under each use account is taken as to whether the infinitive is uninflected or inflected, and the ground of differentiation and of subsequent confusion of the two forms is sought.

¹ Delbrück, ¹ l. c., II, p. 460.

Of the imperative use of the infinitive I have found no clear example in Anglo-Saxon. The alleged examples of this idiom cited by Dr. K. Köhler and by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, I, in common with most students of Anglo-Saxon, interpret otherwise. Nor have I found any clear example of the so-called historical infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. Messrs. Roethe and Schroeder, the editors of Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, hold that we have a historical infinitive in the Anglo-Saxon Exodus: "Ags. Cædm. Exod. 158 auf blicon, sungon, folgt dunian, tredan (sc. ongunnon); vgl. galan Exod. 577." To me, however, dunian and tredan are predicative, each, to a subject accusative; and, instead of galan, I read, with Grein and with Professor Blackburn, golan.

As the position of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon varies considerably in the different uses, the matter is treated in the chapters dealing with the several uses.

In form each of the two infinitives so far considered (the one in -an and the one made up of to + the dative in -ne) is active; and in my judgment each of these infinitives is active in sense except when the inflected infinitive is used with the verb been (wesan) to denote necessity or obligation, in which construction the Anglo-Saxon infinitive is habitually passive in sense, though occasionally it is active in sense: for further details see the chapter on "the Infinitive with Beon (Wesan)." Perhaps, too, the adjectivized inflected infinitive with nouns is passive in sense: see Chapter XIII. Some, however, hold that the uninflected infinitive in -an is passive in sense after certain verbs (chiefly of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception), but to me this infinitive seems regularly active in sense after this group of verbs as after all other groups, the reasons for which belief are stated in the chapter on "the Objective Infinitive." Once more: some hold that the inflected final infinitive and the inflected infinitive with adjectives are each sometimes passive in sense, — a topic discussed in Chapters X and XI. Finally, it should be added that a brief paragraph concerning the voice of the infinitive is given under the respective uses.

But we do have in Anglo-Saxon, though relatively seldom (especially in the poetry), a true passive infinitive, which is made up of the present infinitive active of the verb beon (occasionally of the verb wesan or of the verb weorðan) plus the past participle of a transitive verb, as in: Bede 372.34: geearnode onfongen beon = 275.21: meruisset recipi; Læce. 152.19: mæg seo wund wesan gehæled; Greg. 399.18: Jonne magon hie Jeah weorðan gehælede suiðe ieðelice Jurh forgiefnesse & Jurh gebedu = 318.4: et tamen venia salvantur. In this compound passive infinitive, the strictly infinitive part of the phrase is not inflected; the participle part is sometimes inflected and sometimes not. In each of the chapters on the several uses of the infinitive, the passive infinitive is treated after the active infinitive.

¹ See Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 99.

¹ L. c., p. 63: Beow. 1860: wesan, Jenden ic wealde widan rices, majmas gemæne, manig oferne godum gegretan ofer ganotes bæð. — Wesan and gegretan may be considered as subjunctives, as by some; or as complements to sculon (sceal), as by others.

² L. c., p. 154: Met. Ps. 74.5: Ne ahebbad ge to hea cowre hygedancas ne ge wid gode æfre gramword sprecan; ib. 94.6: Cumad him fore ond cneow bigead on ansyne ures drihtnes, and him wepan fore, de us workte ær = Venite, adoremus, et procidamus; et ploremus ante dominum, qui fecit nos. — As Dr. Zeitlin states, most other scholars consider sprecan and wepan to be subjunctives.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The active infinitive as the Subject of a finite verb is less common than I had anticipated, despite the fact that I include under this head sentences having hit as the grammatical subject and the infinitive as the logical subject. As the subject of an active verb the active infinitive occurs about 356 times; as the subject of a passive verb, about 48 times. Despite the relative infrequency of the subjective infinitive, my number is appreciably larger than that of previous investigators, chiefly because of my inclusion of the inflected infinitive in clauses introduced by a pronoun, — a matter discussed on pages 9 f. below.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

I consider first the active infinitive as the subject of active verbs. Contrary to what one is led to expect from most of the Anglo-Saxon grammars, the subjective infinitive is usually inflected: of the 356 subjective infinitives found, 252 are inflected, and 104 are uninflected. In the prose 322 examples occur, of which 226 are inflected; in the poetry 34 examples occur, of which 26 are inflected. The subjective infinitive is found in Early West Saxon, in the Chronicle, in the Laws, in Late West Saxon, and, as we have seen, in the poetry.

Usually the subjective infinitive follows its verb, as in Gu. 1039 (nis me earfede to gedolianne deodnes willan) and Bede 2.10 (hit is god godne to herianne for yfelne to leanne = no Latin), but occasionally it precedes, as in Mat. 20.23 (to sittanne on mine swidran healfe, odde on wynstran, nys me inc to syllanne = sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel sinistram non est meum dare). The postposition of the infinitive is largely due, no doubt, to the fact that, as already stated, the clause is often introduced by the pronoun hit, and that the infinitive occurs as the subject chiefly of impersonal verbs and of impersonal verb phrases. Possibly, too, the postposition of the infinitive is due in part to the fact that in the Latin originals of the Anglo-Saxon translations this order often occurs. As will be seen later, the frequent postposition of the infinitive, especially in phrases made up of the verb to be plus an adjective, tends to cause the use of the inflected infinitive instead of the uninflected; or, rather, this tendency results from the greater proximity of the infinitive to the adjective consequent upon the postposition.

The subjective infinitive that is active in form seems to me habitually active in sense.

I. The uninflected infinitive only is found as the subject with the following verbs, each of which occurs only a few times in this construction:—

becuman, happen. beon, be, plus an adjective gelystan, please. geoyncan, seem good. geweordan, happen.

(1) Of Pleasantness:

softe, soft, pleasant.

The examples in full are: —

becuman, happen:

Chad, Anhang, 11: Sam cilde ne becyms næfre into heofonan rice becuman. beon, be, plus an adjective of Pleasantness:—

softe, soft, pleasant:

Ælf. Hom. I. 164^t: Him bið swiðe softe, and nan geswinc ðæt he fylle his galnysse, and druncennysse, and gytsunge begange and modignysse, and ða unstrangan berype, and don (sic!) swa hwæt swa hine lyst.

gelystan, please:

Læce. 69.31, 32: hwilum hie wel gelyst utgangan 7 him 5a byr5enne fram aweorpan 7 georne tilian, ac ne magon.

geŏyncan, seem good:

L. 1.3: me ge δ uhte, geornlice eallum [fram fruman gefylgdum], on endebyrdnesse writan $\delta e = Visum$ est et mihi, assecuto omnia a principio diligenter, ex ordine tibi scribere.

geweorðan [-u-], happen:

Gen. 1692: Ne meahte hie gewurðan weall stænenne up forð timbran, ac hie earmlice heapum tohlodon hleoðrum gedælde.

II. The inflected infinitive only is found as subject with the following verbs:—

abreotan, weary. behofian, behoove.

been, be, without an adjective.

beon, be, in predicative combination with:—

(1) Adjectives 1 of Ease and Difficulty, and the like:

deoplic, profound, difficult.
earfoŏ(e) [-feŏ(e)], difficult.
earfoŏlic, difficult.
earfoŏre, more difficult.
eaŏe [e-, ie-, y-], easy.
eaŏelicor, more easily.
eaŏelicre, more easy.
eaŏ(e)re [e-, ie-], more easy.
efneŏe, equally easy.

hefig, heavy, unpleasant.
ieőe: see eaőe.
ieőre: see eaő(e)re.
lang [-o-], long, tedious.
langsum [-o-], long, tedious.
langsumlic [-o-], long, tedious.
leng, longer.
uneaőe [-ie-, -y-], not easy, difficult.
unieőe: see uneaőe.

(2) Adjectives of Goodness, Usefulness, Necessity, and the like:

betst, best.
fulfremedlic, perfect.
god, good.
nyttre, more useful.

Ja.

nyttwierde [-y-], useful. sel, excellent. selest [-ost], most excellent.

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, and the like:

æðryt, troublesome arwierðlicost [-y-], honorable. deorwierðe, precious. dyslic, foolish. earmlic, distressing. egeslicost, most terrible. gedwolsum, misleading. geomorlic, sad. hefi(g)tyme, troublesome.

lat, loathsome.
leofost [-ast], most dear.
leofre, more dear.
lustbærre, more pleasant.
pleolic, dangerous.
sar, grievous.
scandlic [-o-], disgraceful.
sceamu, shame.
sorhlic, grievous.

Instead of an adjective we occasionally have a noun or an adverb in these groups with been and with Syncan.

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness, etc. — continued.

strang [-o-], distressing. unacumendlic, intolerable. unaræfnedlic, intolerable. waclic, mean. weorc, hardship. weorce, grievous. wynsumere, more pleasant.

(4) Adjectives of Right and Wrong, Suitability and Unsuitability, the Customary and the Strange, and the like:

gecopust, most suitable.
gecynde, natural.
gelimplicor, more suitably.
genoh, enough, sufficient.
gewunelic, customary.
manfullic, sinful.
riht [-y-], right, proper.
rihtlic, right, proper.

rihtre, more proper.
sweotol, clear.
treowlicre, safer.
unaliefedlic [-e-, -y-], unlawful.
ungeliefedlic, incredible.
unriht [-y-], wrong.
wundorlic, wonderful.

(5) Other adjectives: feorr, far; min, mine.

dafenian, be fitting.
derian, injure.
gelustfullian, delight.
genihtsumian, suffice.
gerisan, befit.

helpan, help.
sceamian, shame.

oyncan, seem, in predicative combination
with:—

(1) Adjectives of Ease and Difficulty, and the like:

eaore [e-, ie-], easier. ieore: see eaore.

lang [-o-], long, tedious. langsum [-o-], long, tedious.

(2) Adjectives of Goodness and the like:

selest [-ost], most excellent.

selle, more excellent.

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, and the like:

æðryt, troublesome. dyselig, foolish. hefigtime, troublesome. leofra, dearer. sceamu, shame.

(4) Adjectives of Right and Wrong, the Customary and the Strange, and the like:

sellic [-y-], strange.

wierse [-y-], worse.

The subjective infinitive occurs far more frequently with been and with $\delta yncan$, plus an adjective, than with the other verbs mentioned. It is possible that, in some of the examples with these two verbs, the infinitive is a modifier of the adjective rather than the subject of the verb plus the adjective, and should be put in Chapter XI. Especially doubtful are the sentences introduced by the demonstrative pronoun δx or δi , as in Boeth. 118.7 (Dat is . . . earfo δlic dysegum monnum to ongitanne = 101.30: Mira quidem, inquam, et concessu difficilis inlatio) and Bede 366.2 (δi s an . . . is genog to gemyngienne = 271.10: hoc tantum . . . commemorare satis sit); or by hwat, as in Greg. 401.16 (Ic eow secgge hwat eow arwyr $\delta licost$ is to beganne = 320.6: ad id quod honestum est); or by a neuter noun, as in Elf. Hom. II. 386^t (Dis fers is swide deoplic eow to understandenne). In such sentences, the infinitive seems to me, as a rule, to be subjective; but it is possible, of course, that the pronoun or noun is subjective instead of objective, and that the infinitive is adverbial and modifies the adjective instead of being the subject of the verb. Less doubt-

ful seems to me the infinitive in the clause introduced by a relative pronoun (3æt or 3e), as in Wærf. 303.1 (eac offre wisan hi relation to ecan fæs wundres be være ylcan byrgene, væt us is nu lang to asecganne = 365 B 1: miraculi, quæ nunc narrare longum æstimo) and in Solil. 39.9 (for væs vinges lufum ve ve rihtre ys to luftanne δ onne δ æt = 0). Less doubtful, too, seems to me the infinitive in clauses in which the demonstrative pronoun, $\delta x t$ or δis , comes, not at the beginning, but at the middle, of its clause, as in Oros. 74.7 (Swa ungeliefedlic is ænigum menn væt to gesecgenne, hu etc. = 75.8: utrumque pene incredibile apud mortales erat). The different interpretation of the infinitive occurring in the several pronominal clauses above described accounts for many of the divergences in my statistics of the inflected infinitive as subject from those of Drs. Wülfing, Farrar, K. Köhler, and Riggert: with me the two former consider the infinitive in such pronominal clauses sometimes subjective and sometimes adverbial; while the two latter apparently consider it adverbial only. Besides this, however, Dr. Riggert puts under the adverbial use (with adjectives) the infinitive in sentences like the following, in which the infinitive seems to me clearly subjective: Ps. 83.10: Betere is micle to gebidanne anne dæg mid de Jonne odera on Jeodstefnum Jusend mæla = quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super millia; Gu. 1039: nis me earfede to gedolianne deodnes willan; Beow. 2445: Swa bið geomorlic gomelum ceorle to gebidanne; Ps. 117.8^{a, b}: God is on dryhten georne to Jenceanne, Jonne on mannan wese mod to treowianne = bonum est confidere in Domino quam confidere in homine; Ps. 117.9^{a, b}: God ys on dryhten georne to hyhtanne, donne on ealdormen ahwær to treowianne = bonum est sperare in Domino quam sperare in principibus; Rid. 40.22: Long is to secganne hu etc.; Chr. 597: geceosan mot . . . swa lif swa deað, swa him leofre bið to gefremmanne; El. 607: De synt tu gearu, swa lif swa deað, swa de leofre bið to geceosanne. Indeed, Dr. Riggert i finds only three examples of the inflected infinitive as the subject of an active verb in all Anglo-Saxon poetry; one of these is Beow. 2093 (To lang ys to recenne, hu etc.), which does not differ essentially from Rid. 40.22 quoted above, though in the latter, we are told, the infinitive modifies the adjective.

Typical examples are: —

aðreotan, weary:

Oros. 42.13: Eac me sceal a reotan . . . ymb ealra Troiana gewin to asecgenne = 43.12: Tædet etiam . . . referre certamina.

behofian, behoove:

Solil. 27.12: Ælces licuman æagan behofað ðreora ðinga on hym silfum to habbæne (sic!) = Ergo animae tribus quibusdam rebus opus est ut oculos habeat quibus jam bene uti possit, ut aspiciat, ut videat.

beon, be, without an adjective:—

Mat. 20.23: to sittanne on mine swiðran healfe, oððe on wynstran, nys me inc to syllenne, ac ðam ðe hyt fram minum Fæder gegearwod ys = sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel sinistram non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo.

beon, be, in predicative combination with: —

(1) Adjectives of Ease and Difficulty, etc.:

earfoð(e) [-feð(e)], difficult:

Greg. 51.5: hit swa earfoðe is ænegum menn to witanne hwonne he geclænsod sie = 28.3: valde difficile est, purgatum se quemlibet posse cognoscere.

Oros. 212.30: is me nu swide earfede hiera mod to ahwettanne = 0.

Chron. 170b, 1050 D: hit is earfost to witane vara biscopa ve værto comon.

Laws 455, Gerefa, c. 18: Hit is earfode eall to gesecganne.

Bened. 67.1: 5æm unandgytfullum 5æt gastlice angyt (sic!) is earfoðe to understandende (sic! but MSS. TF: -enne) butan haligra manna trahtnunge = 126.10: infirmis intellectibus non erit utile illa hora hanc Scripturam audire.

Ælf. Hom. II. 466^b: Eac ðæs dæges godspel is swiðe earfoðe læwedum mannum to understandenne (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

earfoore, more difficult:

Greg. 453.12: hit is deah earfodre ealle ætsomne to læranne = 384.5: longe tamen laboriosus est auditores innumeros . . . admonere. — Ib. 455.6: deah bid giet earfodre ælene on sundrum to læranne = 386.11: multo tamen acriori labore fatigatur, quando uni contrariis vitiis servienti prædicare compellitur.

eaðe [e-, ie-, y-], easy:

Beow. 1003: No vet you by to befleonne (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

Ps. 76.16: ne bið vær eðe vin spor on to findanne = 76.20: vestigia tua non cognoscentur.

Boeth. 145.5: Hwæs wundrast du dær swa swide, swa eðe swa hit is to ongitanne = 0.

Bened. 124.12: Eaðe is to understandenne of hwylcum antimbre deos undæslicu asprincd disse miclam (sic!) todundennesse = 190.2: Quod quam sit absurdum facile advertitur.

Chron. 239^m, 1104 E^a: Nis eade to asecgenne dises landes earmda.

eadelicor, more easily:

Ælf. Hom. I. 236^{t 2, 3}: Nu is geduht det him sy sumera dinga eadelicor to arærenne done deadan of dam duste, donne him wære to wyrcenne ealle gesceafta of nahte (or predicative with beon?).

eadelicre, more easy:

Mat. 19.24: easelicre by sam olfende to ganne surh nædle eage, sonne se welega on heofona rice ga = facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire, quam divitem intrare in regnum coelorum.

eao(e)re [e-, ie-, y-], more easy:

Boeth. 81.13: nis hire deah donne edre to feallanne of dune donne up = 0.

Greg. 203. 17, 18: him is micle iedre to gestieganne on done ryhtan wisdom donne dæm lytegan sie to anbuganne = 152.14:0.

Mk. 10.25: Eadere ys olfende to farenne durh nædle dyrel = Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire.

efnede, equally easy:

Met. 20.168: Hwæt! hi deah eordlices auht ne halded, is deah enfede up 7 of dune to feallanne foldan disse.

uneade [-e-, -ie-], difficult:

And. 206: Nis væt uneave eallwealdan Gode to gefremmanne on foldwege,

Text etc. (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

Greg. 355.21: forðæm he wisse ðæt hit $bi\eth$ swiðe unieðe ægðer to donne, ge wið ðone to cidanne ðe yfel deð, ge eac sibbe wið to habbenne = 276.1: Difficile quippe erat ut si male acta corriperent, habere pacem cum omnibus possent.

Oros. 52.8: Hit is uniede to gesecgenne hu monege gewin siddan wæron = 53.4: quæ per ordinem disserere nequaquam aptum videtur.

(2) Adjectives of Goodness, Usefulness, etc.:—betst, best:

Solil. 3.6, 7: Da realte he . . . hwile good him were betst to donne, and hwile yfel betst to forletende (sic!) = mihi . . . quaerenti memetipsum ac bonum meum, quidve mali evitandum esset (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

god, good:

Greg. 151, 8^b, 9^{a, b}: Eac is to wietanne vætte hwilum bið god wærlice to miðanne his hieremonna scylda & to licettanne suelce he hit nyte; hwilum eft to se[c]ganne = 108.18^{a, b, c}: Sciendum quoque est, quod aliquando subjectorum vitia prudenter dissimulanda sunt, sed quia dissimulantur, indicanda.

Ælf. Hom. II. 564t: Gif god is and halwendlic to forhæbbenne fram unaly-

fedlicum styrungum.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 2.18a: Nis na god disum men ana to wunienne = Non est bonum hominem esse solum.

Mat. 17.4°: god ys us her to beonne = bonum est nos hic esse (according to Stoffel, l. c., p. 53, accusative and inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter VIII, p. 119).

Læce. 28.41: Eft wið don eac bið god lustmocan crop to lecganne on gebrocen heafod.

sel, better:

Bened. 10.3^{a, b}: be . . . drohtunge sel is to swigienne sonne embe to sprecenne = 16.13: melius est silere quam loqui.

selest [-ost], best, most excellent:

Prayers IV. 11: Getacna me . . . & er selast sy sawle minre to gemearcenne meotudes willan.

Bl. Hom. 205.27: Sonne is hit ealles selest to Sæm dæge to secenne hwæt Sæs willa sie.

(3) Adjectives of Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, etc.: —

lað, loathsome:

Oros. 122.16: nellað geðencan hu lað eow selfum was to gelastanne eowre aðas = 0.

Chron. 173^m, 1048 E^b: for fan him wæs lað to amyrrene his agenne folgað. Wulf. 257.13: him wæs lað fearfendum mannum mete to syllenne.

leofost [-ast], dearest, best:

Laws 78, Alfred, c. 43: Seowum monnum eallum sien forgifen, Sam Se him leofost sie to sellanne æghwæt.

leofre, dearer, preferable:

Greg. 217.12^{a, b}: him bið leofre scande to ðolianne ðonne ðæt god to cyðanne = 164.7, 9: eligit patiens quælibet mala perpeti, quam . . . bona sua occulta cognosci.

Oros. 44.14^{a, b}: Heton . . . secgan, δ æt him leofre wære wið hiene to feohtanne δ onne gafol to gieldanne = 0.

(4) Adjectives of Right and Wrong, etc.: —

riht, right, proper:

Bede 268.4: swa riht is to gelyfanne = 210.6: ut credi fas est. — Ib. 398.18: swa swide swa monnum riht is to eahtienne = 289.11: quantum hominibus aestimare fas est.

Greg. 283.7: Se slawa ongit hwæt him ryht bið to donne = 214.5: Piger enim recte sentiendo quasi vigilat (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

unaliefedlic [-e-, -y-], unallowable:

Pr. Ps. 16.14^a: hi eton swynen flæsc, dæt Iudeum unalyfedlic ys to etanne = saturati sunt porcina.

Wærf. 334.22, 23: Sæt is unrihtlic 7 unalyfedlic ænigum men to gesæncanne obse to cwesanne = 401 D: quod dici nefas est (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

unriht, not right, improper:

Wærf. 308.18: on dere ylcan niht, det is unriht to secganne, he forspilde hie durh forligre = 372 C¹: eamque nocte illa (quod dictu nefas est) perdidit (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

(5) Other Adjectives: —

feor(r), far:

Beow. 1922: næs him feor banon to gesecanne sinces bryttan. [But, instead of being subjective, the infinitive may be predicative, as Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 50, seems to think. Cf. And. 424.]

min, mine:

Mk. 10.40: Soblice nis hit na min inc to syllenne bet gyt sitton on mine swybran healfe = Sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram, non est meum dare. [But, instead of being subjective, the infinitive may modify min.] dafenian, be fitting:

Solil. 32.17: me dafenað to andsweorianne des de ic ongyte = 0.

derian, injure:

Greg. 237.11: sua dereð eac hwilum sumum monnum ðæt soð to gehierenne = 178.25: ita nonnunquam quibusdam audita vera nocuerunt.

gelustfullian, delight:

Ælf. Hom. I. 360^b ³: Us gelustfullað gyt furður to sprecenne be ðan halgan were.

genihtsumian, suffice:

Bened. 90.15: To beddreafe genihtsumige to habbenne meatte and hwitel etc.

= 158.13: Stramenta autem lectorum sufficiant matta, sagum, etc.

gerisan, be fitting:

Oros. 54.30: cwæð ðæt ðæm weorce nanum men ær ne gerise bet to fandianne δ onne δ æm wyrhtan δ e hit worhte = 0.

Ælf. Æthelw. 2: Her ongynð seo endebyrdnyss, hu munecum gerist to healdenne ðone regollican ðeaw = Incipit ordo qualiter . . . regularis mos a monachis per anni circulum observari conveniat.

helpan, help:

Ælf. L. S. xxxvi. 183: unc bam mæg helpan to hæbbenne dis an.

Læce. 41.12: Wið fefre eft hylpð syndrigo marubie to drincanne.

sceamian, shame:

Chron. 170^m, 1050 D: swa væt us sceamað hit nu mare to tellanne.

Ælf. L. S. 370.100: Us sceamað to secgenne ealle ða . . . wiglunga.

ŏyncan, seem, plus an adjective: —

æðryt, wearisome:

Ælf. Hom. II. 374b: him ðincð æðryt to gehyrenne ymbe da clænnysse.

¹ As the construction with *dyncan* plus an adjective is quite similar to that with *beon* (wesan) plus an adjective, I give only a few examples.

selest [-ost], best, most excellent:

El. 533: Nu ge geare cunnon, hwæt eow væs on sefan selest vince to gecyvanne (or the infinitive may modify the adjective). — Ib. 1165: frignan ongan, hwæt him væs on sefan selost vuhte to gelaestenne (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

selle, better, preferable:

Ju. 408: öæt him sylfum selle öynceð leahtras to fremman (sic!) ofer lof Godes.

III. The uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are each found as the subject of the following verbs:—

aliefan [-e-, -y-], be allowed. beon, be, plus an adjective

(1) Of Goodness:

betere, better. selre, better.

fremman [fremian], benefit.

gebyrian, be fitting.
gedafenian, be fitting.
gelician, please.
lician, please.
lystan, please.
onhagian, please.

With four exceptions (aliefan, beon + selre, fremman (fremian), and lystan) the inflected infinitive is the commoner with each verb of this group: with aliefan and with lystan the uninflected infinitive is the more usual, while with beon + selre and with fremman (fremian) the usage is evenly divided.

The following are typical examples:—aliefan [-e-, -y-], be allowed:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 74.15: æfter hu feola daga alefað him ðæm geryne onfoon fulwihtes bæðes? = 53.29: quod genuerit, post quot dies hoc liceat sacri baptismatis sacramenta percipere? — Ib. 74.18^{a, b}: hwæðer alefað hire in circan gongan oððe ðæm geryne onfoon ðære halgan gemænsumnesse? = 53.32^{a, b}: an ecclesiam intrare ei liceat aut . . . sacramenta percipere? — Ib. 78.17: ne alefað hire in . . . cirican gongan? = 55.28: ei non liceat . . . ecclesiam intrare?

Gosp.: Mk. $3.4^{b, c}$: Da cwæð he, alyfð restedagum wel to donne, hweðer ðe yfele? sawla gehælan, hweðer ðe forspillan? = dicit eis: Licet sabbatis benefacere, an male? animam salvam facere, an perdere. — Mk. 10.2: Pharisei... hine axodon hwæðer alyfð ænegum men his wif forlætan = interrogabant eum: Si licet viro uxorem dimittere. — L. $6.9^{a, b, c}$: alyfð on restedægum wel don, oððe yfele; sawle hale gedon, hwæðer ðe forspillan? = si licet sabbatis benefacere an male, animam salvam facere, an perdere?

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Gu. XX. 85: geryno . . . da nanegum men ne alyfað to secganne = mysteria, quæ non licet homini narrare (on alyfað for alyfeð, see Gonser's note).

Mk. 3.4°: quoted above under "Uninflected." — Mk. 12.14: Alyfo gaful to syllanne dam Casere? = Licet dari tributum Cæsari?

beon, be, plus an adjective of Goodness, etc.: —

betere, better:

(1) Uninflected:

Mk. 9.47: betere de is mid anum eagan gan on Godes rice = 9.46: bonum est tibi luscum introire in regnum Dei. [Concerning the positive here, see Professor J. W. Bright's "An Idiom of the Comparative in Anglo-Saxon," in Modern Language Notes for June, 1912, pp. 181-183.]

(2) Inflected:

Gen. 660: His hyldo is unc betere to gewinnanne vonne his wivermedo (or the infinitive may modify the adjective).

Solil. 36.8: 82th hwa cwæ8e 82th hyt si betere to habbenne for bearna gestreone = no Latin.

Mat. 18.9: betere de ys mid anum eagan on life to ganne donne du si mid twam asend on helle fyr = bonum tibi est cum uno oculo in vitam intrare, quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gehennam ignis.

selre, better:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 144^b: Selre us is to sweltenne and soblice anbidian (sic!) bes ecan æristes.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.322^t: selre & bið anegede faran to heofonan rice, & onne mid twam eagum been aworpen on ece susle.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 486^b ³: Salomon cwæð, ðæt selre wære to wunigenne mid leon and dracan ðonne mid yfelum wife and oferspræcum.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 144a: quoted under "Uninflected" above.

fremman (fremian), benefit:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 394^m: ac hit ne fremede him swa gedon.

(2) Inflected:

Mat. 19.10: ne fremað nanum menn to wifienne = non expedit nubere. gebyrian, be fitting:

(1) Uninflected:

Gosp.: Mat. 18.33: hu ne gebyrede & miltsian & inum efen & ewan swa swa ic & gemiltsode? = Nonne ergo oportuit et te misereri conservi tui, sicut et ego tui misertus sum? (possibly, but not probably, accusative and infinitive: see examples below in which the noun is clearly dative; also Chapter VIII, p. 124).—

L. 11.42b: & Sing eow gebyrede to donne, and & Sing ne forlætan (sic!) = hæc autem oportuit facere, et illa non omittere.— L. 12.12: Halig Gast eow lær on & on & Sing & eow specan gebyrað = Spiritus . . . sanctus docebit vos in ipsa hora quid oporteat vos dicere (see note to L. 11.42 above).— L. 15.32a. b: & gebyrede gewistfullian and geblissian = Epulari autem et gaudere oportebat.— L. 24.26a. b: Hu ne gebyrede Criste & Sing & oligean, and swa on his wuldor gan? = Nonne hæc oportuit pati Christum, et ita intrare in gloriam suam?

(2) Inflected:

Laws 446, Rectitudines, c. 3, § 3: Him gebyriað (sic!) V æceres to habbanne — Ib. 477, Episcopus, c. 2^a: ðæt heora ælc wite, hwæt him mid rihte gebyrige to donne.

Ælf. Hom. II. 492^t: us ne gebyrað to ameldigenne ða scyldigan.

Ælf. Hept.: De N. T. 20.30: hwæt gebyrað us embe dis to smeagenne?

Ælf. Gr. 245.9: nu hæfð se bene ða ðing, ðe adverbio gebyrað to hæbbenne.

Gosp.: $Mat.\ 26.54^{\rm b}$: for dam dus hyt gebyrad to beonne = quia sic oportet $fieri. — Mk.\ 14.31$: deah me gebyrige mid de to sweltenne = si oportuerit me simul commori tibi. — $L.\ 2.49$: nyste gyt det me gebyrad to beonne on dam dingum de mines fæder $synt? = nesciebatis quia in his quæ Patris mei sunt oportet me <math>esse? — L.\ 11.42^{\rm a}$: quoted under "Uninflected" above. — $J.\ 9.4$: Me gebyrad to synteneous wyrceanne des weore de me sende synteneous operae ejus qui misit me.

Wulf. 279.4: ne gebyreð æt cyrican ænig ðing to donne. gedaf(e)nian, be fitting:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 74.22: All das ding dære . . . deode . . . gedafenad cud habban = 54.2: Quae omnia rudi Anglorum genti oportet haberi conperta. — Ib. 342.18: efne da an da de to æfestnesse belumpon, 7 his da æfestan tungan gedeofanade singan = 259.12: ea . . . quae . . . religiosam eius linguam decebant (or accusative and infinitive in Anglo-Saxon?).

Pr. Gu. V. 67, 68, 69: swa sonne gedafenas sam men [Vercelli MS.: sane man] gelice surh six daga fæsten sone gast gefrætwian, and sonne sy seofosan dæg mete sicgan and his lichaman restan = ita etiam hominem decet sex diebus per jejunii plasma spiritu reformari, et septimo die comedendo carni requiem dare.

Ælf. Hom. II. 318^m²: Us gedafenað to donne dugeðe on sibbe, mid estfullum mode menniscum gesceafte, and eft on ehtnysse ure lif syllan (sic!) for one soðan God.

Ælf. L. S. 240.31: us gedafenað swyðor mid geswince to campigenne for δ am undeadlicum cynincge and δ e oferswiðan (sic!). — Ib. XXIII B. 261: δ e gedafenað . . . for me and for eallum gebiddan.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.34^{t2, 3}: ne gedafonode Criste swa Frowian and swa faran into his wuldre?

L. 4.43: Soblice me gedafenab obrum ceastrum Godes rice bodian = Quia et aliis civitatibus oportet me evangelizare regnum Dei (possibly but not probably accusative and infinitive: see examples in which the noun is clearly in the dative case).

(2) Inflected:

Bede 2.13: Se gedafenað Sine Seode to læranne = 0. — Ib. 196.17: Hwæt woldest Su... Sæt... hors Sæm Searfan syllan, Se Se gedafenade agan (sic!) to habbanne? = 156.18: Quid uoluisti..., equum..., quem te conueniebat proprium habere, pauperi dare?

Solil. 32.16^{a, b}: De gedafenað to lerenne and me to hlistenne = no Latin.

Laws 248, VI Æthelred, c. 5, § 2: Cristenan mæn ne gedafenað to donne.

Ælf. Hom. I. 124^b: öær öe bið gesæd hwæt öe gedafenað to donne. — Ib. I. 386^{t 2}: öær öe bið gesæd hwæt öe gedafenige to donne. — Ib. II. 318^{m 1}: quoted under "Uninflected."

Ælf. L. S. 228.131: us Iudeiscum ne gedafenað to genealecenne eow hæðenum mannum. — Ib. 240.30: quoted under "Uninflected." — Ib. 314.127: Us gedafenað to offrigenne ðam . . . gode. — Ib. XXIII B. 228^{a, b}: Đe gedafenað abbud Zosimus to biddenne and to bletsigenne. — Ib. XXX. 124: swa ðe eac gedafenað to efstenne . . . and beon gecostnod.

Wulf. 227.22: swa gedafenað ælcum men to habbenne restendæg. — Ib. 269.24: swa ænigum cristenum men ne gedafenað to donne ne huru ðam gehadedum.

gelician, please:

- (1) Uninflected:
- \dot{L} . 12.32: for Sam eowrum Fæder gelicode eow rice syllan = quia complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum.
 - (2) Inflected:

Oros. 106.24: siððan gelicade eallum folcum ðæt hie Romanum underðieded

wære, 7 hiora æ to behealdanne = 107.24: universarum terrarum orbem . . . Romanis paruisse legibus . . . judices. 1— Ib. 250.19: ænigum folce his ægenu æ gelicade to healdenne = 0.

Chron. 182^t, 1052 C^b: væt vam cynge gelicode mid him to hæbbenne ve him getreowe wæron.

lician, please:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 276.12: licade us efencuman = 214.31: placuit convenire nos (possibly but not probably accusative and infinitive: see examples with gelician in which the noun is clearly dative).

Ælf. L. S. 308.32: me bet licað to forlætenne nu ðisne . . . wurðmynt and ðæs . . . godes cynedome gehyrsumian on haligre drohtnunge.

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Ps. 43.5: for Sam hy Se Sa licodon, and Se licode mid him to beonne = 43.4: quoniam complacuisti in eis.

Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 10: hie da cwædon, dæt him dæt licode eallum to healdanne.

Ælf. L. S. 308.30: quoted under "Uninflected" above.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.293: Gif & Sonne licige to sweltenne.

lystan, please:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 1793: Geat ungemetes wel, rofne randwigan restan lyste.

Met. 9.19: Næs ðæt herlic dæd, ðæt hine swelces gamenes gilpan lyste. — Ib. 10.20: Eala ofermodan! hwi eow a lyste mid eowrum swiran selfra willum ðæt swære gioc symle underlutan. — Ib. 19.16: Hwæðer ge nu willen wæðan mid hundum on sealtne sæ, ðonne eow secan lyst heorotas 7 hinda? — Ib. 19.33, 34: forðæm hi æfre ne lyst æfter spyrian, secan ða gesælða. — Ib. 19.39: swa me hit don lysteð.

Bede 398.7^{a, b}: cwæð ðæt hine lyste mid him etan 7 drincan = 288.26, 27^a:

dicens quia ipse . . . delectaretur manducare et bibere cum eis.

Boeth. 1.11: he halsað ælcne ðara ðe ðas boc $rædan\ lyste=0.$ — Ib. 91.8: $ext{de}$. . . lyste forweorðan = 78.46: ad interitum sponte festinent.

Greg. 279.6: Æt ærestum lyst one monn unnyt sprecan be odrum monnum

= 210.15: ut prius loqui aliena libeat.

Oros. 50.17: Deah swa hwelche mon swa lyste öæt witan, ræde on his bocum = 0.

Wærf. 60.7: me lysteð $acsian = 192 \text{ B}^{1}$: libet inquirere.

Bened. 126.17, 18: væt hine ne worian ne scrivan lyste = 194.2: cujus maturitas eum non sinat vagari.

Ælf. Hom. II. 220^b: Se leahtor deð ðæt ðam men ne lyst nan ðing to gode gedon.

Ælf. L. S. 356.297: Jonne Jam menn ne lyst on his life nan god don.

Ælf. Gr. 211.5: Sonne cym δ of δ am lecturio me lyst rædan. — Ib. 214.9: me lyst geseon = uiso.

Wulf. 141.8^{a, b, c}: stingað hine scearplice on ðone muð, forði, swa hwæt swa hinc lyste etan oððe drincan oððe on unnyt sprecan.

Læce. 49.35: hu man lyste utgan 7 ne mæg.

¹ See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.

(2) Inflected:

Oros. 102.25: ic gehwam wille værto tæcan ve hiene his lyst ma to witanne = 0.

Solil. 14.23: Ne lyst me deah nanes dinges swider to witanne denne dises = 0.

— Ib. 59.33^{a, b}: ac me lyste hyt nu bet to witanne denne to gelyfanne = 0.

onhagian[an-], please:

(1) Uninflected:

Greg. 289.16: δ æt hie ne anhaga δ nane wuht nyttwyr δ es don = 218.19: Sæpe ergo mansueti dissolutionis torpescunt tædio.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 341.13: gif he . . . cann gemetgian hwæt hine anhagige to sellanne = 264.6: audiant, quomodo quæ habent misericorditer tribuant. — Ib. 417.17: Forðæmðe ðæt ðætte hine ne onhagode utane forð to brenganne mid weorcum, innanne he hit geðafode = 338.21: quia etsi rerum tarditas foras peccatum distulit, intus hoc consensionis opere voluntas implevit.

Solil. 26.7: ic eom seo racu de me onhagad de to gerihtreccenne = Promittit enim ratio . . . ita se demonstraturam Deum tuae menti. — Ib. 65.10: Me ne onhagad nu da boc ealle to asmæaganne = 0.

Chron. 175b, 1052 Dc: Da ne onhagode him to cumenne to widermale.

Ælf. Hom. I. 448^{t3}: Nu ne onhagað us na swiðor be ðam to sprecenne.

Ælf. L. S. 4. 37: halgena Trowunga, The me to onhagode on englise to awendenne.

2. With Passive Verbs.

The active infinitive is found as the subject of passive verbs about 48 times. The infinitive is inflected about 39 times.

I. The uninflected infinitive only, as subject, is found twice (once preceding and once following the chief verb) with the passive of **bewerian**, prohibit: — Bede 76.19: Fulwian Sonne Sæt . . . wif . . . nænige gemete is bewered = 54.31: Baptizare . . . mulierem . . . nullo modo prohibetur. — Ib. 78.31: ne sceal him bewered beon Sæm geryne onfon = 56.9: mysterium . . . percipere non debet prohiberi.

II. The inflected infinitive only is found as the subject with the passive of the following verbs:—

forgiefan, give, grant. (ge)sellan, give, allow. læfan, leave.

dencan, consider, plus halwende, salutary.

dyncan, seem, consider (?), plus wierdlicor,
more worthily.

The examples in full are:—

forgiefan, give, grant:

Ælf. L. S. XXIX. 134^{a, b}: beo de forgifen to bindene and to alysenne. gesellan, give, allow:

Gosp.: Mat. 13.11: For dam de eow is geseald to witanne heofena rices gerynu = Quia vobis datum est nosse mysteria regni cœlorum. — Mk. 4.11: Eow is geseald to witanne Godes rices gerynu = Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei.

læfan, leave:

Boeth. 42.9: Jonne meaht du ongitan dette des ealles nis monnum donne

mare læfed to bugianne buton swelce on lytel cauertun = 44.18: uix angustissima inhabitandi hominibus area relinquetur (or final?).

dencan, consider, plus halwende, salutary:

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 479: Hit is halig gedoht and halwende to gebiddenne for dam fordfarendum.

dyncan, seem, consider (?), plus wurdlicor, more worthily:

Ælf. Hom. I. 48^t 4: Sonne Se is geduht wurdlicor be Criste to cwedenne Godes Bearn Sonne mannes Bearn.

III. The uninflected and the inflected infinitive are each found as the subject of the passive of the following verbs:—

aliefan [-e-, -y-], allow.

bebeodan, command.

With each of these verbs the inflected infinitive is commoner than the uninflected, with aliefan far commoner.

The following are typical examples:—

aliefan¹ [-e-, -y-], allow:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 84.20: mid by him eac alyfed bib, swa we ær cwædon, in cirican gongan = 59.20; cum ei . . . ecclesiam licuerit intrare. — Ib. 278.10, 11: nænegum biscope alefad seo in ængum binge heo unstillian, ne owiht of heora eahtum . . . ongeneman = 216.7, 8: nulli episcoporum liceat ea in aliquo inquietare, nec quicquam de eorum rebus uiolenter abstrahere. — Ib. 278.22: nængum heora alefed sy ænge sacerdlice begnunge don = 216.22: nulli . . . liceat . . . officium . . . agere. — Ib. 280.1: nængum alefed sy nemne ælice gesinscipe habban = 217.1: nulli liceat . . . habere conubium.

(2) Inflected:

Gu. 1223: giefe . . . , de me alyfed nis to gecydenne cwicra ængum on foldwege fira cynnes.

Boeth. 121.19^a: Sæt men sie alefed yfel to donne = 103.93^a: uel licentiam uel impunitatem scelerum putant esse felicem.

Wærf. 39.21: öæt us nu nære alyfed to farene? = 176 A: pergere minime liceret? —Ib. 156.3: öæt him wære alyfed ut to farenne = B. 182 B¹: atque importunis precibus ut relaxeretur immineret. — Ib. 214.8: to öon öæt him nære na alyfed ofer öæt furður to ganne = 261 A: ne ei ultra liceret progredi.

Bened. 86.6: seeggende væt him alyfed nis wiv cuman to sprecenne = 154.7: dicens sibi non licere colloqui cum hospite.

Bl. Hom. 137.15: us is alefed edhwyrft to væm ecean life, & heofena rice to gesittenne mid . . . halgum.

Ælf. Hom. II. 40^m: Đis nis nu alyfed nanum men to donne.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 684: On Sam dagum was alyfed to alecgenne his fynd.

Mat. 12.2: Nu dine leorningenihtas dod dæt him alyfyd nys restedagun to donne = Ecce discipuli tui faciunt quod non licet facere sabbatis. — Ib. 12.10: ys hyt alyfed to hælenne on restedagum? = Si licet sabbatis curare?

Wulf. 210.17: cwæð, ðæt six dagas syndon, 'ðæt eow is alefed eowre weorc on to wyrcenne.' — Ib. 227.12^{a, b}, 13: ne mylnum nis alyfed to eornenne ne on huntað to ridenne ne nan unalyfedlic weorc to wyrcenne.

bebeodan, command:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 398^b 1, 2: forðan ðe us is beboden, ðurh gewrite ðære ealdan æ, ofsittan and fortredan ða gewilnigendlican lustas.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 206.16: of eallum on, de on halgum bocum beboden is to healdanne
161.27: nil ex omnibus, quae in . . . literis facienda cognoverat (or final?).
Boeth. 40.10: to dam weorce de me beboden was to wyrcanne = 0 (or final?).
Ib. 40.24: Ne mæg he . . . nan dara dinga wyrcan de him beboden is to

wyrcenne = 0 (or final?).

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

If now we seek to discover what determines the use of the inflected or of the uninflected form of the infinitive as the subject of active verbs, the answer is clear in the case of the verbs having only the inflected form as subject. the majority of instances the finite verb is made up of the appropriate form of been or dyncan plus an adjective (or occasionally plus an adverb or a noun) that is usually followed by the dative (or occasionally by the genitive) case of nouns and naturally by the inflected infinitive when the adjective is modified by an infinitive: hence, even when not immediately modifying the adjective, but when used as the subject of a finite verb, the infinitive is by the indirect influence of the adjective attracted from the logically expected nominative form, that is, the uninflected infinitive, into the dative form, that is, the inflected infinitive. In the prose Gen. 2.18^a (Nis na god disum men ana to wunienne = Non est bonum hominem esse solum) and in the Chron. 173^m, 1048 E^b (for San him was lat to amyrrenne his agenne folgat), for instance, we see the transforming influence of the dative-governing adjectives, god and $la\delta$. course, as already stated, at times it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive was intended by the writer to modify the adjective or to be the subject of the finite verb. Most of the remaining verbs of the group are such as habitually govern a dative (or occasionally a genitive), and this oblique regimen is, as in the case of been or dyncan plus an adjective, strong enough to cause the infinitive to be inflected when used as a subject, — a result the more easily brought about by the circumstance that these verbs are in most instances impersonal, and that the infinitive usually follows rather than precedes the finite verb. For example, in Greg. 237.11 (sua dereð eac hwilum sumum monnum væt soð to gehierenne = 178.25: ita nonnunquam quibusdam audita vera nocuerunt) and in Ælf. L. S. XXXVI. 183 (unc bam mæg helpan to hæbbenne dis an), we see the same sort of transforming influence exercised by the dative-governing verbs, derian and helpan. Moreover, because of its frequent postposition, the infinitive is often in close proximity to the transforming adjective or verb. Occasionally, too, out of analogy to these dative-governing verbal phrases, a verb that does not govern a dative has an inflected infinitive as its subject, as has been in Mat. 20.23, owing to the influence of the frequently recurring been plus a dative-governing adjective.

As to the verbs having only the uninflected infinitive as subject, it seems natural that becuman in the sense of 'happen' and geweorðan with the same meaning should have the uninflected infinitive as subject, since there is no factor to cause inflection.

That we have an uninflected infinitive as subject to been plus softe is probably due to the great distance separating 1 the infinitive from the verbal phrase.

That $ge \ni yncan$ in the sense of 'seem good' has for its subject the uninflected instead of the inflected infinitive seems to contravene the general explanation given of the inflected infinitive above; and it may be an exception that proves the rule, though I doubt this. To me the explanation seems rather this: 'seem good' is only occasionally the sense of $ge \ni yncan$; moreover, the infinitive both in the Latin original and in the Anglo-Saxon is separated from the principal verb by a number of words; in brief, $ge \ni yncan$ had but slight datival force to transmit to the infinitive, and this little was evaporated in the distance between it and the infinitive.

Gelystan, we may suppose, merely follows the general rule of the simplex, lystan, which latter habitually though not invariably has an uninflected infinitive as its subject.

When we turn to the group of verbs having now the inflected and now the uninflected infinitive as the subject, we find that the group as a whole is true to the general principles already stated, with only two apparent, if not real, exceptions, aliefan and lystan, each of which is, as stated, found oftener with the uninflected than with the inflected infinitive, lystan far oftener. datival sense in aliefan, though not so strong as in derian, helpan, etc., is still so strong that its having an uninflected infinitive for subject occasions surprise each time until I place the examples with uninflected infinitives side by side with those having the inflected, and discover that, with one exception (L. 6.9a), in the former examples, the infinitive, in the Anglo-Saxon, is perceptibly farther removed from the finite verb (aliefan) than in the latter examples; and that, of the ten examples of the uninflected infinitive, five (Mk. 3.4^{b, c}, L. 6.9^{a, b, c}) occur in two series of three infinitives each, in one of which series the first infinitive $(Mk. 3.4^{\circ})$ is inflected, — a fact that seems to indicate that the degree of separation¹ from the principal verb is an appreciable factor as to the inflection of the infinitive. Of course, it is open to one to claim that, in a series of the sort under discussion, the to is carried over as it were to the succeeding infinitives, or, to put it differently, that the presence of to with the first infinitive accounts for the lack of inflection in the succeeding infinitives rather than the distance of the latter from the finite verb. This claim seems improbable, however, in view of the fact that in eighteen² series the inflected infinitive is followed by the inflected, while in only six² series is the inflected followed by the uninflected; and that in the former series, as a rule, the co-ordinated infinitives are appreciably closer to each other and, therefore, to the principal verb than in the latter series. Again, this claim seems improbable in view of the fact that, with the verb under discussion, aliefan, we habitually find the single

² Given in the notes at the end of this chapter.

¹ Separation from its governing verb, its adjective, or its noun, as we shall see later in Chapters II, XI, and XIII, likewise tends to the loss of inflection on the part of the infinitive. We thus have four additional illustrations of the principle so happily stated by Professor C. Alphonso Smith, in his Studies in English Syntax, p. 60: "Other illustrations of the general principle that I have endeavoured to outline will suggest themselves to the reader. Enough have been given, I believe, to show that a dominant characteristic of English syntax, a characteristic that differentiates it sharply from the syntax of Latin, is its insistent tendency to operate at close quarters, to span only limited areas, and to make its laws of concord depend not so much on logic as on proximity. English syntax is essentially a syntax of short circuits."

infinitive uninflected if remote from the principal verb, but inflected if near it. One exception does occur with aliefan: it is difficult to see why we have the uninflected infinitive, don, in Luke 6.9a (alyfor on restedægum wel don, obbe yfele; sawle hale gedon, hwæðer de forspillan? = si licet sabbatis benefacere an male, animam salvam facere, an perdere?), but the inflected infinitive, to donne, in the almost identical passage of $Mark 3.4^a$ (Alyfor restedagum well to donne, hweder de yfele? sawla gehælan, hweder de forspillan = Licet sabbatis benefacere, an male? animam salvam facere, an perdere?); for, while the infinitive is one word further removed from the principal verb in the former than in the latter passage, that alone hardly accounts for the difference in translation. Perhaps the confusion is partially due to the disturbing influence of the adverb wel in Anglo-Saxon or of the datival verb, benefacere, in Latin. Another probable factor in the twofold construction with aliefan is its double regimen (with an accusative and a dative) when transitive, for, as we shall see in the next chapter, double regimen is, with many verbs, a prolific source of confusion between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive in the objective function.

In the single example of the uninflected infinitive as subject of beon plus betere (Mk. 9.47) and in the two of beon plus selre (Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.332^{t 1}, Ælf. L. S. XXV. 144^b), the distance of the infinitive from the verb phrase doubtless contributes to the lack of inflection, for, with selre, the first of the two infinitives in a series (Ælf. L. S. XXV. 144^a) is inflected, while the second, with an adverb preceding, is uninflected. It is only fair to state that in Matthew 18.9 we have the inflected infinitive with beon plus betere although the infinitive is as far removed from the verb phrase as in Mark 9.47; but in the other examples the infinitive is very near the verb.

In the example of fremman (fremian), 'help,' with an inflected infinitive as subject (Mat. 19.10), we have what we should naturally expect. That, contrary to expectation, we find the uninflected infinitive, gedon, in $\mathcal{E}lf$. Hom. I. 394^{m} , with only two words intervening between it and fremede, is probably due to the confusion of meaning between fremman (fremian) in the sense of 'effect' and in the sense of 'benefit,' and to the consequent double regimen of fremman (with an accusative or a dative). In the two passages in question, fremman (fremian) clearly has the latter of the two meanings.

Of the seven examples of the uninflected infinitive with gebyrian, one (L. 11.42^b) is the second of a series of two infinitives with several words intervening between the infinitives. One (L. 12.12) precedes the finite verb in Anglo-Saxon, and corresponds to an accusative and predicative infinitive in the Latin original. Two (L. 24.26^{a, b}) are appreciably separated from the finite verb. One (Mat. 18.33) is near the finite verb, but translates a Latin accusative and predicative infinitive, and may itself be considered an instance of the predicative infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, as may the remaining two (L. 15.32^{a, b}). Personally, however, I believe that, in Mat. 18.33 and in L. 15.32^{a, b}, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive is subjective, but I doubt not that the Latin accusative-with-infinitive construction, present in the passage from Matthew and in three other passages with gebyrian in Luke, may have had something to do with the absence of inflection in Anglo-Saxon. Perhaps, also, the twofold meaning of gebyrian ('happen' and 'be fitting') in part accounts for the use of the two infinitives.

Of the eleven examples of the uninflected infinitive as subject of gedafenian, two (Bede 74.22, 342.18) are very near the finite verb, but correspond, the former to a Latin accusative and infinitive and the latter to a Latin noun in the accusative, and the latter may be a predicative infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. Two (Ælf. Hom. II. 318^{m2} and Ælf. L. S. 240.31) are each the second in a series of two infinitives in each of which series the first infinitive is inflected, and the second is appreciably separated from the first. The remaining seven are separated from the finite verb. But the datival force of the verb, gedafenian, occasionally is stronger than the influence of separation, as in Ælf. L. S. 240.30, XXIII B. 238^b, in each of which we have the inflected infinitive despite the separation of infinitive from finite verb. In the remaining sixteen examples of the inflected infinitive, the infinitive is very near the finite verb, usually in immediate juxtaposition therewith.

In the single instance of an uninflected infinitive as the subject of gelician (L. 12.32), the infinitive is separated from the verb, but by only two words. In one of the three instances of the subjective inflected infinitive (Oros. 106.24), the infinitive is separated from the verb by ten words; in the other two the infinitive is in close proximity.

In one instance of the uninflected infinitive as subject of *lician* (Bede 276.12), the infinitive phrase corresponds to a Latin accusative and infinitive, and we may possibly have the same idiom in Anglo-Saxon. In another instance of the uninflected infinitive (Ælf. L. S. 308.32), the infinitive is the second of a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, and is considerably removed from the second. In the four instances of the inflected infinitive, the infinitive is near the finite verb, in two instances in immediate juxtaposition.

That the original idiom with *lystan* was the uninflected infinitive is evident. Only the uninflected infinitive is found in the poetry (7 examples). In a total, in prose and in poetry, of about 65 examples, 61 are uninflected, and this despite the fact that in a majority of these cases, in both poetry and prose, the infinitive is in close proximity to, in many instances in juxtaposition with, the finite verb (lystan). But why have we with this verb the uninflected rather than the inflected infinitive, especially when the infinitive is so often so near the finite verb, and when, on a first glance, lystan seems in sense so closely akin to what for lack of a better word I have termed the datival verbs? The answer seems to be that the kinship is in reality not so close as it appears, for, while the datival verbs often govern a dative, lystan seldom does so: on the contrary, as is well known, it governs habitually the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing. It is not unnatural, therefore, that its subjective infinitive should be, as it almost always is, uninflected. The surprise is rather that we find, in four instances (Oros. 102.25; Solil. 14.23, 59.33^{a, b}), the inflected infinitive as subject, — a fact that may be partially due to the disturbing influence of the comparative adverb 1 immediately preceding the infinitive in each example, but more largely, perhaps, to the double regimen of lystan (an accusative, occasionally a dative, of the person and a genitive of the thing).

In the single example of an uninflected infinitive as the subject of anhagian (Greg. 289.16), the infinitive is removed by three words from its verb. Even greater separation, however, fails to withstand the datival force of anhagian in

¹ The comparative adverb has no such disturbing influence in Solil. 42.4^a, b.

Solil. 65.10 and in Ælf. Hom. I. 448^t 3. In the remaining examples the inflected infinitive is in close proximity to anhagian.

To sum up the matter: verbs and verbal phrases that govern a dative (or occasionally a genitive) normally have the inflected infinitive as subject, especially if the infinitive is near its principal verb. But occasionally even with these verbs we have an uninflected infinitive as subject, the lack of inflection being due partly to remoteness of the infinitive from the finite verb, whether the infinitive occurs singly or in a series; partly to the appearance of the accusative with an infinitive in the Latin original; and partly to the analogical influence of the verbs that naturally take an uninflected infinitive as subject. Other verbs than these habitually take the uninflected infinitive as subject; but here, too, the analogical influence is at times strongly at work, beon, for instance, having as subject the inflected infinitive out of analogy to beon plus a dative-governing adjective. Still other disturbing factors are diversity of meaning in the principal verb, as in fremman, gebyrian, geweorðan, geðyncan; and double regimen of the principal verb, as in aliefan, fremman, and lystan.

With the passive verbs the differentiation between the two infinitives seems to rest upon the same principle as with the active verbs. As before, the inflected infinitive occurs dominantly with the datival verbs: aliefan, and dencan or dyncan plus an adjective or adverb. In the few instances in which the uninflected infinitive occurs as subject of these verbs, the infinitive is appreciably removed from the principal verb. When the inflected infinitive is used, in nearly all cases the infinitive is in close proximity to, usually in juxtaposition with, the chief verb, the exceptions to the last statement, with aliefan, being Bl. Hom. 137.15 and Mat. 12.12, 19.3, in which several words intervene between infinitive and verb; and Wulf. 227.12b, 13, and 285.13, in which we have the second and third infinitives of a series inflected as well as the first. The passive verb seems, therefore, to project its influence, in the case of aliefan, somewhat further than does the active.

The inflected infinitive after *læfan* (*Boeth.* 42.9) may be final rather than subjective; in either case the inflection is doubtless due to the presence of a gerund in the Latin original.

That in Late West-Saxon the inflected infinitive is found with forgiefan (Ælf. L. S. XXIX. 134^{a, b}) and (ge)sellan (Mat. 13.11) is not surprising.

That both infinitives are found as subject with bebeodan may be due to the double regimen of this verb, which governs a dative of the person and an accusative of the thing, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, has as object each infinitive. But each of these inflected infinitives may be considered final; and one (Bede 206.16) was doubtless suggested by the gerundive of the Latin original.

This theory that the inflected infinitive as subject in Anglo-Saxon is largely due to attraction, seems to me supported, if not confirmed, by what happened to the infinitive in New Testament Greek. In his Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek, Professor E. D. Burton devotes \$\$404-405 to "The Infinitive with $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ as Subject or Object." Here we read: "The Infinitive with $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ is used even as the subject of a finite verb or as the object of transitive verbs which regularly take a direct

This is a wide departure from classical usage, and indicates object. that the sense of the genitive character of the article $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ before the Infinitive was partly lost in later Greek. . . . The origin of this use of the Infinitive with $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ is (sic!) perhaps in such usages as appear in Luke 17:1; 1 Cor. 16:4; and still more in such as that in Luke 4:10. In Luke 17:1 the genitive is apparently suggested by the idea of hindering or avoiding in the adjective ἀνένδεκτον; in 1 Cor. 16:4 it is the adjective ἄξιον which gives occasion to the genitive; but in both cases the Infinitive seems to be logically the subject of the copulative verb, the adjective being the predicate. Whether this construction represents the thought in the mind of the writer, or whether the expression is rather to be regarded as an impersonal one, the Infinitive being dependent on the predicate adjective, cannot with confidence be de-Such usages as Luke 4:10 and 5:7 doubtless owe their origin to the same mental process by which a clause introduced by "va came to stand as the object of a verb of exhorting. Ps. Sol. 2:28 compared with Luke 12:45 is also suggestive. It is doubtless the idea of hindering in $\chi \rho o \nu i \xi \omega$ that gives rise to the genitive in the former passage; in the latter the Infinitive is a direct object."

Again, this explanation of the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive as subject seems to me supported by the fact that, in the Slavic languages, after verbs and verbal phrases that govern a dative, we frequently have a dative-with-infinitive instead of an accusative-with-infinitive construction: see Chapter IX and section ix of Chapter XVI.

The chief support of the theory, however, is to be found in the fact that, as we shall see in Chapter XVI, section i, the theory applies to the Germanic languages as a whole.

The foregoing attempt at differentiating the two forms of the infinitive as subject is, I believe, almost entirely my own. Of the influence of attraction upon the infinitive in New Testament Greek and in the Slavic languages, I did not become aware until after I had worked out the theory above given as to the subjective infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, while I was hunting for confirmation of that theory in the kindred Indo-Germanic languages. Dr. Van Draat, in his "The Infinitive with and without Preceding to," says nothing of the Anglo-Saxon period. Dr. Kellner, in his "Abwechselung und Tautologie," gives several examples of the interchange of uninflected and inflected infinitive in Middle English, which he believes due to a more or less conscious striving after variety, but he says nothing of the interchange in Anglo-Saxon. Professor C. A. Smith, in his Studies in English Syntax, pp. 41-42, has an interesting note on the interchange of simple and prepositional infinitive after auxiliaries in Shakespeare, in which he discusses the influence upon the infinitive of proximity to the chief verb, but he says nothing of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon or of the subjective infinitive in Shakespeare. Professor Einenkel, in his "Der Infinitiv im Mittelenglischen," p. 84, speaks of the confusion between a subjective infinitive and an infinitive dependent on an adjective in Middle English as follows: "Ist das infinitivische subject eines adjectivs von einem objectsnomen begleitet, so tritt in den meisten fällen eine kreuzung ein mit dem unter dem infinitiv des zweckes verzeichneten belege: he is good to see (love etc.), das heisst, das objectsnomen wird zum subject gemacht, während das frühere infinitivische subject eine function erhält, die einem gewöhnlichen zwecksinfinitiv zum verwechseln ähnelt;"

but he does not discuss the confusion in Anglo-Saxon. Professor Kenyon, in his The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer, pp. 49-50, quotes the preceding statement by Einenkel, and adds this interesting comment: "Einenkel does not here distinguish very clearly between the simple and prepositional infinitive, but his examples show that he has the latter in mind. My collections from O. E. [= A. S.] are not sufficient to test thoroughly his assumption that the prepositional infinitive as subject in this construction is the original syntax (or, what is equivalent, the simple infinitive, later replaced by the prepositional). But certain considerations seem to point to the zwecksinfinitiv as the original construction." Dr. Kenyon then details his reasons for his belief in the priority of the final use of the inflected infinitive with adjectives to the subjective use with verbal phrases, which are too long for quotation in full, but which may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) "The original function of the prepositional infinitive in O. E. was to denote purpose, and (according to Köhler, p. 47, § 10) it was so used first with nouns and adjectives." (2) The use of the uninflected infinitive as subject is rare in Beowulf and in Alfred. (3) The inflected infinitive with verb phrases is so often ambiguous in *Beowulf* and in Alfred that the number of examples in which the infinitive is clearly subjective is, Dr. Kenyon thinks, decidedly smaller than that of the examples in which the inflected infinitive is complementary to adjective or noun. I am not sure that the complete statistics given by me will enable one confidently to decide the question propounded by Dr. Kenyon. But my own belief is that the use of the inflected infinitive as subject of verbal phrases is probably contemporaneous with the use of the inflected infinitive as the complement of an adjective, for in each use it is found in the poetry and in the more original prose as well as in the translations and in the later prose. Moreover, while, as stated at the outset of Chapter I, the use of the infinitive is ambiguous in a number of examples, the number of ambiguous examples seems smaller to me than to Dr. Kenyon.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive is occasionally found as the subject of these active verbs:—

beon, be, plus an adjective. gebyrian, be fitting. gedafenian, be fitting.

gelimpan, happen. lystan, please.

As the examples quoted below show, the passive infinitive is made up of beon plus the past participle, and the infinitive part of the phrase is never inflected, although the participle part occasionally is.

The examples in full are:—beon, be, plus an adjective:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 438, 439: rihtlic is me swa besmitenre fram öinre clænan ungewemmednysse beon ascirod and fram aworpen.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.322^{t2}: selre & bi& anegede faran to heofonan rice, & Sonne mid twam eagum beon aworpen on ece susle. [Cf. Mat. 18.9^b: betere & ys mid anum eagan on life to ganne, & Sonne & si mid twam asend on helle fyr, = bonum tibi est cum uno oculo in vitam intrare, quam duos oculos habentem mitti in gehennam ignis.]

gebyrian, be fitting:

L. 13.16: ne gebyrede hyre beon unbunden of dissum bende on restedæge? = filiam . . . non oportuit solvi a vinculo isto die sabbati? — Ib. 17.25: Æryst him gebyred dæt he fela dinga dolige, and beon fram disse cneorysse aworpen = Primum autem oportet illum multa pati, et reprobari a generatione hac.

gedafenian, be fitting:

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 125: swa ${\mathfrak G}$ e eac ${\it gedafena}{\mathfrak G}$ to efstenne . . . and . . . ${\it beon}$ ${\it gecostnod}$.

gelimpan, happen:

Bede 382.13: Sa gelamp him . . . Surh reliquias . . . gehæledne beon = 280.3: contigit eum . . . per . . . reliquias sanari.

lystan, please:

Wærf. 287.14: Sa Suhte hire, Sæt hire lyste beon to Sam mægdenum gesteoded = 348 C: Quibus illa cum admisceri appeteret.

For the subjective infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section i.

NOTES.

1. The Subjective Infinitive in a Series. — In the following passages, quoted on the pages indicated, we have a series of infinitives in which the first is inflected, but the succeeding is not: $\mathcal{E}lf$. Hom. II. $318^{\text{m}}{}^{1,2}$, p. 16; $\mathcal{E}lf$. L. S. 240.30, 31, p. 16; ib. 308.30, 32, p. 17; ib. XXV. $144^{\text{a, b}}$, p. 15; Mk. $3.4^{\text{a, b, c}}$, p. 14; L. $11.42^{\text{a, b}}$, p. 15. In the following passages we have a series of infinitives in which each infinitive is inflected: — (1) with active verbs: Boeth. 139.29, 30; Greg. 151.8^{b} , $9^{\text{a, b}}$; ib. 203.17, 18; ib. 217.12 $^{\text{a, b}}$; Oros. $44.14^{\text{a, b}}$; Solil. $32.16^{\text{a, b}}$; ib. 59.33 $^{\text{a, b}}$; Wxrf. 334.22, 23; $Sigmath{Bened}$. 10.3 $^{\text{a, b}}$; $Sigmath{E}lf$. Hom. I. $362^{\text{b 1, 2}}$; II. $444^{\text{b 1, 2}}$; $Sigmath{E}lf$. L. S. XXIII B. $228^{\text{a, b}}$; Wulf. 211.24 $^{\text{a, b}}$; ib. 241.21 $^{\text{a, b}}$; Minor Prose: Cato $63^{\text{a, b}}$; Poems: Ps. 117.8 $^{\text{a, b}}$; ib. 117.9 $^{\text{a, b}}$; — (2) with passive verbs: $Sigmath{Bullet}$. 227.12 $^{\text{a, b}}$, 13; ib. 285.12, 13. — It seems useless to give the series in which each infinitive is uninflected.

2. The Infinitive Occasionally Alternates with a Clause, as in Oros. 106.24, quoted on p. 16 above; Ælf. Hom. I. 164^t, quoted on p. 8; Mat. 19.24, quoted on p. 11; and L. 17.25 (passive infinitive), quoted on p. 27. Dr. Kellner, in his "Abwechselung und Tautologie," p. 6, cites the passage from Orosius (but not the others), and seems to consider it an example of conscious variation for the sake of variety, and it may be; but to me the variation in each of

the examples that I here cite seems due to chance rather than to conscious art.

3. The Infinitive Alternates with a Noun in Wulf. 196.7 (Sas lyfta and windas he astyrast to San swide, Sæt mannum Sinch heora dead leofra, Sonne Sone egesan to gehyranne) and in Bl. Hom. 137.15 (quoted on p. 19).

CHAPTER II.

THE OBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

The active infinitive as the Object of an active verb occurs about 3238 times. The objective infinitive is more commonly uninflected than inflected, there being 2709 examples of the former to 529 of the latter. Of the total of 3238 examples of the objective infinitive, about 508 occur in the poetry, of which 491 examples are uninflected and 17 are inflected. As to the prose, the objective use of the infinitive is found in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, in the more original prose as well as in the translations from the Latin.

The objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, normally follows the finite verb, but in each form occasionally precedes it, both in prose and in poetry. With the uninflected infinitive, pre-position is found nearly 150 times in the prose out of a total of 2216 and about 115 times in the poems out of a total of 491. In the prose, pre-position is not infrequently due to the fact that in the Latin original the infinitive precedes the finite verb, as in Bede 412.26 (he δa his geferum . . . brytian gemde = 298.25: prodesse curabat) and ib. 426.3 (ic oft sæcgan herde = 305.16: de . . . tormentibus . . . narrari . . . audivi); occasionally to the fact that the infinitive occurs in a dependent clause, as in Ælf. L. S. 286.62 (Sonne we bec rædað oð $\delta rædan gehyrað$) and ib. 502.255 (Sa halgan Se he ealre worulde . . . onwreon gemynte). But neither of these two influences is strong enough to counteract the general tendency to postposition, which is frequently found under such conditions, as in Werf. 207.4 (se bera . . . , Sone he gewunode for bilewitnesse brosor $cigan = 252 \text{ C}^4$: vocareconsueverat) and ib. 84.18 (he organ . . . weopan = 209 A⁵: flere . . . capit). In the poetry, pre-position is relatively more frequent than in the prose, and seems to be due in many cases to the exigencies of meter, the infinitive often carrying the alliterating letter, as in Beow. 3095 (worn eall gespræc gomol on gehoo and eowic gretan het) and in Gen. 1856 (or wat he lædan heht leoflic wif to his selfes sele). No doubt, at times, both in poetry and in prose, pre-position is used merely for the sake of variety.

The following is a complete list of the passages in which pre-position of the uninflected infinitive occurs, arranged in alphabetic sequence of the governing verb, which is here cited in the infinitive form: — aginnan: Laws 310, II Cnut, c. 4; — bebeodan [bi-]: Ju. 232; — don: Ælf. L. S. 214.90; — gehieran [-e-, -i-, -y-]: Wærf. 186.1; Ælf. Hom. II. 350^t, 460^t; Ælf. Hept.: Pref. to Gen. 22.10; Judges: Epilogue, p. 265, l. 6; Ælf. L. S. 286.62, 500.225, XXIII B. 215; Læce. 153.9; Ps. 131.6; — gemed(e)mian: Laws 410, Judic. Dei, IV, c. 3, \$ 2; ib. \$ 4; — gemyntan: Ælf. L. S. 502.255; — geseon: Ælf. Hom. II. 186^t; — geswican: L. 5.4; — gieman [-e-, -y-]: Bede 364.1, 412.26, 442.2; — hatan: Bede 238.27, 308.14; Greg. 3.2; Oros. 44.8, 96.18, 114.33, 122.1, 164.32, 168.27, 228.8^a; Chron. 91^m, 897 A^c; Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, \$ 9^a; Bened. 15.8, 86.15; Mart. 24.27, 46.25, 152.21, 218.23; Ælf. Hom. I. 442^t, 470^t, 478^t, 484^t, 508^b; II. 122^b, 304^b, 384^t, 384^t, 480^m; Ælf. L. S. 114.420, 154.112, 190.365, 414.6, 484.194, XXV. 130, 380; Minor Prose: Nic. 514.14; Beow. 674, 3095; Gen.

1060, 1856; Dan. 229; El. 129, 862; Ju. 161, 254, 303, 575, 579; Gu. 1344, 1348; And. 587; Ps. 50.18^a; H. L. 12; S. & S. 275; — hieran [-e-, -i-, -y-]: Bede 348.26, 426.3, 430.12; Oros. 156.9, 286.7; Chron. 64^b, 851 A; Wærf. 2.16; Minor Prose: Cato, Zusätze, p. 53, l. 21; Beow. 273, 582, 875; Chr. 73; And. 1176; Höl. 83; — lætan: Oros. 258.18, 19; 296.29; Bened. 110.19; Wulf. 45.25; — myntan: Bl. Hom. 223.11, 16; A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 13.167, 251; — onginnan: Bede 24.23, 34.19, 56.1, 56.16, 148.30, 154.34, 174.12, 182.8, 256.24, 286.22, 288.10, 362.29, 454.15, 462.17, 466.22; Boeth. 25.9, 91.2, 104.31; Oros. 60.30, 62.2, 94.34, 106.6, 110.6, 116.28, 218.14, 262.16; Laws 306, I Cnut, c. 26, § 1; Wærf. 14.14, 32.18, 290.7; Bl. Hom. 105.6, 221.8, 18; Pr. Gu. IV. 27, 34; XX. 33; Ælf. Hom. II. 138^b, 472^b, 502^b ², 518^t ²; Ælf. L. S. 32.118, XXIII B. 275, 532, 723, XXXI. 1365; A. S. Hom. and L. S. II. 18.152; Wulf. 191.9, 250.17, 255.9, 262.11; Minor Prose: Apol. 27.12b, 28; Beow. 244; Gen. 275, 298, 995, 1355, 1681, 2811, 2887; Dan. 49, 170, 190, 539, 750; Ju. 298; El. 157, 303, 306, 311, 570, 697, 849, 1067, 1163; Gu. 533; And. 1419; Met. 25.69, 26.80; Ps. 68.27, 76.10. 77.2, 101.6, 106.36, 118.161, 138.16; Rid. 29.11, 32.9, 55.10; Jud. 42, 81; Ph. 188; Minor Poems: Cal. 73; Doomsday 97; D. R. 73, 116; Fallen Angels 78; Har. 279; Pharao 3; Prayers III. 16; — secan: Bl. Hom. 167.2; Wald. A. 18, 20; — tilian: Bl. Hom. 165.31a, b; Met. 10.22, 11.79; — Sencan: Bede 36.8; Boeth. 93.31, 103.20; Greg. 343.21; Oros. 44.32, 54.21, 78.30, 132.12, 150.12, 200.17, 230.2, 242.6, 258.15, 258.29; Warf. 239.6; Bened. 23.3; Minor Prose: Bened. Of.: 62.24; Beow. 355, 448, 541, 739, 800, 964, 1535; Gen. 1274, 2891; Ex. 51; Ju. 637; El. 296; Gu. 260, 274, 277, 298; And. 150, 693; Ps. 63.3, 88.22, 88.30, 93.20°, 107.8, 118.91, 118.107, 118.109, 131.15, 149.7°, 149.8°; Charms V, C, 16, 17; D. R. 121; Fallen Angels 183, 208, 364; Gnomic Sayings (Exeter MS.) 116; L. P. II. 25; Maldon 258, 316, 319.

Pre-position of the inflected infinitive is found only about half a dozen times, all in prose: Bede 258.8: Ond he rehte endebyrdnesse lifes æteawde, 7 rihte Eastran to weordianne $l \alpha r de = 204.20$: rectum uiuendi ordinem, ritum celebrandi paschae canonicum . . . disseminabat; Laws 102, Ine B, c. 30: Gif man cyrliscne mannan flymanfeormienne teo, be his agenon were geladige [he] hine; Ælf. L. S. 530.704: on Sam fyrmestan dagan Se decius se casere to rixianne begann; Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 16.23: gearwiad to morgen, det ge to gearwienne $habbon = quae \ coquenda \ sunt, \ coquite; Mat. 20.22: Mage gyt drincan Sone$ calic de ic to drincenne hæbbe? = Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum? Læce. 58.27: æfter dam spiwad, sona him to gifanne biddad. In some of the foregoing examples (Bede 258.8 and Ex. 16.23) the pre-position of the infinitive is probably due to the fact that its Latin equivalent precedes the finite verb; in some (Ælf. L. S. 530.704), to the fact that the infinitive occurs in a dependent clause; but, as a rule, neither of these two influences overthrows the normal postposition, as is evident from sentences like the following, which are not infrequent: Bede 372.12: Su wast Set ic . . . teolode to liftgenne to . . . bebode = 275.1: ad . . . imperium . . . uiuere studui; Ælf. L. S. XXV. 36: mete, be moyses forbead godes folce to bicgenne.

I have given the full lists of the pre-positive infinitives because it has been claimed by some that pre-position strongly tends to the use of the uninflected infinitive, and postposition to the use of the inflected form, but, as it seems to me, without much ground for the claim: see the section on the differentiation of the two objective infinitives, especially of the infinitive after *dencan*.

The objective infinitive that is active in form, whether uninflected or inflected, seems to me prevailingly, if not exclusively, active in sense. Some, however, hold that the uninflected infinitive, though active in form, is passive

¹ Among them are Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, pp. 61-63; Wilhelm, *l. c.*, p. 36; Jolly, *l. c.*, pp. 163-164; Bernhardt, ¹ *l. c.*, pp. 383-384; Steig, *l. c.*, p. 311; Wülfing, ² *l. c.*, II, pp. 47, 189, 191; Zeitlin, ¹ *l. c.*, pp. 44-45; K. Köhler, *l. c.*, p. 7; Kellner, ¹ *l. c.*, pp. 85, 97; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, pp. 163-167. On the whole, these scholars contend that the infinitive after the verbs named is not necessarily but preferably to be considered passive in sense.

in sense, after verbs of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception, in sentences like the following: Beow. 1920: Het da up beran ædelinga gestreon; Bede 344.21, 22: him ondweardum het secgan væt swefn 7 væt leov singan = 260.17^{a, b}: iussus est . . . indicare somnium et dicere carmen; —And. 397: Læt nu geferian flotan userne, lid to lande; Boeth. 133.25: sume he læt Freagan mid heardum broce = 113.142: quosdam remordet, ne longa felicitate luxurient: alios duris agitari, ut uirtutes animi patientiae . . . confirment; Ælf. L. S. 512.417: se . . . man let vær ræran . . . cytan; — Bl. Hom. 15.28: we nu gehyrdon dis . . . godspell beforan us rædan; Chron. 199^t, 1066 E: Đa de cyng W. geherde det seegen. The advocates of the passive interpretation hold, of course, that the accusative case in the above examples is the subject of the infinitive, while their opponents 1 consider it the object of the infinitive. favor of the passive interpretation of the infinitive are these facts: that, as the examples in this chapter show, very frequently the Anglo-Saxon infinitive active in form, with or without an accompanying accusative, translates a Latin passive infinitive (with or without an accusative subject) and not infrequently a passive indicative; and that, in most if not all such instances of the infinitive after these verbs in Anglo-Saxon, the infinitive, though active in form, may in modern English be appropriately rendered by the passive infinitive, and the accusative rendered as the subject instead of the object, — a rendition likewise possible in most of the Germanic languages. But, despite this, I must hold that, to the Anglo-Saxon, the infinitive in this idiom habitually seemed active in sense as in form. As we shall see later, for the infinitive that is passive in form as well as in sense, in nearly all its uses, the Anglo-Saxon at first had next to no feeling, and was very slow in borrowing it from the Latin. The same thing is true of the Germanic people as a whole, as will be shown in Chapter XVI. Again, in a very large number of instances the Anglo-Saxon active infinitive after these verbs translates a Latin accusative and predicative active infinitive or a Latin active finite verb. In hundreds of passages, in the poems, in the more original prose, and in the translations, we find these verbs followed by an accusative subject to an infinitive that has at the same time an accusative object, — a fact that proves that there at least the infinitive is of necessity active in sense. Of less weight, but worthy of consideration is the fact that, in the alleged instances of the active infinitive used in a passive sense, very often (except with pronouns) the accusative has postposition—the place for the object accusative — rather than pre-position, as is usual with the subjective accusative. Noteworthy, too, is the survival, in the colloquial "I never heard tell of such a thing," of this objective infinitive active in English, and its very frequent use, both in speech and in writing, in modern German. In a word, the possibility of the passive interpretation of these infinitives is not denied; but it is contended that the active interpretation is more consonant with all the facts so far discovered as to the infinitive, and is truer to the genius of Anglo-Saxon and of the Germanic languages in general.

At times it is difficult to decide whether an infinitive is objective or whether it is adverbial or, occasionally, adjectival. These doubtful cases are indicated

¹ Among these may be mentioned: Erdmann, ¹ l. c., I, pp. 200, 205; Denecke, l. c., pp. 5-6; Wunderlich, ¹ l. c., p. 125; and Smith, ² C. A., who, p. 72, writes: "Het da bære settan, 'He bade set down the bier,' not 'He commanded the bier to be set down.' The Mn. E. passive in such sentences is a loss both in force and in directness."

in the examples, and can not easily be grouped here for collective treatment. Students and critics of my study will generously bear in mind the inherent difficulty of the subject itself, a difficulty enhanced in the present instance by the large mass of examples to be considered and by the fact that many previous investigators, in both the Anglo-Saxon and in the Germanic fields, have not sought to separate the objective infinitives from the adverbial uses in the narrower sense of the latter term.

- I. The uninflected infinitive only is found as the object of the following groups of verbs:—
- 1. Oftenest with certain Verbs of Commanding and the like, of which group the chief representative is hatan, 'command,' 'order.' The complete list is as follows:

abiddan, bid, command, which occurs only hatan, command, order, which occurs over a thousand times.

2. Next most frequently with certain Verbs of Causing and Permitting, of which the chief representative is lætan, 'allow,' 'cause':

don, do, cause.

lætan, allow, cause.

forgiefan, grant, allow.

3. Less frequently with the following Verbs of Sense Perception:

gehieran, hear.

ofseon, see.

geseon, see. hieran, hear. seon, see.

4. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Mental Perception:

gefrignan, learn by inquiry. gehogian, think, intend. geteon, determine.

hogian, think, intend. tweogan [tweon], doubt.

5. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing:

blinnan, cease, stop. forieldan, delay, defer. ginnan, begin.

6. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Inclination and of Will:

behealdan, take care.

cunnian, attempt.

forefon, presume, undertake. ge-eaomodigan, deign, vouchsafe. gegiernian, desire.

geöyrstigan, presume, undertake. lystan, desire, yearn.

onmedan, presume, undertake.

wunian, use, be wont.

The following are typical examples:—

1. Verbs of Commanding etc.:—

abiddan, bid, command:

Ælf. Hom. II. 422^b 3: se apostol abæd him wæter beran.

hatan, command, order:

Beow. 199: Het him yölidan godne gegyrwan. — Ib. 674: gehealdan het hildegeatwe.

Gen. 1856: oð ðæt he lædan heht leoflice wif to his selfes sele.

Dan. 242: het hie hrade bærnan.

Chr. 253: Sa gyldnan geatu . . . hat ontynan.

El. 104: Heht . . . Constantinus Cristes rode gewyrcan.

Ju. 142^{a, b}, 143: het hi da swingan, susle dreagan, witum wægan.

Gu. 1344: de secgan het, det etc.

And. 1272: Heton ut hræðe æðeling lædan in wraðra geweald.

Bede 36.3°, b: Het hine da teon 7 lædan to dam deofolgyldum = 19.6: eum iussit pertrahi. — Ib. 40.18: het da sona blinnan fram ehtnysse cristenra manna = 21.21: cessari mox a persecutione praecepit. — Ib. 44.8: dam dice . . ., de we gemynegodon dæt Seuerus . . . het dwyrs ofer dæt ealond gedician = 25.10: intra uallum, quod Seuerum . . . fecisse commemorauimus. — Ib. 46.5°, der Seuerus . . . iu het dician 7 eordweall gewyrcan = 27.19: ubi Seuerus quondam uallum fecerat. — Ib. 90.20: se cyning weordlice cyrcan heht getimbran = 70.20: eius hortatu Aedelberct ecclesiam . . . construxit. — Ib. 110.12: gesetennisse . . . heht on Englisc gewritan = 90.12: quae conscripta Anglorum sermone . . . habentur. — Ib. 136.12: Da het se cyning swa don = 112.25: Quod cum iubente rege faceret. — Ib. 166.28: Da het se papa hine to biscope gehalgian = 139.16: in episcopatus consecratus est gradum. — Ib. 440.2°: heht me beran to rædanne = 312.16°: iussit uni . . . mihi ad legendum deferre.

Boeth. 37.8^{a, b}: Sa het he hi bindan 7 on balcan lecgan = 41.35: Regulus plures . . . in uincla coniecerat. — Ib. 39.19: Se het . . . forbærnan æalle

Romeburg = 43.2^{a} : urbe flammata.

Greg. 3.1: Ælfred kyning hateð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice & freondlice = 0.

Oros. 44.8: ærendracan . . . asende to være veode, 7 him untweogendlice secgan het væt etc. = 45.6: missis . . . legatis, qui . . . dicerent. — Ib. 52.24 a. b: hu se cyning het his sunu ofslean, 7 hiene sivvan væm fæder to mete gegierwan = 53.19: cum filium ejus interfecit, epulandumque patri adposuit. — Ib. 120.33: væt se æveling, . . . Pontius , het acsian vone cyning his fæder, . . . hwæver etc. = 121.26: Pontius ut Herennium patrem consulendum putaret, utrum etc. — Ib. 288.12: he het ofsean Percopiosus = 289.8: Procopium . . . occidit.

Chron. 25^m, 626 E^a: δ ær he ær het getimbrian cyrican of treowe. — Ib. 91^m,

897 Ac: he hie vær ahon het.

Laws 182, VI Æthelstan, c. 12, § 1: væt se cyng . . . het cyðan vam arcebiscope.

Wærf. 50.29, 30: Sa heht he Sa gesomnian 7 don on bydene = 185 A: eas colligi præcepit. — Ib. 202.7: heom Sa sona het syllan Sa andlyfne = 245 C¹: Quibus illico alimenta quæ detulerat præbuit.

Bened. 86.15: Gif hit . . . se abbod underfon hate = 154.17: Quod si jusserit suscipi.

Bl. Hom. 175.1: Sa heht he Simon Sone dry infeccan.

Mart. 26.3: he het hine mid strælum ofscotian.

Ælf. Hom. I. 58^{b} : se het afyllan ane cyfe mid weallendum ele. — Ib. I. 464^{b} : Da het se apostol tolysan da rapas.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 448: het abrecan done weall. — Ib. XXXII. 122: het hine da beheafdian.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 40.19: hæt Pharao & ahon = Pharao suspendet te. — Gen. 41.10: het sceofan me . . . on cweartern = me retrudi jussit in carcerem. — Jos. 2.1: het sceawian & land = dixit eis: Ite et considerate terram.

Gosp.: Mat. 27.58: Da het Pilatus agyfan him Sone lichaman = Tunc Pilatus jussit reddi corpus. — L. 8.55°: he het hyre syllan etan = jussit illi dari manducare.

Wulf. 99.8: Sa het æt nyhstan se casere feccan Sæne Symon to him. — Ib. 237.1: hy heton byrigean Sone godan lichaman.

Læce. 88.7: Dis eal het dus secgean ælfrede cyninge.

2. Verbs of Causing and Permitting: -

don, cause, make:

Ælf. L. S. 214.90: gif ou me unwilles gewemman nu dest (or accusative and infinitive?).

Ps. 118.25: do me æfter vinum wordum wel gecwician (or accusative and infinitive?).

forgiefan, grant, allow:

Bede 486.4: ic 5e bidde, duguða Hælend, 5æt 5u me milde forgife swetlice drincan 5a word 5ines wisdomes = 360.4: Teque deprecor . . . ut cui propitius donasti uerba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam etc. [The infinitive may be final, but is more probably objective: see Chapter XI for examples of drincan in final use after verbs of giving.]

lætan, allow, cause:

Ps. 103. 13: Swylce ou of foldan fodder neatum lætest alædan.

Whale 65: læteð hine beswican durh swetne stenc, leasne willan, dæt he bid leahtrum fah wid wuldercyning.

Boeth. 38.12: Dæt gecynd nyle næfre nanwuht widerweardes lætan gemengan = 42.53: agit enim cuiusque rei natura quod proprium est nec contrarium rerum miscetur effectibus.

Greg. 229.1: hie lætað gebindan = 172.16: capiuntur. — Ib. 349.12: fer ærest æfter him; læt inc geseman ær du din lac bringe = 270.3: vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo.

Oros. 258.18, 19: he væt folc costigan let . . ., va he hie fordon ne let = 0. — Ib. 296.29: va va he hiora misdæda wrecan let = 297.27: ultima illa Urbem poena consequitur.

Chron. 37^t, 675 E^b: Sa leot he rædon Sa gewrite. — Ib. 115^b, 963 E^s: se biscop . . . leot macen Sone mynstre. — Ib. 157^b, 1023 C^b: he let ferian . . . Ælfeges reliquias.

Wærf. 341.36: gif hi letað hi selfe bebyrgan on haligre stowe = 416 B: si in

sacro loco sepeliri se faciant.

Bened. 110.19: hine gehadian late = 0.

Bl. Hom. 13.9: Jonne ne læteð he us no costian ofer gemet.

Ælf. Hom. I. 150^b: we sceolon . . . lætan hi ðær bletsian.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 12.23: he . . . ne læt slean nanne mann on eowrum husum = non sinet percussorem ingredi domos vestros et lædere. — Deut. 32.39: ic ofslea and ic læte libban = occidam et ego vivere faciam. — Judges 16.18: heo let da swa [fetian Philistea ealdreas] = Misitque illa ad principes Philisthinorum ac mandavit.

Mat. 5.45: he læt rinan ofer da rihtwisan and ofer da unrihtwisan = et pluit super justos et injustos.—Ib. 27.26°: done Hælynd he let swingan = Jesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis.

Wulf. 125.13: ne læt du us costnian ealles to swyde.

Læce. 138.2, 3^{a, b, c}, 4: læt niman ænne greatne cwurnstan 7 hætan hine 7 lecgan hine under Sone man 7 niman wælwyrt . . . 7 lecgan uppan Sone stan.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception: — gehieran, hear:

El. 661: We . . . Sis næfre Surh . . . mannes muð gehyrdon hæleðum $cy \sigma an$ butan her nu.

Gu. 1095: swa he ær ne sið . . . lare gehyrde ne swa deoplice drihtnes geryne gehyrde . . . muð gehyrde ne swa deoplice drihtnes geryne

Ps. 131.6: Efne we das eall on Eufraten sæcgean gehyrdon.

Bede 330.17: men va ve vas ving gehyrdon secgan = 252.4: Multique haec . . . audientes, accensi sunt in fide.

Boeth. 98.26: δu geherdest oft reccan on . . . spellum = 84.64: Accepisti . . . in fabulis. — Ib. 142.26: we gehera hwilum secgan δa t etc. = 0.

Greg. 427.17: ac Jonne hi hit heriad, Jonne lærad hi hit ælcne Jara de hit gehierd herian = 350.22: quot audientium mentes iniqua laudantes docent.

Solil. 50.6: we gehyrað reden (sic!) on δ am godspelle δ æt Crist cwæde = 0. [Professor Hargrove considers reden a past participle, but I take it to be an infinitive.]

Pr. Ps. 41.3: Sonne ic gehyrde to me cwesan = 41.4: dum dicitur mihi.

Wærf. 11.17: wæs gewuna, ðæt man hwilum ymb fisc gehyrde sprecan = 153 D: pisces audiri consueverant, non videri. — Ib. 186.1: swa swa he ær secgan gehyrde = 225 C: sed probare studuit quod audivit. — Ib. 338.1^b: he . . . gehyrde eft cweðan to him on andsware = 408 A³: responsum protinus audivit, dicens.

Pr. Gu. IV. 2: swa swa ic $gehyrde\ secgan = sicut \dots audivi$.

Ælf. Hom. I. 284t: Đonne &u gehyrst nemnan &one Fæder.

Ælf. L. S. 286.62: Sonne we bec rædað oð e rædan gehyrað. — Ib. XXXI. 694: Sa gehyrdon hi motian wið martine lange.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 42.1: Đa gehirde Iacob secgan, væt etc. = Audiens autem Iacob, quod etc. — Ex. 19.13: Đonne ge gehiron mid vam byman blawan = cum coeperit clangere buccina.

L. 19.48: eall folc was abysgod be him $gehyrde\ secgan = populus\ suspensus\ erat,\ audiens\ illum.$

Wulf. 250.15: we gehyrdon oft sæcgan be dam . . . tocyme ures drihtnes. Læce. 153.9: dæs de we secgan gehyrdan.

geseon, see:

Beow. 231: Da . . . geseah weard Scildinga . . . beran . . . beorhte randas. — Ib. 1024: maððumsweord manige gesawon beforan beorn beran.

Greg. 49.25: se δ e wolde δ æt hine mon sende, he geseah ær hine clænsian δ urh δ a colu δ æs alteres = 26.28: is, qui mitti voluit, ante per altaris calculum se purgatum vidit.

Oros. 138.26: Sa hie gesawan Sa deadan men swa Siclice to eorSan beran = 0. Wærf. 273.20: hi gesawon sumes . . . Seowes sawle beran upp to heofonum = 33 A³: cujusdam servi Dei . . . ad coelum ferri animam viderunt.

Ælf. Hom. II. 184^{m} : geseah . . . sawle lædan to heofenan.

Ælf. L. S. 112.399: Da geseah se arleasa aidlian his smeagunge.

L. 12.55: Sonne ge geseo \Im su \Im an blawan, ge secga \Im = quum videritis . . . austrum flantem, dicitis.

hieran, hear:

Beow. 273: swa we soblice secgan hyrdon, bet etc. — Ib. 38: ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan.

Chr. 73: 8 se sefre sundbuend secgan hyrdon.

El. 671: we $\delta x t hyrdon \delta urh halige bec hæle<math>\delta um cy \delta an$.

And. 1176: Sone ic Andreas nemnan herde.

Bede 190.7: Sone hlisan . . . herde secgan = 152.18: rumorem . . . percrebuisse ferebat. — Ib. 430.12: be Sam ic oft sæcgan herde = 307.26: de quo praedicari saepius audiui.

Oros. 138.18: ic hierde to so 50 um 50 section = 139.18: ut sæpe dictum est. — Ib. 286.7: swa we hit eft 50 section = 287.7: sicut a majoribus nostris 50 pertum habemus.

Chron. 64^b, 851 A: wæl . . . de we secgan hierdon od disne . . . dæg.

Wærf. 2.16: cyninga δ ara δ e he si δ o δ δ e ær fore secgan hyrde = 0.

ofseon, see:

Ælf. Hom. II. 184^b: of seah . . . lædan . . . sawle to heofenum.

seon, see:

Rid. 14.1: Ic seah turf tredan. — Ib. 53.1: Ic seah ræpingas in ræced fergan under hrof sales hearde twegen.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception: —

gefrignan, learn by inquiry:

Beow. 74: ic wide gefrægn weorc gebannan manigre mægðe geond ðisne middangeard.

And. 1094: Da ic lungre gefrægn leode tosomne burgwaru bannan.

gehogian, think, intend:

Beow. 1989: Sa Su . . . gehogodest sæcce secean.

geteon, determine:

Bede 332.9: Gode anum geteode $\mathcal{S}eowigan = 253.1$: illi soli seruire decreuisset. hogian, think, intend:

Gen. 691, 692^{a, b}: leode hogode on væt micle morv men forweorpan, forlæran, 7 forlædan.

Jud. 274: Hogedon & eorlas awecc[an] h[i]ra win[e]dryhten.

Solil. 35.19: Sæt Sær ofer by Sic hohgie (sic!) swa ændebyrdlice gedelan swa ic . . . mæg = mihi . . . persuasit, nullo modo appetendas esse divitias, sed si provenerint, sapientissime atque cautissime administrandas.

Ælf. L. S. XXXVI. 363: Mid dam de ic hogode helpan dinum wife.

tweogan [tweon], doubt:

Bede 308.26: deað, ðurh ðone heo ne tweodon ferende beon to ðam ecan rice = 238.7: per quam se ad uitam . . . perpetuam non dubitabant esse transituros.

5. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

blinnan, cease, stop:

Bede 44.2: Romane blunnun ricsian on Breotene = 25.7: regnare cessarunt.

— Ib. 338.16, 17^{a, b}: heo næfre blon . . . Soncunge don, ge . . . heorde . . .

monian 7 læran = 256.19, 20: numquam . . . gratias agere uel . . . gregem . . . docere praetermittebat. — Ib. 474.9^{a, b}: he ne blinnes mærsian 7 weorsian = 347.32: celebrare . . . non desinit.

forieldan [-ældan], delay, defer:

Bede 440.19: Sa hreowe Sa he . . . forælde doan (sic!) = 313.2: facere supersedit.

ginnan, begin:

Bede 60.23: Sa gunnon heo Sæt . . . lif . . . onhyrgan = 46.32: coeperunt . . uitam imitari.

6. Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

behealdan, take care:

Ex. 110: syllic æfter sunnan setlrade beheold ofer leodwerum lige scinan, byrnende beam.

cunnian, attempt:

Ælf. Hom. I. 450^b: uton cunnian, gif we magon, ŏone reŏan wiŏersacan on his geancyrre gegladian.

forefon, presume, undertake:

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 4: gif hwoelc synnig... gistidia fore-fenge uel hond gisende (sic!) = si quis culpabilis... indurato presumpserit manum mittere.

ge-eaomodi(g)an, deign, vouchsafe:

Bede 98.28: öæt he [= God] ge-eaðmodige us togetacnian (sic!) . . . hwelc gesetenes to fylgenne sy = 81.30: ut ipse nobis insinuare . . . dignetur, quae etc. gegiernian (-gyrn-), desire:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 497: ic gegyrnode &a . . . rode geseon.

geőyrsti(g)an, presume, undertake:

Bede 70.16: se de gedyrstigad onwreon da sceondlichesse his steopmeder = 51.8: reuelare praesumserit. — Ib. 78.33° : ne gedyrstgad onfon = 56.10° : percipere non praesumit.

lystan, desire, yearn:

Wærf. 45.22: manige men hine geornlice lystan [MS. H.: lyston] geseon = 180 B¹: multi hunc . . . anxie videre sitiebant.

onmedan, presume, undertake:

Rid. 56.16: Nu me gieddes disses ondsware ywe, se hine onmede wordum secgan hu se wudu hatte.

wunian, use, be wont:

Bede 230.23: mæn wunedon wildeorlice lifigan = 175.9: homines bestialiter uiuere consuerant.

The following is a complete alphabetic list of verbs having only the uninflected infinitive as object:—

abiddan, bid, command.
behealdan, take care.
blinnan, cease.
cunnian, attempt.
don, do, cause.
forefon, presume, undertake.
forgiefan, grant, allow.
forieldan, delay, defer.
ge-eadmodi(g)an, deign, vouchsafe.
gefrignan, learn by inquiry.
gegiernian, desire.
gehieran, hear.
gehogian, think, intend.
geseon, see.

geteon, determine.
geöyrsti(g)an, presume, undertake.
ginnan, begin.
hatan, command.
hieran, hear.
hogian, think, intend.
lætan, allow, cause.
lystan, desire, yearn.
ofseon, see.
onmedan, presume, undertake.
seon, see.
tweogan [tweon], doubt.
wunian, use, be wont.

- II. The inflected infinitive only is found as the object with the following groups of verbs:—
 - 1. Very rarely with this Verb of Commanding:

gedihtan, direct, order.

2. Occasionally with the following Verbs of Permitting: —

liefan, allow.

lofian, praise, but here = allow (?).

3. With the following Verbs of Mental Perception: —

æteowan, show.
anbidian, expect.
aoencan, intend.
behatan, promise.
bodian, preach.
cyoan [and beodan], make known.
geceosan, choose.
gehyhtan, hope.
geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe.
geswutelian [-eot-], show, explain.
geteohhian, think, determine.
geoencan, think, strive for (?).
læran, teach.

mynnan, direct one's course to, intend.
ongietan, understand.
sirwan, plot.
smeagan [smean], think upon, meditate.
tacan, take (to).
tæcan, teach.
tellan, account, consider.
teohhian [tih-, tioh-], think, determine.
beahti(g)an, think upon, meditate.
understandan, understand.
weddian, contract, agree.
witan [nytan], know [know not].

4. With the following Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

anforlætan, abandon.
elcian, delay.

forwiernan, prevent from, prohibit.

gælan, hinder from.

gefon, attempt, undertake.

ieldan, delay.
onfon, undertake, begin.
underfon, undertake.
wiernan, desist from.

5. With the following Verbs of Inclination and of Will:—

adrædan, fear.
andracian, fear.
beoti(g)an, threaten.
fleon, shun.
forgieman, neglect.
forgiemeleasian, neglect.
forsacan, refuse.
forseon, despise.

gedyrstlæcan, presume, dare. getilian, strive for, attempt.

giernan, desire, yearn for.

higian, strive for, be intent on.
murnan, care for, lament.
oferhogian [and forgieman], despise.
onscunian, shun, fear.
reccan, care for.
swerian, swear.
teon, accuse.
wandian, hesitate, be neglectful of.
warenian, shun.
wiocweoan, refuse.
wiosacan, refuse.

6. With habban, have.

The following are typical examples: —

1. Verbs of Commanding: —

gedihtan, direct, order:

Wulf. 10.10: 5æt wæs 5æt an scyp, 5e godd sylf gedihte Noe to wyrcanne (or final?).

2. Verbs of Permitting: —

liefan [-e-, -y-], allow:

Greg. 451.29: Be væm cwæð . . . Paulus . . ., va va he sumum liefde to vicgganne vætte he nolde væt hi ealle vigden = 382.10: 0.

Mat. 19.8: Moyses for eower heortan heardnesse lyfde eow eower wif to

forlætenne = Quoniam Moyses ad duritiam cordis vestri permisit vobis dimittere uxores vestras.

Wulf. 174.7: is mæst dearf, dæt man fram unrihte gebuge to rihte, . . . dæt he æfre life ænigan men dis fæsten to abrecenne.

lofian in the sense of allow (?):

Chron. 185^b, 1054 D: he lofode Leofwine biscope to halgianne öæt mynster æt Eofeshamme.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception: —

æteowan, show:

Bl. Hom. 169.9: hwylc æteowde eow to fleonne fram oon toweardan Godes erre? anbidian, expect:

Laws 438, Excom. VII, c. 2, § 3: geniðrode ða men, . . . ðe ðær ænig dæl habbað oððe . . . get anbidiað to habbanne.

adencan, intend:

Beow. 2644: Seah Se hlaford us Sis ellenweorc ana aSohte to gefremmanne. behatan, promise:

Chron. 226^t, 1091 E: Se cyng him ongean 3a manige behet . . . gebygle to donne. — Ib. 236^t, 1100 E^{b. c}: he . . . eallan folce behet ealle 3a unriht to aleggenne . . . 7 3a betstan lage to healdene.

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 10.11: lande, & ic behet hira fæderum to syllanne = quam juravi patribus eorum ut traderem eis.

Gosp.: Mat. 14.7: Da behet he mid abe hyre to syllenne swa hwæt swa heo hyne bæde = Unde cum juramento pollicitus est ei dare quodcumque postulasset ab eo. — Mk. 14.11: beheton him feoh to syllanne = promiserunt ei pecuniam se daturos.

Wulf. 172.14: is mæst dearf, dæt man . . . gelæste eall, dæt man behate on godes est to donne.

bodian, preach:

Ælf. Hom. II. 344^b: Boda nu eallum mannum dædbote to donne, and andetnysse to sacerdum (or the infinitive may modify the noun, dædbote?).

cyðan, make known:

Laws 483, Wilhelm I, Prol.: Wilhelm cyng gret ealle da de dys gewrit to cymd . . . freondlice 7 beot 7 eac cyd . . . to healdenne (or final?).

geceosan, choose: Ælf. L. S. 200.73: Su cwyst Sæt Su gecure Sa tingregu to Srowigenne. gehyhtan, hope:

Bede 164.21: væt he æt him geleornade, væt he va uplican ricu gehyhte heofona to onfonne = 138.1: regna caelorum sperare didicit.

geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe:

Bede $330.25^{a, b}$: ic hit . . . gelyfde δam . . . stære to gedeodenne 7 in to gesettenne = 252.13: eam . . . inserendam credidi.

geswutelian [-sweot-], show, explain:

Mat. 3.7: hwa geswutelode eow to fleonne fram 5am toweardan yrre? = quis demonstravit vobis fugere a ventura ira?

geteohhian [-tioh-], think, determine:

Boeth. 117.21 God hæfð getiohhod to sellanne witu 7 ermőa ðam yflum monnum = 0. — Ib. 139.29°: of ðam wege ðe wit getiohhod habbað on to farenne = 121.10: a propositi nostri tramite . . . auersa sunt.

Greg. 251.24: gif he dam gehiersuman mannum næfde geteohchad his edel to sellanne = 190.22: Nisi enim correctis hæreditatem dare disponeret. — Ib. 419.13: Dæt ilce dæt he getiohchod hæfde to biddanne he cwæd dæt him wære ær forgiefen = 340.23: Qui dum se adhuc petere promittit, hoc quod petere se promittebat, obtinuit. — Ib. 445.7: donne donne hie forlætad . . . da god de hi getiohchod æfdon (sic!) to donne (sic! for to donne), dæt etc. = 372.19: quia dum proposita non perficiunt, etiam quæ fuerant cæpta convellunt.

Solil. 37.5: me lyst δ ara δ e ic getionhood habbe to α anne = 0.

Pr. Ps. 10.3: hi wilniað . . . ðæt hi toweorpen ðæt God geteohhad hæfð to wyrcanne = 10.4: Quoniam quæ perfecisti, destruxerunt.

Ælf. Hom. I. 198b: Ic geteohode min lif on mægðhade to geendigenne.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 677: Sone Se he ær geteohhode mid teonan to forseonne. geSencan, think, strive for:

Ælf. Hept.: Job, XII (= 6.27): ge logiað eowere spræce and geðencað to awendenne eowerne freond = eloquia concinnatis, et subvertere nitimini amicum vestrum.

læran,¹ teach:

Bede 258.8: he rehte endebyrdnesse lifes æteawde, 7 rihte Eastran to weordianne lærde = 204.20: rectum uiuendi ordinem, ritum celebrandi paschae canonicum . . . disseminabat. — Ib. 276.6 $^{\text{b}}$: ongon læran to healdenne . . . da ding = 214.27 $^{\text{b}}$: coepit observanda docere.

Boeth. 79.17: ne de nan neoddearf ne lærde to wyrcanne dæt dæt du worhtest

= 71.3: 0.

Læce. 35.10: Sume an word wið nædran bite lærað to cweðenne, ðæt is faul, ne mæg him derian.

mynnan, direct one's course to, intend:

And. 295: to Sam lande, Sær Se lust mynes to gesecenne.

Gu. 1062: Sær min hyht mynes to gesecanne.

ongietan, understand:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 801: Iohannes soʻdlice ongeat sume 'a mynsterwisan to gerihtanne swa swa seo halige ær foresæde.

sirwan, plot:

Apol. 31.34: he . . . me da sirwde to ofsleanne = $48^{\rm b}$ 2: me machinabatur occidere (or final?).

smeagan [smean], think upon, meditate:

Greg. 55.22: smeagað deah & deahtigad on hiera modes rinde monig god weorc to wyrcanne = 32.10: operaturos tamen se magna pertractant.

Pr. Ps. 18.12: ne eac dinne willan ne mæg smeagan to wyrcanne = 0.

Ælf. Hom. II. 146: öær he sylf smeade öæt hus to arærenne.

tacan, take to:

Chron. 263^m, 1135 E: Dauid King of Scotland toc to unerrien him.

tæcan,² teach:

Greg. 165.10: Da isernan hierstepannan he tæhte for iserne weall to settanne betuh væm witgan & være byrig = 120.12: Sartago enim ferrea murus ferreus inter prophetam et civitatem ponitur.

Ælf. Hom. II. 216b: Bus tæhte Crist on være Niwan Gecyvnysse eallum

cristenum mannum to donne.

tellan, account, consider:

² Cf. Gorrell, l. c., p. 370.

Ælf. Hom. I. 158b: For nahte he tealde ænig öing to biddenne buton gesihöe. teohhian [tih-, tioh-], think, determine:

Boeth. 51.6: hwider ic be nu tiohige to lædenne = 51.15^{b} : si quonam te ducere aggrediamur agnosceres. — Ib. 116.12: for bære wræce tihodon hine to forlætenne = 0. — Ib. 143.19: ne tiohhode to wyrcanne = 0.

Greg. 305.4: forðæm he tiohchode him ma to fultemanne = 232.12: solatium petivit ut daret. — Ib. 305.5: he sohte hine him to latðeowe on ðæm wege, forðæm he teohchode hine to lædanne on lifes weg = 232.13: ducem requirebat in via, ut dux ei fieri potuisset ad vitam. — Ib. 445.8: forðæm, gif ðæt ne wexð ðæt hie tiohhiað to donne = 372.20: Si enim quod videtur gerendum, . . . non crescit.

Solil. 36.12: Ic gehyre nu væt vu ne tiohhast nan wif to hæbbenne = 0.

Pr. Ps. 39.16: Sa Se ehtad mine sawle and hy teohhiad me to afyrrane = 39.15: qui quærunt animam meam, ut auferant eam.

Seahti(g)an, think upon, meditate: see Greg. 55.22 under smeagan. understandan, understand:

Apol. 19.19: Sone deas hi oferhogodon and Sone rædels understodon to arædenne = 0.

weddian, contract, agree:

L. 22.5: him weddedon feoh to syllenne = pacti sunt pecuniam illi dare. witan [nytan], know [know not]:

Gen. 243: nyston sorga wiht to begrornianne.

Ju. 557: wiste he di gearwor, manes melda, magum to secgan (sic!), susles degnum, hu etc.

Oros. 220.9: Hwæðer Romane hit witen nu ænegum men to secganne, hwæt etc. = 0.

Chron. 224^m, 1087 E^d: 5a Englisce men . . . adrengton ma 5onne ænig man wiste to tellanne.

Laws 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 3: we nytan nanum o'rum dingum to getruwianne (or with noun?). — Ib.: 180, VI Æthelstan, c. 8, § 8: Gyf he nyte spor to tæcenne (or with noun?).

Ælf. Hom. II. 506^b: Da nyste heora nan his naman to secgenne.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing:—anforlætan, abandon:

Wærf. 337.2: heo byð deadlic, ðonne heo anforlæt syngiende (sic! but for syngienne?), ðæt heo eadiglice 7 rihtlice lifige = 405 B: Anima itaque et mortalis esse intelligitur, et immortalis. Mortalis quippe, quia beate vivere amittit.

elcian, delay:

Ælf. Hom. II. 282^t: Ne elca ou to gecyrrenne to Gode. [Cf. Ælf. Hom. II. 26^t: Đæt he leng ne elcode to his geleafan.]

forwiernan, prevent from, prohibit:

Ælf. Hom. I. 604^m 1: Swa swa dæges leoht forwyrnð gehwilene to gefremmenne ðæt ðæt seo niht geðafað.

Ælf. L. S. 380.249: god . . . ne eac us forwyrn's yfel to wyrcenne. gælan, hinder from:

Greg. 445.30: Sonne ne $gxl \delta$ us nan Sing te (sic!) fullfremmanne Sa godan we or $gvar{red} = 374.14$: erga coeptum studium nullo torpore languerunt.

gefon, attempt, undertake:

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 148: hi gefengon to dreccenne vone fiftan brovor.

ieldan [eldan], delay:

Bede 132.16: Mid δy ... se cyning elde δa gyt to gelyfanne = 110.24: Cum... rex credere differet. — Ib. 430.33^{a, b}: δa δe eldende wæran to andettenne 7 to betenne heora synna = 308.13^{a, b}: qui differentes confiteri et emendare scelera.

Wærf. 119.2: Sa wæs he lange eldende Sone to nimanne = B. 148 C 1 : Quem diu demoratus etc.

Bl. Hom. 7.33: to hwon yldestu middangeard to onlyhtenne? onfon, undertake:

Bede 334.4, 5: Sæt heo onfeng mynster to timbrenne 7 to endebyrdienne = 254.3: contigit eam suscipere etiam construendum siue ordinandum monasterium.

Wærf. 75.33: hwæt öæt sy öæt se . . . feond onfeng swylcere bylde to acwyllane in öæs huse = 204 A: Quidnam hoc esse dicimus, ut occidendi ausum in ejus hospitio antiqus hostis acciperet.

Bened. 14.17: Wite eac se abbod, δx se δe on $feh \delta saula to <math>rx$ conne = 26.1: qui suscipit animas regendas (or final?).

underfon, undertake:

Greg. 77.4: Sa Se oSerra monna saula underfoos to lædanne on Sa treowa hira agenra gearnunga to Sam innemestan halignessum = 50.6: qui . . . animas ad æterna sacraria perducendas in suæ conversationis fide suscipiunt (or final?). — Ib. 161.12: Sonne hie Sara eorSlicra monna heortan underfos to læronne = 116.25: quando terrenum auditorum cor, ut doceant, apprehendunt (or final?). — Ib. 293.3^{a, b}: he underfeng Sa halgan gesomnunga to plantianne & to ymbhweorfanne, sua se ceorl des his ortgeard = 220.26: 0.

Wærf. 113.22: Sas stowe se Gota underfeng to clænsienne = B. 144 C: Locum autem ipse quem mundandum Gothus susceperat (or final?). — Ib. 325.10: se me hæfde underfongen to forswelgenne = 392 B⁴: Gratias Deo, ecce draco qui me ad devorandum acceperat fugit (or final?).

wiernan, desist from:

Greg. 381.6: Swa eac se de ne wirnd dæs wines his lare da mod mid to ofer-drencan[n]e de hine gehieran willad, he bid etc. = 296.9: et dum vino eloquii auditorum mentem debriare non desinit, etc.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

adrædan, fear:

Mk. 9.32: hi adredon hine absiende (sic! but for absienne?) = 9.31: timebant interrogare eum.

anoracian, fear:

Ælf. Hom. II. 554^{t1}: Hi andraciad to gefarenne lifes wegas.

beoti(g)an, threaten:

Chad. 193: swa swa he beotige us to slenne 7 donne hwedere donne gyt ne slæd = quoties . . . quasi ad feriendum minitans exerit nec adhuc tamen percutit (or final?).

fleon, shun:

Greg. 33.12: Forðæm se wealhstod [self] Godes & monna, ðæt is Crist, fleah eorðrice to underfonne = 14.4: regnum percipere vitavit in terris.

forgieman [-y-], neglect:

Laws 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1^{c. d}: oferhogie he offe forgyme fa fing to beganne 7 to bewitanne.

forgiemeleasian [-y-], neglect:

Ælf. Hom. II. 102b: Gif du forgymeleasast to dælenne ælmessan.

forseon, despise:

Wærf. 180.17: he forseah to donne δ æt heo hine bæd = 217 B¹: non solum facere, sed etiam audire despiceret.

Ælf. Hom. II. 374^t: forsiho to cumenne.

Ælf. L. S. 290.96: Sume fæston eac swa væt hi forsawon to etanne.

Wulf. 296.28: forðan hig forsawon ær to healdenne done halgan dæg mid rihte.

gedyrstlæcan, presume, dare:

Bened. 15.13: Sæt nan ne gedyrstlæce . . . his agenne ræd to bewerigenne = 28.3: ut non præsumant . . . defendere etc. — Ib. 106.4: ne gedyrstlæce he na Sa Senunga to beginnenne = 172. 12: nullatenus aliqua præsumat.

Ælf. Hom. II. 392^{t 2}: He gedyrstlæhte to ganne up on 8ære sæ 8urh Crist.

getilian, strive for, attempt:

Solil. 35.17: ne æac maran getilige to haldænne onne ic gemetlice bi beon mage = mihi . . . persuasit, nullo modo appetandas esse divitias.

giernan [-y-], desire, yearn for:

Bede 480.11: monige . . . hi seolfe 7 hira bearn ma gyrnað in mynster ond on Godes ðeowdomhad to sellenne ðonne etc. = 351.21: plures . . . se suosque liberos . . . satagunt magis . . . monasterialibus adscribere uotis quam bellicis exercere studiis.

Bl. Hom. 53.25: swa da halgan dydon de on dyssum life naht ne sohton ne ne gyrndon to hæbbenne.

Pr. Gu. I. 7: Sa gyrnde he him his gemæccan to nymanne = adoptata sibi coaetanea virgine inter . . . puellarum agmina etc. — Ib. II. 93: Sa girnde he his sealmas to leornianne = Dum enim litteris edoctus psalmorum canticum discere maluisset.

higian, strive for, be intent on:

Greg. 105.14: Sætte sua hwelc sua inweard higige to gangenne on Sa duru Sæs ecean lifes = 72.18: ut quisquis intrare æternitatis januam nititur.

Wærf. 178.3^{a, b}: gif we higiað to oðra æðelra wera wundrum ða to gereccanne 7 to asecganne = B. 204 C²: ut si ad aliorum miracula enarranda tendimus.

oferhogian [and forgieman], despise:

Laws 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1^{a, b}: quoted under forgieman above. onscunian, shun, fear:

Ælf. Hom. II. 346^{t3}: Hwi onscunast ou to underfonne oisne lichaman?

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 8.26: Sa Sing, Se Egipstisce onscunias to offrianne = abominationes enim Ægyptiorum immolabimus domino deo nostro?

reccan, care for:

Laws 40, Ælfred, Intr., c. 40: Leases monnes word ne rec ou no oæs to gehieranne.

Ælf. L. S. 440.122: gif ge rohton hit to gehyrenne.

swerian, swear:

Chron. 268^m, 1140 E^{f, g}: Dis . . . suoren to halden (sic!) & King 7 te eorl; . . . alle . . . suoren & pais to halden (sic!).

teon, accuse:

Laws 102, Ine B, c. 30: Gif man cyrliscne mannan flymanfeormienne teo, be his agenon were geladige [he] hine. [MS. E: . . . fliemanfeorme teo; MS. H.: . . . flyman feormie, 7 hine mon teo.]

wandian, hesitate, be neglectful of:

Chron. 178^t, 1052 E^b: he ne wandode na him metes to tylienne, eode up.

Laws 138, I Eadweard, Prol.: Ne wandiað for nanum ðingum folcriht to geregceanne [MS. B: to gerecanne].

Ælf. Hom. II. 554^{t2}: swa-ðeah ne wandiað to licgenne on stuntnysse heora asolcennysse.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 699: Sa wandode he lange him Sæt to secgenne. — Ib. XXXI. 1036: He eac ne wandode on Sam . . . felda Sa hæSenan to cristnigenne.

Wulf. 191.6: bydelas . . ., &e . . . wandiað godes riht to sprecanne.

warenian, shun:

Bede 474.20: Some hie . . . warenedon to anfonne = 348.9: quem . . . uitabant.

widcwedan, refuse:

Ælf. Hom. II. 516b: Ne wiðcweðe ic, Drihten, to deorfenne gyt.

wiðsacan, refuse:

Greg. 383.19: hu, ne wiðsæcð se donne eallunga Godes degn to bionne, se de widsæcd dæt etc.? = 298.17: profecto esse se Dei denegat, qui etc.?

6. Habban, have.

Most of the examples are doubtful. In some examples it is difficult to tell whether the infinitive depends on *habban* or on a neighboring noun or adverb. In some examples the infinitive seems to denote futurity; in others, necessity. The examples in full are:—

Boeth. 52.27: Nære hit no δ æt hehste god gif him ænig butan wære, for δ æm hit δ onne hæfde to wilnianne sumes godes δ e hit self næfde = 52.10: quoniam relinqueretur extrinsecus, quod posset optari (?).

Laws 106, Ine, c. 42: Gif ceorlas gærstun hæbben gemænne oð de oðer gedal-

land to tynanne (or final?).

Ælf. Hom. II. 78^m: gecyrrað nu huru-ðinga on ylde to lifes wege, nu ge habbað hwonlice to swincenne.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 16.23: gearwiað to morgen, ðæt ge to gearwienne hæbbon = quodcumque operandum est, facite, et quæ coquenda sunt, coquite. — Judges 3.20°: ic hæbbe ðe to secganne ures godes ærende = Verbum dei habeo ad te.

Mat. 20.22: Mage gyt drincan Sone calic Se ic to drincenne hæbbe?

= Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum?

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 15.149: Geswiga ou earming, ne hæfst ou nan oinge on me to donne (or with noun?).

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs having only the inflected infinitive as object:—

adrædan, fear. æteowan, show. anbidian, expect. anforlætan, abandon. andracian, fear. adencan, intend. behatan, promise. beoti(g)an, threaten.

¹ Cf. Buchtenkirch, l. c., p. 32; Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 209; Kenyon, l. c., p. 109.

bodian, preach. cydan (and beodan), make known. elcian, delay. fleon, shun. forgieman, neglect. forgiemeleasian, neglect. forsacan, refuse. forseon, despise. forwiernan, prevent from, prohibit. gælan, hinder from. geceosan, choose. gedihtan, direct, order. gedyrstlæcan, presume, dare. gefon, attempt, undertake. gehyhtan, hope. geliefan, believe, hope. geswutelian [-eot-], show, explain. geteohhian, think, determine. getilian, strive for, attempt. geoencan, think, strive for (?). giernan, desire, yearn for. habban, have. higian, strive for, be intent on. ieldan, delay. læran, teach. liefan, allow.

Iofian, praise, allow (?). murnan, care for, lament. mynnan, direct one's course to, intend. oferhogian [and forgieman], despise. onfon, undertake, begin. ongietan, understand. onscunian, shun, fear. reccan, care for. sirwan, plot. smeagan [smean], think upon, meditate. swerian, swear. tacan, take (to). tæcan, teach. tellan, account, consider. teon, accuse. tih(h)ian, think, determine. Seahti(g)an, think upon, meditate. underfon, undertake. understandan, understand. wandian, hesitate, be neglectful of. warenian, shun. weddian, contract, agree. wiernan, desist from. witan [nytan], know (know not). widcwedan, refuse. wiðsacan, refusc.

III. The uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are each found as the object with the following groups of verbs:—

1. With the following Verbs of Commanding and the like: —

bebeodan, command. beodan, command. bewerian, prohibit, forbid.

biddan, request. forbeodan, forbid. gehatan, order.

2. With the following Verbs of Permitting: —

aliefan, allow. geðafian, allow. sellan, grant, allow.

3. With the following Verbs of Mental Perception: —

findan, find.
geleornian, learn.
gemyntan, intend, determine.
gestihhian, determine, decide.

leornian, learn.
myntan, think, intend.
ŏencan, think, attempt.
wenan, hope, expect.

4. With the following Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

ablinnan, cease, desist from. aginnan, begin. beginnan, begin. fon, undertake, begin.

forlætan, abandon, omit. geswican, stop, desist from. onginnan, begin.

5. With the following Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

forhogian, despise, neglect. forhycgan, despise, neglect. ge-earnian, deserve, earn. gemed(e)mian, deign, vouchsafe. geŏristlæcan [-y-], presume. gewil(1)nian, desire. gewunian, use, be wont.
gieman, care.
ondrædan, fear.
secan, seek.
tilian [teolian], attempt, strive for.
wil(1)nian, desire.

Typical examples are the following: —

1. Verbs of Commanding: —

bebeodan [bi-], command:

(1) Uninflected:

El. 1018: Da seo cwen bebead cræftum getyde sundor asecean.

Ju. 232: gelædan bibead to carcerne. — Ib. 295: væt he Iohannes bibead heafde biheawan.

Bede 36.31^{a, b}: het 5a 7 bebead hrase swingan 7 tintregian 5one Godes andettere = 19.31: caedi... Dei confessorem a tortoribus praecepit. — Ib. 388.20: Da bebead se biscop 5eosne to him lædan = 283.27: Hunc... adduci praecipit episcopus.

Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 7: he bebead one hlaford luftan swa hine.

Ælf. Hom. I. 380^b 1, 2: Nero bebead Petrum and Paulum on bendum gehealdan, and a sticca Simones hreawes mid wearde besettan.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 412.1: Sa Sing, Se ic bebead him to secganne = 297.30: quae tibi dicenda praecepi (or final?).

Oros. 292.27: öær Maximus mid firde bad æt Aquilegia öære byrig, 7 his ealdormen Andregatia hæfde beboden öa clusan to healdanne = 293.28: Aquileiae tunc Maximus victoriae suae spectator insederat. Andragathius comes ejus summam belli administrabat (or final?).

Chron. 206^t, 1070 A^b: se arcebiscop . . . bebead dam biscopan . . . da serfise to donde (sic! for to donne).

Laws 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49^a: Dis sindan da domas de se . . . God self sprecende wæs to Moyse 7 him bebead to healdanne.

Ælf. Hom. II. 316b: gif ge wyrcende beoð ða ðincg ðe ic bebeode eow to

gehealdenne.

Ælf. L. S. 22.203: foresceawige hwæt heo gehwylcum lime bebeode to donne. Wulf. 294.28: Sa godan weore, Se god us beboden hæfð to adreoganne on Sam drihtenlican dæge. — Ib. 296.5: wite ge . . . Sæt ic æfre fram frym Se bebead Sone drihtenlican dæg to healdenne.

beodan, command:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 262^t: bædon ðæt he bude ða byrgene besettan mid wacelum weardum.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 47.13: Sonne he for nanre anwielnesse ne wiscuis sam nyttan weorcum se him mon beodes to underfonne = 24.24: cum ad respuendum hoc, quod utiliter subire praecipitur, pertinax non est.

Pr. Ps. 39.7: Ne bud (sic!) du me na ælmessan to syllan (sic!), ne for

minum synnum = holocaustum et pro peccato non postulasti.

Laws 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3^a: we geascodon öæt ure geferan sume . . . to eow comon 7 eow hefigran [wisan budon] to healdanne öonne we him budon. Wulf. 231.1: behealdaö . . . ŏa fæstendagas, ŏe men eow beodaö to healdenne. beweri(g)an [bi-], prohibit, forbid:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 82.24: we him ne sculon biwerigan dam halgan geryne onfon = 58.27^b: a nobis prohiberi non debet accipere.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 80.7: mid dy seo æ monig ding bewered to etanne swa swa unclæne = 56.32: Nam cum multa lex uelut immunda manducare prohibeat.

biddan, request, demand:

(1) Uninflected:

Versuchung Christi 9: brohte him to bearme brade stanas, bæd him for hungre hlafas wyrcan.

Ælf. Hom. II. 182^m: se de bitt æræran his sunu.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.152°: bæd wyrcan scearpa piles = 0. — Ib. 15.288°, b: bæd öære fæmne (sic!) fet and handan (sic!) tosomne gebindon (sic!) and innen öone weallende cetel gesetton (sic!) = 217.320°, b: Tunc iubet praefectus afferi vas magnum plenum aqua et ligari manus et pedes beatae Margaretae et ibi eam mortificari.

Apol. 23.34^a: Apollonius hi bad ealle gretan and on scip astah = 42^t : vale dicens omnibus conscendit ratem.

(2) Inflected:

Læce 58.27: æfter dam spiwad, sona him to gifanne biddad.

forbeodan, forbid:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 70.8: seo . . . æ bewereð 7 forbeodeð ða scondlicnesse onwreon mægsibba = 50.34: lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem revelare.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 369.3: Godes æ, & us forbiet diofulum to offrianne = 286.5: legem Dei, quæ idcirco data est ut sacrificia satanæ prohibeat.

Laws 214, Krönungseid, Prol.: Sa hine man halgode to cinge, 7 forbead him ælc wedd to syllanne.

Ælf. Hom. I. 122^t: Moyses æ forbead to hrepenne ænigne hreoflan. — Ib. II. 534^b: se Drihten & forbead & bydelum to berenne pusan o& codd.

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 89: moyses forbead swyn to etenne.

Ælf. Hept.: De V. T. 4.43: he forbead se deah blod to diegenne.

Ælf. Gr. 242.7: de intus widinnan, de foris widutan forbead Donatus to cwedenne.

Wulf. 200.3^{a, b}: he forbyt ælcum men aðor to bycganne oððe to syllanne. gehatan, order, promise:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 144.27, 28: he gehet . . . stapolas asetton (sic!) 7 . . . ceacas onahon = 118.11: erectis stipitibus, aereos caucos suspendi iuberet.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 316.22: se cyning him geheht ge lond ge micel feoh to gesyllenne = 243.16: promiserit se ei terras ac pecunias multas esse donaturum.

Bl. Hom. 181.26: se de englas gehet wid me to sendenne.

2. Verbs of Permitting:—

aliefan, allow:

(1) Uninflected:

Gosp.: Mat. 8.21^b: Drihten, alyfe me ærest to farenne and bebyrigean minne fæder = Domine, permitte me primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum (or

predicative?). — L. 9.59: alyf me æryst bebyrigean minne fæder = permitte mihi primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum (or predicative?).

(2) Inflected:

Mat. 8.21^a: quoted above.

Ælf. L. S. 102.227: Sam alyfde se casere heora cristendom to healdenne. geSafian, allow, consent:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 606: him ne geðafode fulfremodlice on da eordan astreccan.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 276.31: hwæ δ er heo ge δ afedon δ a domas to healdenne = 215.24: si consentirent ea . . . custodire.

Ælf. Hom. I. 4^b: Se . . . God geðafað ðam arleasan Antecriste to wyrcenne tacna.

sellan, grant, allow:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 3056: nefne god sylfa . . . sealde, dam de he wolde (he is manna gehlyd) hord openian.

(2) Inflected:

Schöpf. 30: Sonne him frea sylle to ongietanne godes agen bibod.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception: —

findan, find, strive:

(1) Uninflected:

El. 1255: swa ic on bocum fand wyrda gangum, on gewritum $cy \sigma an$ be σan sigebeacne.

(2) Inflected:

Dan. 544: bæd hine areccan, hwæt seo run bude, hofe haligu word 7 in hige funde to gesecganne soðum wordum, hwæt etc.

geleornian, learn:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 404.22: he geleornode . . . ingong geopenian δ æs heofonlican lifes = 292.17: didicerat . . . patere . . . introitum.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 210.31: eall δa δe he geleornade to donne = 164.22: quae agenda didicerat.

gemyntan, intend, determine:

(1) Uninflected:

Ex. 199: hæfdon hie gemynted to dam mægenheapum to dam ærdæge Israhela cynn billum abreotan on hyra brodorgyld.

Chron. 22^b, 616 F^{a, b}: he hæfde gemynt eal dis land forlætan 7 ouer sæ faran. Ælf. L. S. 154.127^b: se hæfde gemynt mynster to arærenne and mid munecum

gesettan. — Ib. 502.255: Sa halgan Se he ealre worulde . . . onwreon gemynte.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 414^t: SaSa God gemynte his yfelnysse to geendigenne. — Ib. II. 578^t²: Sæt tempel Se his fæder gemynte to arærenne.

Ælf. L. S. 154.127^a: quoted under "Uninflected" above. — Ib. 212.51: swa hwæt swa ðu gemyntest on forðsiðe to donne. — Ib. XXV. 769: Heliodorus ða gemynte ða maðmas to genimenne.

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 24.11: ic hæfde gemynt δ e to arwur δ ienne = decreveram . . . honorare te.

Wulf. 277.26: Dauid cyning hit hæfde gemynt ær to donne. gestihhian, determine, decide:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 218.9: gestihhade his life geendian = 168.2: uitam finire disposuit.

(2) Inflected:

Solil. 38.1: be dam dingum de du me ær sedest dat du gestyohhod hæafde to forletanne = 0.

leornian, learn:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 416b: The men learnion agyldan god for yfele.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 246.7: Sa Sa he in wreotum leornade to donne = 194.29: quae in scripturis agenda didicerat.

Greg. 441.17: Donne hi leorniað mid fulre estfulnesse da sodan god to secanne = 368.15: Tunc igitur pleno voto discunt vera bona discere. — Ib. 441.28: Leornað donne to lufianne dæt he ær forhogde = 368.25: discat diligere quæ contemnebat.

Ælf. L. S. 132.242: Da & habbað geleafan and leornodon to campienne. — Ib. 344.127^b: Ne het he us na leornian heofonas to wyrcenne.

myntan, think, intend:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 713: Mynte se manscaða manna cynnes sumne besyrwan in sele ðam hean.

Chr. 1058: Ær sceal geoencan gæstes vearfe, se ve Gode mynteð bringan beorhtne wlite.

Met. 26.72: mynton forlætan leofne hlaford.

Bede 392.20: mynte heo for hiere to abbuddissan gesettan = 286.1: abbatissam eam pro se facere disposuerat.

Wærf. 12.11: oð ðæt hit [= clif] com ðær hit mynte feallan ofer ðæt mynster $= 15 \text{ A}^2$: 0. — Ib. 123.1: stan . . ., ðone hi mynton hebban upp = B. 154 A: lapis . . ., quem in ædificium levare decreverant. — Ib. 254.35: mynte slean ðone Godes wer $= 312 \text{ A}^1$: 0.

Bl. Hom. 223.7: mynte hine slean; — so: 223.11. — Ib. 223.16: he hine stingan mynte.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 265^m, 1137 E^f: also he mint to don (sic!) of 5e horderwycan. 5encan, think, attempt:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 800, 801: on healfa gehwone heavan Johton, sawle secan.

Gen. 2437: Wit be disse stræte stille dencad sæles bidan. — Ib. 2891: hwær is dæt tiber, dæt du torht gode to dam brynegielde bringan dencest?

Ex. 51: 8 ses 8 e hie widefer8 wyrnan 3 ohton Moyses magum.

Ju. 637: öær hi stearcferðe öurh cumbolhete cwellan öohtun.

El. 296: de eow . . . lysan dohte.

Gu. 260: gif du ure bidan dencest.

; · · , '

And. 150, 151, 152: Sæt hie banhringas abrecan Sohton, . . . tolysan lie and sawle, and Sonne todælan etc.

Met. 1.12: sceotend Johton Italia ealle gegongan.

Ps. 61.4: Swa ge mine are ealle δ ohton wra δ e toweorpan = honorem meum cogitaverunt repellere.

Jud. 59: Johte Ja . . . idese mid widle and mid womme besmitan.

Seaf. 52: dam de swa denced on flodwegas feor gewitan.

Bede 36.8: gif du gewitan dencest fram dam bigange ure æfæstnysse = 19.11: si . . . discedere temtas. — Ib. 456.2: dæt he dohte hine him to yrfewearde gedon = 324.32: ut heredem sibi illum facere cogitasset.

Boeth. 93.32: Senc's ætgædere bion = 80.100: id unum esse desiderat.

Greg. 55.12: Donne det mod denced gegripan him to upahefenesse da eadmodnesse = 32.2: arripere . . . cogitat.

Oros. 54.21: for don he him cweman donte = 55.18: adjectans tyranni amicitiam. — Ib. 150.12: Da det da odre geascedon det he hie ealle beswican donte = 151.7: cum decipi se ab Antigono sigillatim viderent. — Ib. 200.17: to don det hie hit acwencan donton = 201.9: ad extinguendum ignem concurrerunt.

Bened. 23.3: caffice cuman δ enca δ = 46.4: volumus velociter pervenire.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 1059: Johte . . . ætberstan Jam deade.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 48.17^b: Sohte hi to ahebbanne of Ephraimes heafde and gesettan ofer Manases heafod = manum patris . . . levare conatus est de capite E. et transferre super caput M.

L. 1.1: For dam de witodlice manega dohton dara dinga race geendebyrdan de on us gefyllede synt = Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem etc.

(2) Inflected:

Ps. 118.59: Swa ic wegas dine wise dence to ferenne fotum minum = Cogitavi vias tuas, et converti pedes meos in testimonia tua (or with adjective?).

Charms V. C. 4^{a, b, c, d}, 5^{a, b}: swa ic dence dis feoh to findanne næs to odfeorrganne and to witanne næs to odwyrceanne and to lufianne næs to odlædanne.

Boeth. 53.11: Seah hi . . . Sencan to cumanne = 0.

Greg. 11.14: Jonne hit JencJ fela godra weorca to wyrcanne = 32.6: Quod mens præesse volentium plerumque sibi ficta bonorum operum promissione blanditur.

Oros. 282.9a: Johte his sunu [to] beswicanne, 7 him siddan fon to dæm onwalde = 283.8: Maximianus . . . confirmatum jam in imperio filium potestate regia spoliare conatus etc. — Ib. 292.28b: Juhte (should be Johte?) him self on scipum to farenne east ymbutan, 7 donne bestelan on Theodosius hindan = 293.29: dum navali expeditione hostem praevenire et obruere parat.

Chron. 224^m, 1087 E^c: se eorl . . . Johte to gewinnanne Engleland.

Laws 206, IV Eadgar, c. 1, § 2: gif he . . . hit Jenco to ætstrengenne.

Wærf. 119.9: Sohte to acwellane Sa sawla = B. 148 C³: se ad exstinguendas discipulorum animas accendit.

Ælf. Hom. II. 454b 2: ge dencad to awendenne eowerne freond.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 37.21: he Johte hine to generianne of hira handum = nitebatur liberare eum. — Gen. 48.17^a: quoted above under "Uninflected." wenan, hope, expect:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 934: Dæt wæs ungeara, öæt ic ænigra me weana ne wende to widan feore bote gebidan.

Met. 1.83: ne wende Jonan æfre cuman of Jæm clammum.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 267^b, 1140 E^c: Eustace . . . nam & Kinges suster of France to wife, wende to bigæton (sic!) Normandi &ærðurh.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing: —

ablinnan, cease, desist from:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 39: beheold one heart and wundrode his micelnysse and ablan his æhtan.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 74^t: he . . . ne ablinð to asendenne bydelas and lareowas to lærenne his folc.

aginnan, begin:

(1) Uninflected:

Pr. Ps. 9.30: Sonne agin he sylf sigan, obse afyls = 9.10: inclinabit se et cadet.

Chron. 206^m, 1070 A^c: Da agann se arcebiscop Landfranc atywian mid openum gesceade.

Laws 310, II Cnut, c. 4: we beodab, bet man eard georne classian aginne on æghwylcum ende.

Gosp.: Mat. 24.49: agyn δ beatan hys efen δ eowas = Et cæperit percutere conservos suos. — L. 14.29: agynna δ hine tælan = incipiant illudere ei.

Wulf. 85.1: he agind leogan deoffice swyde.

Minor Prose: Apol. 19.28: agan rowan, od dæt he becom to Antiochiam = 38^m: navigans attigit Antiochiam. — Apol. 25.9: da agan se cyngc plegan wid his geferan = 43^m: dum cum suis pilæ lusum exerceret.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 6^b, 40 F: Matheus on Judea agan his godspell to writen (sic!). — Ib. 8^b, 49 F: Her Nero agann to rixiende (sic! for to rixienne). — Ib. 8^b, 116 F: Her Adrianus se casere agann to rixienne. — Ib. 8^b, 137 F: Her Antoninus agann to rixienne. — Ib. 137^m, 1006 E^b: Agan se cyng georne to smeagenne wið his witan.

beginnan, begin:

(1) Uninflected:

Creed 37: he xl daga folgeras sine runum arette 7 da his rice began, done uplican edel secan.

Chron. 201^m, 1067 D: Da begann se cyngc Malcholom gyrnan his sweostor him to wife.

Ælf. Hom. II. 142^m: Đa begann se wer dreorig wepan.

Ælf. L. S. 216.96: begunnon hi teon to . . . galnysse huse. — Ib. 230.186: Đa began se halga petrus him eallum secgan.

L. 7.49: Da begunnon da de dar sæton betwux him cwedan = Et cæperunt qui simul accumbebant dicere intra se.

Wulf. 214.24: Sæt gelamp iu, Sæt an halig ancer . . . began hine Sreatigan.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 243^t, 1110 E^b: Dises geares me began ærost to weorcenne on dam niwan mynstre.

Bened. 32.1: begin σ to healdenne = 60.1: incipiet custodire.

Ælf. Hom. I. 22^b: and begunnon & to wyrcenne. — Ib. II. 196^b ¹: &a &ær begann to bræstligenne micel &unor, and liget sceotan on &æs folces gesih&e.

Ælf. L. S. 36.184: begann hi to wrægenne. — Ib. 530.704: on dam fyrmestan

dagan de decius se casere to rixianne begann.

Elf. Hept.: Gen. 8.3: Da wæteru . . . begunnon to wanigenne = coeperunt minui. — Gen. 18.27: Nu ic æne begann to sprecanne to minum drihtne = Quia semel coepi, loquar ad dominum meum. — Num. 3.10: gif hwa . . . beginne to Senienne, swelte he deade = externus, qui ad ministrandum acceserit, morietur. — Judges 10.6: folc begunnon to geeacnienne heora . . . synna = Filii . . . peccatis veteribus jungentes nova.

fon, undertake, begin:

(1) Uninflected:

Wulf. 133.14^{a, b}: Sonne fehst see wealaf sorhful and sarigmed geomrigendum mode synna bemænan and sarlice syfian.

(2) Inflected:

Wærf. 197.6: öæt öa öe in öone biscop fengon to healdenne, öæt hi ne mihton adreogan öa mycelnesse öæs regnes = 240 D: ut hi qui eum custodiendum acceperat, immensitatem pluviæ ferre non possent (or final?).

Ælf. L. S. 70.345: fængon on . . . mærgen ealle to clypienne kyrrieleyson.

— Ib. XXXIV. 64: he feng to rædene (sic!).

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 3.6: fengon to lufienne heora fulan Seawas = 0.— Judges 13.1: hig fengon eft to gremienne Sone . . . god = fecerunt malum in conspectu domini.

Wulf. 105.33: da hædenan . . . fengon to wurdienne æt nyhstan mistlice

entas.

forlætan, abandon, omit:

(1) Uninflected:

And. 802b: forlætan moldern wunigean open eorðscræfu.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 393.28: Sæt hie ne forlæten to wilnianne Sara Se Godes sien = 310.26: ut tamen appetere, quæ Dei sunt, non omittant.

geswican, stop, desist from:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 206: Ic bidde de dæt du ne geswice gebiddan me dæt ic mote findan etc.

L. 5.4: Da he sprecan geswac, he cwæð to Simone = Ut cessavit autem loqui,

dixit ad Simonem.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 46^t: Ne geswicð des man to sprecenne tallice word ongean das halgan stowe and Godes æ. — Ib. II. 156^t: se... munuc ne geswac na de hrador dam odrum to denigenne on gedafenlicum tidum.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 497: se fæder ne geswac hine to biddenne mid wope.

onginnan [-y-], begin (occasionally attempt):

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 101: of fæt an ongan fyrene fremman. — Ib. 244: no her cublicor cuman ongunnon lindhæbbende!

Gen. 1316: ongan ofostlice væt hof wyrcan. — Ib. 1355: stigan onginneð.

Ex. 584: ongunnon sælafe segnum dælan.

Dan. 49: Sæt he secan ongan. — Ib. 599: Ongan Sa gyddigan.

Chr. 1363: Onginneð Jonne to Jam yflum ungelice wordum mæðlan.

Ju. 27: ongon fæmnan luftan. — Ib. 298: sacan ongon.

El. 157: frieggan ongan. — Ib. 1205: ongan læran.

Gu. 261: Ongin de generes wilnian. — Ib. 533: secan onginnad.

And. 450: ongan clypian. — Ib. 671: Huseworde ongan ourh inwitoance ealdorsacerd herme hyspan.

Bede 28.17: ongunnon eardigan da nordelas = 12.10: habitare coeperunt. — Ib. 56.2° b: da ongunnon heo forhtigan 7 ondredan him done sidfæt = 42.25: perculsi timore. — Ib. 106.19: taltrigan ongunne = 86.29: uacillare inciperet. — Ib. 106.25: da ongon . . . da stadolas . . . ecan = 87.6: augmentare . . . curauit. — Ib. 148.30: cirican . . . , da he timbran ongon = 125.22: ecclesiam . . . , quam ipse coepit. — Ib. 154.34: dagian ongan = 129.11: incipiente diluculo. — Ib. 180.3°: ongunnon . . . seofian = 146.17°: cum . . . quererentur. — Ib. 180.29: ongon . . . byrnan = 147.17: contigit culmen domus . . . flammis impleri. — Ib. 200.12: Da ongunnon . . . oncras upp teon = 158.13: temtabant . . . nauem retinere. — Ib. 352.21: ongan hatlice 7 biterlice wepan = 264.18: solutus est in lacrimas. — Ib. 438.4: ongon drowian = 311.17: acri coepit dolore torqueri.

Boeth. 3.6: hine ongan frefrian = 0. — Ib. 34.11: δa eor δan ongan delfan æfter golde = 40.30: primus . . . fodit. — Ib. 91.2: hit wanian ongin $\delta = 78.39$: cum uero unum esse desinit. — Ib. 127.2: θa ongon he smearcian 7 cwæ $\delta = 107.5$: arridens.

Greg. 25.20: deah da woroldlecan læcas scomad dæt hi ong[i]nnen da wunda lacnian = 6.9: videri medici carnis erubescunt. — Ib. 213.8: da ongon he æresd herigean etc. = 160.2: laudat.

Oros. 56.32^{a, b}: ongan da singan 7 giddian = 59.1: carmine . . . recitato. — Ib. 60.18: ongon ricsian = 61.19: regnare coepit. — Ib. 182.7: da ongunnon Sardinie, swa hie Pene gelærdon, winnan wid Romanum = 183.6: Sardinia . . . rebellavit. Solil. 10.6: hy eft onginnad searian = 0.

Pr. Ps. 3.4: Da ongan ic slapan and slep, and eft aras = 3.6: Ego dormivi et somnum cepi, exsurrexi. — Ib. 31.3: min ban and min mægn forealdode; da ongan ic clypian ealne dæg = inveteraverunt ossa mea, a clamando me tota die.

Chron. 20^m, 597 A: Her ongon Ceolwulf ricsian.

Laws 306, I Cnut, c. 26, § 1: gyf der hwylc deodsceada sceadian onginned. Wærf. 11.14: hine ongunnon da his magas bysmrian = 153 C2: cæperunt eum parentes ejus irridere. — Ib. 64.34, 65.1: he ongan . . . andswarian . . . 7 cwedan = 196 A^{1, 2}: cæpit . . . respondere, dicens. — Ib. 73.21: da ongunnon hi helpan hire lichaman = 201 B¹: cujus carni magicis artibus ad tempus prodesse conarentur. — Ib. 145.17^{a, b}: he ongan . . . earfodnyssa gebetan . . . 7 . . . hi hyrtan = B. 172 C^{2, 3}: studuit . . . corrigere et . . . sublevare. — Ib. 207.3: da ongan he beon sarig = 252 C³: affligi cæpit. — Ib. 266.28: se man onginned . . . neowlinga lifigean = 325 B: hic vero tunc vivere inchoat. — Ib. 317.2: se gewunode, det he me ongan secgan = 381 C¹: mihi narrare consueverat. — Ib. 321.27: se gewunode, det he ongan sceos wyrcan = 388 B²: qui calceamenta solebat operari.

Pr. Gu. II. 105: Sæt he Sa ongan wilnian westenes and sundersetle = petere meditabatur. — Ib. III. 17: ealand . . . Sæt . . . eardian ongunnon = insulam . . ., quam multi inhabitare tentantes. — Ib. IV. 34: Sona Sæs Se he westen eardigan ongan = Sub eodem . . . tempore . . . eremitare initiavit.

Bl. Hom. 55.10^{a, b}: ongan smeagan & Jencan. — Ib. 105.6: Jingian ongan. — Ib. 151.1: hie Ja ongunnon mid sweordum & mid strengðum Jyder gan.

Ælf. Hom. I. 62b: he ongann Godes geleafan openlice bodian. — Ib. I.

380^m: ongann fleogan. — Ib. II. 138^b: he his geferan befrinan ongann.

Ælf. L. S. 32.118: Sa gebrosra sona ceosan ongunnen eugenia to abbude. — Ib. 124.118: Sa ongunnon heora magas mycclum behreowsian. — Ib. 426.199: absalon . . . ongan winnan wið Sone fæder.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 4.26: Enos ongan ærest onclypian drihtnes naman = coepit invocare nomen domini.

Mat. 4.2: Sa ongan hyne sysSan hingrian = postea esuriit. — Ib. 11.7^a: Sa ongan se Hælynd secgan be Iohanne = Cæpit Jesus dicere.

Wulf. 44.26, 27: ongan da singan and dus secgan. — Ib. 191.9: gif dar hwile deodscada scadian onginned.

(2) Inflected:

Boeth. 127.23: ic sceal Seah hwæthwugu his onginnan Se to tæcanne = 108.16: aliquid deliberare conabimur (or final?).

Greg. 423.8: for væm lytlan gode ve hi gevenceav, & no ne anginnav to wyrceanne = 344.29: ut et illi dum de bono aliquid agunt, quod tamen non perficiunt.

Pr. Ps. 48.7: gif he sylf na ne ongino to tilianne on the one of agife to alysnesse his sawle = 48.8: Non dabit Deo propitiationem suam, et pretium redemptionis anime sue.

Chron. 30^t, 656 E^a: se abbot . . . ongan to wircene. — Ib. 147^t, 1016 E^a: Da ongan se æðeling Eadmund to gadrienne fyrde.

Bened. 62.5: onginne to rædenne = 116.9: audeat legere.

Ælf. L. S. 228.154: Ongan da to secgenne done sodan geleafan. — Ib. 328.112: cwæd . . . dæt . . . menn ongunnon godspel to writenne. — Ib. 538.820: nebwlite ongann to scinenne swilce seo . . . sunne. — Ib. XXVI. 45: ongann

embe godes willan to smeagenne.

Ælf. Hept.: Jos. 3.7: ic onginne de to mærsigenne = incipiam exaltare te. — Jos. 3.16: swa ætstod se stream and ongan to dindenne ongean = steterunt aquæ descendentes. — Judg. 13.5: he ongind to alysenne his folc = incipiet liberare Israel.

Ælfric's Minor Prose: Ælf. Gr. 212.3: ic onginne to wearmigenne = calesco. — Ib. 212.4: ic onginne to andracigenne = horresco. — Ib. 212.7: ic onginne to blacigenne = pallesco. — Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.31b: Sa ongunnon hi to ceorigenne ongean Sam hiredes ealdre. — Ib. 102.37b²: ongan to forhtienne.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 12.143: Sume men onginnað god to donne. — Ib. 12.146: sume men onginnað yfel to donne.

Wulf. 195.1: Sonne ongin he hy to pinsianne on mistlicre wisan. — Ib. 199.8: Sonne ongin he to winnanne togenes Sam twam godes Segnum. — Ib. 200.1: he ongin deoffice to wedanne.

Nic. 416.25: ongan & cryptas to axienne etc.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

forhogian, despise, neglect:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 464.10: hine forhogde onfon = 329.29: eum suscipere contemsit.

Wærf. 34.6: Sæt he forhogode togenes gretan = 172 A: resalutare despiceret.

(2) Inflected:

Chr. 1288: hu hi fore goddædum glade blissiað, ða hy, unsælge, ær forhogdun to donne, ðonne him dagas læstun.

Wærf. 180.18: he . . . forhogode hit to gehyrenne = 217 B^2 : sed etiam audire despiceret.

Ælf. Hom. II. 376^b 3: Sume sind gelavode, and forhogiav to cumenne. forhycgan, despise, neglect:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 76.30°: Tette wiif forhycgað heora bearn fedan = 55.9: nutrire contemnant. — Ib. 76.33: heo forhycgað fedan da de heo cennad = 55.12: despiciunt lactare.

(2) Inflected:

Bl. Hom. 41.36: da de . . . forhycgad da Godes dreamas to geherenne. geearnian, deserve, earn:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 350.23: Su geearnie hine Se mildne metan = 263.20: propitium eum inuenire merearis. — Ib. 470.9: Sæt he geearnode swylce gife onfon = 345.29: quod tale munusculum . . . mereretur accipere.

Ælf. Hom. I. 446^b ²: forðan ðe hi geearnodon ðæt beon ðæt hi heriað. — Ib. II. 598^m: ðæt we geearnion, on naman ðines leofan Suna, genihtsumian on godum weorcum. — Ib. II. 600^b: ðæt we geearnion beon wurðful wunung etc.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 431: öæt we . . . moston . . . geearnian to onfone öone gemanan öara haligra.

gemed(e)mian [gi-], deign, vouchsafe:

(1) Uninflected:

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 3, § 2^a : we biddað, gisende ðu gimeodumia Gast ðin halig = quesumus, mittere digneris Spiritum tuum sanctum. — Ib., § 4: ah ðu soð 7 halig dom bifora allum on ðassum uel in ðissum ædeawa ðu g[i]meodum = sed tu uerum et sanctum iudicium coram omnibus in hoc manifestare digneris. [See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.]

Ælf. Hom. I. 50¹²: Done deað soðlice ðe se Hælend gemedemode for mannum ðrowian.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 713: ic bidde . . . Sæt ou lytles hwæthwegu gemedemige underfon me oæs oe ic hider brohte. — Ib. XXIII B. 738: goldhord, oe ou me sylfum ær gemedemodest æteowan.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Æthelw. 51: Su Se gemedemedest met (sic! for me?) to gehealdene on Sissere nihte = qui me dignatus es in hac nocte custodire. [With this compare

the following passages, in which the infinitive is probably consecutive after gemedemian, used reflexively in the sense of 'humble one's self':—Greg. 301. 13: ure Aliesend . . . hine gemedomode to bionne betwiux væm læsvum 7 væm gingestum monnum = 228.5: Redemtor . . . fieri inter omnia dignatus est parvus; — Ælf. Hom. II. 464^t: vurh væt se . . . Godes Sunu hine sylfne gemedemode væt gecynd to underfonne; — Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 210: biddan we god væt he hine gemedemige to ætywenne hwæt sy gedon be his dehter. Compare, too, Ælf. Hom. I. 32^t, in which gemedemian (hine), 'humble one's self,' is followed by a consecutive clause introduced by væt.]

georistlæcan [-y-], presume, undertake:

(1) Uninflected:

Laws 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9°: Forðam ic ne dorste geðristlæcan ðara minra awuht fela on gewrit settan.

Wærf. 207.24: δy læs se halga wer . . . geðristlæhte ofer δa t ænigne man wyrgan = 253 A¹: ne vir . . . intorquere ultra præsumeret jaculum maledictionis.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 277: naht geðrystlæhte specan. — Ib. XXIII B. 645: [ne] geðrystlæcende aht secgan. — Ib. XXIII B. 745: ne geðrystlæhte he . . . nan oðer dæs lichaman oðhrinan.

(2) Inflected:

Laws 414, Judicium Dei VII, c. 13 A^{1, 2}: ic halsige & (eow)... & & & & (ge) na geðristlæce (-læcon) natestohwi to & sisum husle to ganne ne furðon to & sisum weofude to genealæcenne.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 721: he ne geðrystlæhte æniga ðinga heo to lettenne.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 11.122: næfre nan man ne gedristlæce ænigne deofles bigencg to donne.

Wulf. 34.14, 15: ac se ... man ..., se de gedristlæcd to mæssianne oddon husl to dicganne.

gewilnian, desire:

(1) Uninflected:

Wærf. 208.14: se gewilnode feran to him = 253 C^2 : pergere studuit.

Ælf. Hom. I. 608^t: Drihten . . . us gewilnað gearwe gemetan. — Ib. II. 588^{t 2}: swa eac nu of eallum deodum gewilniað men to geseonne done . . . Crist durh geleafan, and done . . . wisdom gehyran (sic!).

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 187: he gewilnode hine gedeodan dam de dær fleah.

Mat. 13.17^b: managa . . . gewilnudon da ding to geseonne de ge gesead (sic!), and hig ne gesawon; and gehyran da ding etc. = multi . . . cupierunt videre quæ videtis . . .; et audire quæ auditis.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 219^m, 1086 E^b: Gif hwa gewilniged to gewitane hu gedon mann he was.

Laws 45, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3^b: Sa gewilnia hira sawla (to) syllanne for Dryhtnes noman.

Ælf. Hom. I. 550^t: forðan ðe hi gewilniað fela to hæbbenne. — Ib. I. 552^t: gewilniað God to geseonne. — Ib. II. 588^t: quoted under "Uninflected" above.

Ælf. L. S. 196.22: gewilnode to Frowigenne for cristes naman. — Ib. XXIII B. 358: ic gewilnode mid him to farenne.

Mat. 13.17^a: quoted under "Uninflected" above.

Minor Prose: Apol. 18.17: he . . . Sæt gefremede man gewilnode to bediglianne = 37b: perpetratoque scelere . . . impietatem . . . cupit celare.

gewunian, use, be wont:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 62.4: in Sære cirican seo cwen gewunade hire gebiddan = 47.13: orare consuerat. — Ib. 172.16: monige gewunedon . . . secan . . . mynster = 142.19: monasteria adire solebant.

Laws 38, Ælfred, Intr., c. 30: Da fæmnan & gewuniað onfon gealdorcræftigan . . . ne læt &u &a libban.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 164^{a, b}, 165: he gewunode . . . Sone ryne his siffætes gefæstnian and standende singan and mid gebigedum eneowum gebiddan.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 273.17: væt væt hit ær gewunode to fleonne hit gemet = 206.14: cor quod fugere consuevit invenitur.

Oros. 34.5: Da sæde . . . & the gewunode monige wunder to wyrcenne = 35.3: Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 368: Ic . . . Sa swingle me fram awearp, Se ic seldon gewunode on handa to hæbbenne.

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 22.4: swa swa oxa gewunað to awestenne gærs = quomodo solet bos herbas . . . carpere.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 12.45: gewuniat of to drincanne.

gieman [-e-, -y-], care:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 364.1: degolnesse witan ne gymde = 0. — Ib. 412.26: he da his geferum . . . brytian gemde = 298.25: prodesse curabat. — Ib. 442.2, 3: Dær he . . . da gedwolan . . . gereccan gemde 7 . . . from . . . eagum ahwerfan = 313.19, 20: Qui si . . . errores . . . corrigere . . . ac . . . a . . . oculis abscondere curasset.

(2) Inflected:

Beow. 2452: offres ne gymet to gebidanne burgum in innan yrfeweardes.

Bede 208.16: ma gemde for dam ecan rice to compienne = 162.28: militare curaret. — Ib. 362.10: folc . . . to lufan . . . gemde to gehwyrfenne = 269.16: uulgus . . . ad . . . convertere curabat amorem.

ondrædan, fear:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 72.9^{b} : To the him ne ondrædað weotonde syngian = 52.2: qui non metuunt sciendo peccare. — Ib. 326.15: To ondred he ondettan = 250.8: timuit se militem fuisse confiteri.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 552: Sa ic me ondræde eft genydan to Sam geligre.

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 49.18: Dæt ilce dæt he untælwyrdlice ondred to underfonne = 26.23: hoc... expavit.

Solil. 43.3: Sa Sing ic ondrede æac to forleosenne swidor = caetera . . . deesse timeo.

Ælf. Hom. II. 104b: ne ondræt (sic!) ou de to dælenne.

Mat. 1.20: nelle du ondrædan Marian dine gemæccean to onfonne = noli timere accipere Mariam. — Ib. 2.22: he ondred dyder to faranne = timuit illoire.

Wulf. 248.14: Sisses ic me ondræde swyse to gebidanne. — Ib. 286.27: ne ondræt (sic!) Su Se to dælenne.

Nic. 500.15: hwæt ondrætst du de done hælend to onfonne?

secan, seek:

(1) Uninflected:

Wald. A. 18: Su . . . feohtan sohtest mæl ofer mearce. — Ib. 20: Sy ic Se metod ondred, Sæt Su to fyrenlice feohtan sohtest.

Bl. Hom. 167.2: he . . . feðan sohte.

Gosp.: Mat. 12.46: da stod hys modor and his gebrodra dær ute, secende spæcon (sic!) to him = quærentes loqui ei. — L. 20.19: Da sohton dara sacerda ealdras and da boceras hyra handa on dære tide on hine wurpan = quærebant... mittere in illum manus.

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Ps. 34.4: Sa Se secas mine sawle to fordonne = quærentes animam meam.

— Ib. 36.32: secs hine to fordonne = quærit mortificare eum.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 2.15: Da Pharao . . . sohte Moises to ofsleanne = quærebat occidere Moysen.

L. 6.19: eal seo menigeo sohte hine to æthrinenne = quærebat eum tangere. tilian [teol-], attempt, strive for:

(1) Uninflected:

Met. 10.22: hwy ge ymb væt unnet ealnig swincen, væt ge vone hlisan habban tiliað ofer vioda ma, vonne eow vearf sie? — Ib. 11.79: ve we mid væm bridle becnan tiliað.

Bede 230.26: Da teolode se . . . wer . . . stowe . . . clænsigan = 175.23: Studens . . . locum . . . purgare.

Greg. 233.22: Sæt he tiolode menn forlæran Sæt hie wurden eac forlorene = 176.20: damnationem suam perditus adhuc alios perdendo cumulavit.

Pr. Ps. 25.5: ic næfre ne teolade sittan on anum willan mid dam arleasum = cum impiis non sedebo.

Bl. Hom. 165.31^{a, b}: hine ær monnum gecyðan & gesecgan teolode, ærðon ðe he sylfa lifde & mennisc leoht gesawe.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 403^a: teolode toforan fam temple becuman.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 210.32: eall . . . he bighygdelice teolode to healdanne = 164.23: cuncta . . . sollicitus agere curabat. — Ib. 372.12: du wast det ic . . . teolode to lifigenne to . . . bebode = 275.2: ad . . . imperium . . . uiuere studui.

Boeth. 43.15: hu-nearo se . . . hlisa bion wile de ge dær ymb swincad 7 unrihtlice tioliad to gebrædanne? = 45.33: gloria quam dilatare ac propagare laboratis?

Greg. 61.18: He sceal tilian sua to libbanne swa etc. = 36.20: Qui sic studet vivere, ut etc. = Ib. 463.5: him self ne afealle, ver ver he over tiolav to ræranne = 398.11: ne alios erigens cadat.

Pr. Ps. 25.3: ic symle tilode mid rihtwisnesse de and him to licianne = complacui in veritate tua.

Bl. Hom. 219.18: teolode to arisenne.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 686: teoligende his cneowu to bigenne hire ongean-weardes.

wil(1)nian, desire, be desirous of:

(1) Uninflected:

Met. 29.3: Gif ou nu wilnige weorulddrihtnes heane anwald hlutre mode ongitan giorne.

Bede 182.17: heo wilnade gehealdan . . . ban = 148.9: desiderabat . . .

ossa recondere. — Ib. 218.6: Sa wilnade he hine seolfne from eallum bigongum Sisse worulde frem ne gedon = 167.31: cupiens se . . . alienare. — Ib. 418.28: he willnade from him onfon . . . reliquias = 301.26: reliquias . . . se sperans accipere.

Boeth. 14.19: gif du wilnige on rihtum geleafan dæt sode lecht oncnawan = 23.22: si uis lumine claro cernere uerum. — Ib. 52.19: hi wilniad ealle durh mistlice padas cuman to anum ende = 52.5: nititur peruenire.

Greg. 17.19: da de dan [ne] git will[ni]ad oderra monna gereafian = 246.11: qui rapiunt aliena. — Ib. 43.1: dara goda de hie wilniad synderlice habban = 20.25: quæ privata habere appetunt, bonis privant.

Solil. 13.1: ic wilnege cuman to $\delta e = ad$ te ambio.

Pr. Ps. 13.9: da de wilniad fretan min folc = 13.4: qui devorant populum meum.

Ælf. Hom. I. 432^{b 1, 2}: We wilniað mid urum hlaforde clænlice sweltan, swiðor ðonne unclænlice mid eow lybban.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 142: ic . . . wilnode to munuclicum life gecyrran.

L. 23.8: mycelre tide he wilnode hine geseon = Erat enim cupiens ex multo tempore videre eum.

(2) Inflected:

Met. 19.44: Hi wilniad welan 7 what 7 weordscipes to gewinnanne.

Bede 68.13: wilniað him to ærfeweardum to habbenne = 50.12: habere heredes quaerunt.

Boeth. 42.12: ge wilniað eowerne hlisan ungemetlice to brædanne? = 44.20: de peruulganda fama . . . cogitatis? — Ib. 55.23: wilniað to begitanne = 53.52: qui nihilo indigere nituntur. — Ib. 56.4: wilnað to begitanne = 53.58b: adipisci . . . laborat. — Ib. 56.19: wilnað to begitanne = 54.67: quod habere fruique delectet. — Ib. 56.20: wilniað to begitanne = 54.68: adipisci . . . uolunt.

Greg. 25.9: wilniað deah lareowas to beonne = 4.8: docere concupiscunt.—
Ib. 145.12: Se donne de wilnað woh to donne = 104.17: Qui ergo et prava studet agere.—Ib. 203.8b: deat hie wielnien to wietanne det etc. = 152.6: ut appetant scire.—Ib. 399.3: deah ne biod na gemengde buton donne hi wilniað bearn to gestrienanne = 316.20: sed tamen extra suscipiendæ prolis admixtionem debitam, nulla carnis voluptate solvuntur.

Oros. 54.16: wilnade sum æðeling to ricsianne in Argentine = 55.16: arrepta tyrannide.

Solil. 32.20: Wilnast ou maran to witanne onne be Gode and be of silfum? = Amasne aliquid præter tui Deique scientiam? — Ib. 37.1: simle swa ic ma wilnige oæt leoht to geseonne = nam quanto augetur spes videndae illius . . . pulchritudinis. — Ib. 56.5: Hwæs wilnast ou ma to witanne? = quid scire prius mavis?

Pr. Ps. 41. Intr.: δa he wilnode to hys e δ le to cumanne of his wræcsi $\delta e = 0$. Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 253: ic wilnode δe geseonne (sic, without to).

Mat. 20.28°: Ge wilniað to geðeonne on gehwædum δ inge = 0.

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs having both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive as object:—

ablinnan, cease, cease from. aginnan, begin. aliefan, allow.

bebeodan, command. beginnan, begin. beodan. command.

bewerian, prohibit, forbid.
biddan, request, demand.
findan, find.
fon, undertake, begin.
forbeodan, forbid.
forhogian, despise, neglect.
forhycgan, despise, neglect.
forlætan, omit.
ge-earnian, deserve, earn.
gehatan, order, promise.
geleornian, learn.
gemed(e)mian, deign, vouchsafe.
gemyntan, intend, determine.
gestihhian, determine, decide.
geswican, stop, desist from.

geðafian, allow.
geðristlæcan [-y-], presume, undertake.
gewil(1)nian, desire.
gewunian, use, be wont.
gieman, care.
leornian, learn.
myntan, think, intend.
ondrædan, fear.
onginnan, begin (occasionally attempt).
secan, seek.
sellan, grant, allow.
tilian [teolian], attempt, strive for.
ðencan, think, attempt (?).
wenan, hope, expect.
wil(1)nian, desire.

2. With Passive Verbs.

At times the Modern English John told me the story is, in the passive, rendered, unhappily I think, by I was told the story by John, in which latter the direct object, story, of the active is illogically retained in the passive. objective in the passive construction is by not a few grammarians called "the retained objective,"—an awkward name, but, despite his objurgatory remarks thereon, not inferior, I think, to that proposed by Professor C. Alphonso Smith,¹ "the objective by position." Similarly, at times, an active infinitive is found as the retained object of a few passive verbs which, when active, take a dative and an accusative as objects or an accusative and an infinitive as an objective This construction with the infinitive after passive verbs is by many, especially in Germany, called, not "the retained objective," but "the nominative with the infinitive." Both terms seem to me infelicitous, but, as I am unable to suggest a good substitute, I adopt the former as the less objectionable of the two. See, further, Einenkel, l. c., p. 257, who discusses this idiom in Middle English, and Erckmann, l. c., pp. 10-11, who discusses it in Modern English.

I. This objective infinitive is uninflected only with the passive of the following verbs:—

aliefan, allow. (ge)fremman, make.

(ge)seon, see. hatan, command.

The examples in full are:—

aliefan [-y-], allow:

Ex. 44: Wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene, alyfed laðsið leode gretan. (ge)fremman, make:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 38: Wel oft eac swilce des de hi rehton det he wære gefremed wyrde beon dere godcundan onlihtnysse durh æteowednyss fram gode dere gastlican gesihde (or consecutive?).

(ge)seon, see:

Bede 68.14, 15^a: heora weoruldgod, 5a heo agan, him healdað 5a 5e heo geare gesegene beoð eahtan 7 witnian = 50.13: quae possident, ipsis seruant, quos irati insequi uidentur. — Ib. 142.5: 5æt he wæs gesewen Criste ðeowian

¹ See his interesting discussion of this idiom in his Studies in English Syntax, pp. 66-71.

7 eac deofolgeldum = 116.7: Christo servire videretur et diis. — Ib. 338.3: δa was heo gesegen mid . . . beorhtnesse leohtes scinan = 256.6: refulgere videbatur.

Chron. 235^m, 1100 E^a: to dam Pentecosten was gesewen . . . æt anan tune blod weallan of eordan. (Cf. Oros. 162.6: mon geseah weallan blod of eordan = 163.5: sanguis e terra . . . visum est manare de coelo.)

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 3, § 2^b: gisende ou gimeodumia Gast oin halig . . . ofer oas gescæft wætres, oio from fyre giwalla bio gesene = aque,

que ab igne feruescere uidetur.

Wærf. 203.21, 22: an öing wæs, öæt gesewen wæs on him tælwyrðe beon, öæt full oft swa mycclu blis in him wæs gesægenu beon, öæt he etc. = 248 C¹. 2: unum erat quod in eo reprehensibile esse videatur, quod nonnunquam tanta ei lætitia inerat, ut illis tot virtutibus nisi sciretur esse plenus, nullo modo crederetur.

hatan, command:

Bede 278.18: Gif . . . haten ham hweorfan, ne wille = 216.16: noluerit inuitatus redire.

II. The objective infinitive is inflected only with the passive of these verbs:—

deman, condemn. forbeodan, forbid.

(ge)myngian, remind.

The examples in full are:—

deman, condemn:

Wærf. 254.13: Sæt se Sanctulus . . . wæs gedemed to acwellanne = 309 D: Cognito itaque quod Sanctulus qui inter eos pro sanctitatis reverentia magni honoris habebatur occidendus esset.

forbeodan, forbid:

Ælf. Hept.: Lev. 11.8: Hara and swyn synd forbodene to æthrinenne = Lepus quoque et sus, horum carnibus non vescemini nec cadavera contingetis. (ge)myngian, remind:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 3.3: we synd gemyngode . . . eow nu to secgenne sum bing.

III. The uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are each found as the object with the passive of forlætan, permit. Only one example of each infinitive has been found:—uninflected: Bede 424.3: eam eft forlæten mid monnum liifgan = 304.12: apud homines sum iterum uiuere permissus;—inflected: Bede 412.29: Da öæt se . . . wer . . . geseah, öæt he ne wæs forlæten, öeodum godcunde lare to bodienne = 298.30: Ut . . . uidit uir . . ., quia nec ipse ad praedicandum gentibus uenire permittebatur.

For the infinitive active (uninflected and inflected) after a few verbs passive

in form but active in sense, see Note 2 to this chapter.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

It is by no means easy to discover what differentiates the use of the uninflected infinitive from the inflected infinitive as object in the groups (I and II) in which only one form of the infinitive is used; this differentiation is still less easy in the group (III) in which the same verb has as its object either the

uninflected infinitive or the inflected infinitive. And yet a few general principles seem to emerge from an examination of the groups, principles helpful to a solution of the problem despite the difficulty of precise formulation and despite a number of apparent, if not real, exceptions thereto.

To begin with group I, verbs having as object only the Uninflected Infinitive, it is to be observed:—

1. The objective infinitive in most instances appears to the modern Englishman as a direct (accusative) object, and doubtless so appeared to the Anglo-Saxon, for it occurs usually with verbs having the direct object in the accusative, as may be seen by a reference to the list given on page 36. Of this list, the verbs most frequently so used are the verb of commanding (hatan), the verb of causing and permitting (lætan), the verbs of sense perception, and the verbs of mental perception.

2. Occasionally, however, the uninflected objective infinitive occurs with

verbs having another regimen than that of 1, and it occurs: —

- (a) Occasionally with verbs governing (aa) a genitive or an accusative (cunnian, 'attempt;' hogian (hycgan), 'think,' 'intend;' lystan, 'desire;' tweogean (tweon), 'doubt') or (bb) an accusative or a dative (wunian, 'use,' be wont'), though verbs of double regimen usually (especially when one of the cases is an accusative), as we shall see, govern both the uninflected and the inflected infinitive.
- (b) Very rarely with a verb governing the genitive only (blinnan, 'cease from'). As we shall see below, p. 68, the compound, ablinnan, is followed by either infinitive.
- (c) Very rarely with a verb not found with a case (onmedan, 'presume,' 'undertake').

As to group II, verbs having as object only the Inflected Infinitive, it is to be noted:—

- 1. To the modern mind, in the majority of instances, the objective infinitive appears as the "indirect object," under which phrase I here include genitive objects (occasionally also instrumental objects) as well as dative objects; and as a rule it doubtless so appeared to the Anglo-Saxon; for in most instances this inflected infinitive is found as the object with verbs whose noun object is in the genitive or the dative (occasionally the instrumental); or with verbs followed by a preposition plus an oblique case; or with verbs followed indifferently by an "indirect" case or by a prepositional phrase. To be more specific, the inflected infinitive as object occurs:—
- (a) With certain verbs having an accusative of the direct object and a dative of the indirect object, with most of which (æteowan, 'show;' cyðan, 'make known;' geswutelian, 'show;' geteohhian, 'arrange;' læran, 'teach;' tæcan, 'teach') the infinitive appears to us as the indirect object toward which the action of the main verb tends. With one (geceosan, 'choose') the simplex governs a genitive; in one (liefan, 'allow') the datival sense is strong; one (swerian, 'swear') is found only in the later Chronicle; while the remaining verb (tellan, 'tell') is found only once.
- (b) (1) With certain verbs followed by an accusative plus a prepositional phrase (gefon, 'undertake,' + to; læran, 'teach,' 'direct,' + to or on; under-

standan, 'understand,' + be or ymbe; warenian, 'shun,' + from or wið) or (2) with certain verbs followed by a prepositional phrase (beotigan, 'threaten,' + to; elcian, 'delay,' + to; gehyhtan, 'hope,' + on; giernan, 'desire,' + æfter; higian, 'strive for,' + to; murnan, 'lament,' + æfter or for; sierwan, 'plot,' + ymb; smeagan, 'meditate,' + be or on or ymb; ðeahti(g)an, 'consult,' + embe). While to us of to-day a few of these infinitives (as with beotigan, giernan, understandan, and warenian) at first appear as direct objectives, we soon see that this is unnecessary with the two former; and the other infinitives appear to us as genitival, datival, or instrumental in sense, as with the corresponding phrases made up of a preposition and a noun.

(c) With certain verbs having the object in the genitive (elcian, 'delay,' also followed by to + a dative). The infinitive at first appears as an accusative objective, but later is seen to be an adverbial genitive or dative-

instrumental.

(d) With certain verbs having the object in the dative (gedintan, 'direct,' and wiðsacan, 'refuse'). To the modern Englishman the infinitive appears with the former as a true dative objective; with the latter, as an accusative objective, as would the dative noun therewith.

(e) With certain verbs having a double (occasionally a triple) regimen: —

(aa) Those governing the accusative or the genitive (adrædan, 'fear;' anbidian, 'await;' anðracian, 'fear;' behatan, 'promise;' bodian, 'preach;' geðencan, 'think;' giernan, 'desire;' habban, 'have;' reccan, 'care for;' weddian, 'contract;' and witan (nytan), 'know' ('know not')), with which the infinitive appears to the modern reader as accusative objects rather than genitive objects, as would also the noun in the genitive.

(bb) Those governing the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing (gxlan), 'hinder from;' teon, 'accuse'), in which the infinitive after gxlan appears to us moderns as a genitive of separation; that after teon, as a

genitive of specification.

- (cc) Those governing the genitive or the dative (geliefan (also accusative), 'believe;' getilian (also accusative), 'attempt,' 'strive for;' on fon (also accusative), 'undertake;' wandian, 'delay;' and widcwedan, 'refuse'). The infinitive with geliefan appears to us as a dative or an accusative objective; that with getilian, as the dative of the end toward which; that with on fon and widcwedan, as an accusative objective; and that with wandian, as the genitive of specification.
- (dd) Those governing the dative of the person and the genitive of the thing (forwiernan, 'prohibit;' wiernan, 'desist from;' and wiðcweðan, 'refuse'). The infinitive with the two former appears to us of the present day as a genitive of separation; with the latter, as an accusative objective, as would the noun in the dative.
- 2. Not a few times, however, the inflected infinitive appears to us moderns as a direct object. This is more or less true, as already pointed out, with a few of the verbs treated under 1 above. But the feeling for the direct objective is perhaps somewhat stronger when the inflected infinitive is found as object:—
- (a) With certain verbs governing an accusative of the direct object. Several of these are compounds whose simplex governs another case than the accusative or another case beside the accusative (aðencan, 'think,' 'attempt;' forgieman, 'neglect;' forgiemeleasian, 'neglect;' oferhogian, 'despise;' un-

derfon, 'undertake'). With several (tacan, 'teach; 'tihhian, 'direct; 'possibly, also: murnan, 'lament;' sierwan, 'plot;' smeagan, 'consider'), the infinitive may be considered adverbial (consecutive) rather than objective. Several (anforlætan, 'abandon; 'forsacan, 'refuse; 'forseon, 'despise; 'ieldan, 'delay;' loftan, 'allow;' onscunian, 'shun') have the inflected infinitive when we should expect the uninflected; but ieldan may follow the analogy of other verbs of delaying, like elcian; while loftan in the passage in question is datival in sense.

(b) With a verb not found with a case (gedyrstlæcan, 'presume,' 'dare'), with which the infinitive appears to us as an accusative objective; and mynnan, 'direct one's course to,' 'intend,' with which the infinitive wavers in sense between the direct and the indirect object.

In a word, while the inflected infinitive only is found with a few verbs that govern the accusative only, this happens chiefly with compounds whose simplex govern a dative or a genitive; in the main, the inflected infinitive is found with verbs that govern an object in the genitive or in the dative (occasionally in the instrumental), or in both; or with verbs that are followed by a preposition plus an oblique case; and, while occasionally, even after verbs governing the genitive or the dative (or both), to the modern mind the infinitive appears as if it were an accusative objective, the same thing would be true of the noun in the genitive or the dative with these verbs. Taken as a whole, the infinitive in this group of verbs normally is a genitive or a dative (occasionally an instrumental) object to the chief verb, though occasionally the objective idea so pales away that the infinitive may be considered adverbial in the narrower sense, and be regarded as consecutive or final.

In group III, verbs having as object the Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive each, we note:—

- 1. In the majority of examples, the double construction, with uninflected and inflected infinitive, occurs with verbs having a double (occasionally a triple) regimen, that is, with verbs governing (1) two cases at once 2 or (2) any one of two or three cases (or that govern a case or are followed by a prepositional phrase); and the distinction between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive is in the large such as we find with the different cases (genitive, dative, instrumental, and accusative) with these verbs, though with not a few exceptions duly pointed out in the several groups. The objective infinitive is both uninflected and inflected:—
- (a) With a few verbs governing the accusative of the direct and the dative of the indirect object (aliefan, 'allow; 'secan, 'seek; 'sellan, 'grant,' 'allow'). The double construction with these verbs is due in part, no doubt, to their double regimen, but the inflected infinitive does not appear to us as an indirect With aliefan we have found the double construction with the subjective infinitive, due partly to its double regimen, partly to the datival sense thereof; and, as a rule, the subjective infinitive is inflected when near aliefan, but uninflected when remote therefrom. So here with the objective infinitive: the uninflected infinitive (Mat. 8.21b) is the second in a series of two, the first of which is inflected and is near to, but not juxtaposed with, the chief verb.

¹ If we except onginnan, an apparent rather than a real exception, as is shown below.
2 (1) = "double regimen" in the looser sense; (2) = "double regimen" in the narrower sense.

Both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive in this passage, moreover, translate a Latin accusative and infinitive. In the second example (Ælf. L. S. 102.227) the inflected infinitive is separated from aliefan by four words. Hence I think that the datival force is of more importance than the distance from the verb. — In all probability the original construction with secan was the uninflected infinitive, which alone is found in the poetry (twice), and which occurs three times in the prose (Gosp., 2; Bl. Hom., 1). In each of the instances of the inflected infinitive, it is possible that the infinitive is final in sense; that, for instance, in Pr. Ps. 34.4 (va ve secav mine sawle to fordonne = confundantur . . . quærentes animam meam), to fordonne is an adverbial modifier of secað rather than its object, — an interpretation favored by the fact that secan at times means 'strive for' as well as 'seek;' and that secan is followed by to plus a noun in the dative in Anglo-Saxon, though this phrase expresses, not the object sought, but the source whence something is sought. — In the single instance of sellan followed by an inflected infinitive, the infinitive is juxtaposed with the verb, while the uninflected is separated therefrom, but the double construction is probably due to the double regimen of sellan. Compare "Subjective Infinitive," p. 24. — Forlætan, 'abandon,' 'omit,' may be put in this group, as it is followed by an accusative and a prepositional phrase introduced by to.

(b) With certain verbs governing the accusative of the thing and the dative of the person (bebeodan, 'command;' beodan, 'command;' bewerian, 'prohibit,' 'forbid:' cf. 1 (c) and (d); forbeodan, 'forbid;' gehatan, 'command,' promise:' cf. 1 (d); gedafian (occasionally genitive instead of accusative), 'allow;' cf. 1 (d)). With this group of verbs the double construction rests primarily upon the double regimen of the verbs; and it is easy to see how in these verbs, particularly those of commanding and forbidding, the dative and the accusative objectives could be interchanged without any essential alteration in sense. Gehatan in the sense of 'command,' like the simplex, hatan, governs the uninflected infinitive only; in the sense of 'promise,' the inflected infinitive, though in one of these examples (Bede 316.22) the inflected infinitive is doubtless due to the Latin future infinitive (esse donaturum).

(c) With a few verbs followed by (1) an accusative or by a prepositional phrase (gemedemian (accusative or with to), 'humiliate,' 'condescend;' gemyntan (accusative or with to), 'intend,' 'determine;' tilian (accusative or with to), 'attempt,' 'strive for: 'cf. 1 (d)) or by (2) a prepositional phrase (bewerian (wið and dative of the thing), 'prohibit,' 'forbid: cf. 1 (b); fon (to or on), 'undertake,' 'begin: 'see also 1 (d); geswican (from), 'stop,' 'desist from: 'cf. 1 (d)). With this group, too, the chief factor in the double construction is the double (or triple) regimen. The difference in sense between the uninflected and inflected infinitive in the group as a whole is no greater and no less than that between 'stop' and 'desist from 'or 'attempt' and 'strive for 'in present Substantially the same situation exists in Greek, as is evident from this statement in Goodwin's Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb, § 807: "After verbs and other expressions which denote hindrance or freedom from anything, two forms are allowed, the simple infinitive and the genitive of the εἴργει σε τοῦ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, both with the same meaning, 'he prevents you from doing this."

(d) With certain verbs having a double (or occasionally a triple) regimen in the narrower sense:—

(aa) Those governing the accusative or the genitive (bewerian, 'prohibit,' 'forbid: 'cf. 1 (b) and (c); biddan, 'request,' 'demand: 'cf. 1 (d) (bb); gehatan, 'order,' 'promise: 'cf. 1 (b); gedafian, 'allow: 'cf. 1 (b); gieman, 'care (for); 'ondrædan (also with reflexive dative), 'fear; 'tilian, 'attempt,' strive for: 'cf. 1 (c); Bencan, 'think,' 'think of; 'wenan (also with dative of person), 'hope for,' 'expect;' wil(l)nian, 'desire'). Again, the double construction is the result, I believe, of the double regimen of these verbs; and the line between the uninflected and the inflected infinitive is in most cases as patent and as thin as that between 'hope for' and 'expect' and 'attempt' and 'strive for.' — For one of these verbs, however, *Jencan*, it has been declared ¹ that we have the uninflected infinitive as a rule when the infinitive precedes the verb, Bencan, and the inflected infinitive when following it, the author of this theory, Dr. van der Gaaf, declaring that he could find only eight examples of the uninflected infinitive following *Fencan*. But I find a total of 35 (or, omitting two doubtful examples, of 33) uninflected infinitives following *dencan*, while the total number of inflected infinitives is 34, all following the finite verb. Another objection to the contention of Dr. van der Gaaf is the fact that in several instances we find one and the same verb both preceded and followed, in the same sentence, by an uninflected infinitive, as in Beow. 800, 801; Gen. 1274, 1275; And. 150, 151, 152; Ps. 93.20^{a, b}, 149.7^{a, b}, 8^{a, b}; Fallen Angels 183, 184, 208–209. Moreover, Dr. van der Gaaf declares that only the uninflected infinitive is found in the poetry with this verb. As my statistics show, however, at least one example of the inflected infinitive occurs in the poems (Ps. 118.59: Swa ic wegas dine wise dence to ferenne fotum minum), and six more occur in the Charms (V, C, 4a, b, c, d, 5a, b), which six occur in the prose prologue to the Charms, and doubtless were excluded from Dr. van der Gaaf's poetic count, though given in Wülker's Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie. That nearness to or distance from the chief verb is not an important factor in the double regimen with *dencan* is proved by the fact that we have the inflected infinitive when separated therefrom (Wærf. 252.4, 253.7; Greg. 11.14; Oros. 212.29; Chron. 190^b, 1065 C^b, 229^b, 1094 E^d, 233^m, 1097 E^a; Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 37.18, 21; Charms V, C, 4b, c, d, 5a, b) as well as when juxtaposed therewith (in the remaining instances), as is true, also, of the uninflected infinitive (three of which, however — Oros. 282.9b, 292.29 (with Juhte for Johte?); Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 48.17^b — are the second in a series of two commencing with an inflected infinitive). As both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are found in poetry and in Early West Saxon, it is probable that from the beginning each infinitive was allowable with this verb, though the uninflected was the favorite in poetry in the ratio of 61 to 1.2 — For the same reason it is likely that either infinitive was allowable also with tilian and with wil(l)nian from the first, but neither verb was common in the poetry, only two examples occurring therein of each (tilian, 2 U.; wilnian: 1 U., 1 I.).

(bb) Those governing the accusative or the dative (biddan (accusative or dative of person), 'request,' 'demand:' cf. 1 (d) (aa)). With this verb,

¹ See van der Gaaf, 1 l. c., pp. 52-62.

² Since writing the above, I have come upon the following statement by Dr. H. Willert, in his "Vom Infinitiv with To," p. 103: "So soll, wenn Jencan and wenan sich mit dem präpositionalen Infinitiv verbinden, die Sache bezeichnet werden, auf welche sich die Gedanken richten."

confusion between inflected and uninflected infinitive rests upon the double regimen of the verb, and confusion is peculiarly easy to arise either with infinitive or with noun. The only instance of the infinitive with this verb in the poetry is uninflected.

(cc) Those governing the genitive or the dative (geswican, 'stop,' 'desist from:'cf. 1 (c)). Of the very slight difference between the two kinds of infinitive here, arising from the double (or triple) regimen of geswican, I have already spoken in 1 (c) above. This verb is not found with an infinitive in the poetry.

- (dd) Those governing the genitive or the dative or the accusative (gewil(l)-nian, 'desire'). The double construction here, also, rests on the triple regimen of the verb; and the difference between the two infinitives is a matter of phraseology rather than reason, as also with the noun in different cases. This verb is not found with an infinitive in the poetry.
- (ee) Those governing the accusative or the instrumental (fon, 'undertake,' begin: 'cf. 1 (c); gewunian, 'use,' be wont'). Of the double construction with fon, due to its regimen, I have already spoken in 1 (c). The twofold construction with gewunian is likewise due to its double regimen.
- 2. At times, however, we find the objective infinitive both uninflected and inflected after verbs not having a double regimen, as in the following groups:—
- (a) With a few verbs governing the accusative of the direct object (aginnan, 'begin;' beginnan, 'begin,' 'undertake,' 'attempt;' findan, 'find,' 'strive;' forhogian, 'despise,' 'neglect;' forhycgan, 'despise,' 'neglect;' ge-earnian, 'deserve,' 'earn;' leornian, 'learn;' myntan, 'think,' 'intend;' onginnan, 'begin,' 'undertake,' 'attempt'). Several of these verbs are compounds whose simplex governs another case besides the accusative (forhogian, forhycgan, ge-earnian), a fact that may account for the double construction with the compounds.

As to the compounds of ginnan¹ (aginnan, beginnan, and onginnan), they constitute apparent rather than real exceptions to the principle stated in 1 above, for, while I have found no instance of these verbs governing any case except the accusative in Anglo-Saxon, Professor Delbrück, in his Synkretismus, p. 38, tells us that both the accusative and the genitive are found with biginnan in Old Saxon, that in Old High German the genitive is very common with biginnan, and that the genitive was probably at the outset the normal case in the West Germanic languages with the ginnan compounds. It may be, therefore, that these compounds had a double regimen in Anglo-Saxon, though not so recorded in the dictionaries; and that the use of the two infinitives is due to this double regimen. It should be added that not only the uninflected infinitive in -an but also the genitive infinitive in -annes are found after biginnan in Old High German.² In Middle High German, too, beginnan is followed by both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive.³ That, when inflected, the objective infinitive is in close proximity to, usually in juxtaposition with, beginnan, but that, when uninflected, it is usually remote therefrom, is an interesting but puzzling fact. This fact seems to me, however, to tend to prove the contention of Professor Delbrück that, in all probability, the

³ See Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., pp. 106, 114-120.

¹ Cf. Dr. H. Willert, ² l. c., p. 104: "Nicht erklären kann ich mir, warum ginnan [sic for beginnan?] und onginnan neben zahlreichen reinen Infinitiven vereinzelt auch den mit to aufweisen und warum beginnan den letzteren bevorzugt."

² See Erdmann, ¹ l. c., I, p. 210; Wilmanns, l. c., p. 125.

genitive was originally the normal case with the ginnan compounds in the West-Germanic languages, especially with beginnan: in proximity to beginnan, we have in Anglo-Saxon the inflected infinitive, which, as we have seen, normally represents an "indirect" case. Which infinitive represents the original construction with beginnan in Anglo-Saxon, it is difficult to determine: only one example of the infinitive occurs in the poetry (Creed 37), that uninflected; none is found in Alfred; only two are found in the Chronicle, one uninflected (201^m, 1067 D) and one inflected (243^t, 1110 E^b); and by far the majority of the examples occur in Ælfric (73 out of a total of 85). Since, however, the examples of the uninflected form in the Chronicle and in the poetry are each late, and since, out of a total of about 85 examples, 57 are inflected, I am inclined to believe that the inflected infinitive represents the original construction in Anglo-Saxon. This preponderance of the inflected infinitive is quite in keeping with the fact, stated by Professor Delbrück, that, in Old High German, the genitive case was very frequent with beginnan. Of course, the fluctuation in the two forms of the infinitive may be due in part merely to the lateness of Ælfric's works, by whose time the distinction between the two forms had begun to break down. However, I believe that the fact that the majority of Ælfric's examples (54 out of 73) are inflected, probably points to what was the original construction.

That with onginnan, on the contrary, the uninflected infinitive was the original idiom, seems probable from these facts: 977 examples of the uninflected infinitive occur to only 37 examples of the inflected; only the uninflected form is found in the poems (18 of them in Beowulf); in Alfred there are 246 uninflected to 2 inflected infinitives; and the majority of the inflected infinitives (25 out of 37) occur in Ælfric, but even with him the uninflected preponderate in the ratio of 82 to 25. As with beginnan, though not to the same extent, so with onginnan the infinitive, when inflected, is usually near the finite form of onginnan. As stated in the preceding paragraph, the double construction with onginnan is probably due to the assumed double regimen of that verb. twofold construction may be due in part, also, to the lateness in time of Ælfric's works; and in part to the two well-known different meanings of onginnan,1 'begin,' and 'attempt;' though we find each use in each sense: the former needs no illustration; for the latter cf. Boeth. 127.23 (ic sceal deah hwæthwugu his onginnan to tecanne = 108.16: aliquid deliberare conabimur) with Bede 200.12(Θ a ongunnon . . . oneras upp teon = 158.13: temtabant . . . nauem retinere). Again, in his Grammar, Ælfric tells us that onginnan plus the inflected infinitive is the proper translation for the Latin inchoative verbs, giving as paradigms, on p. 212, "ic onginne to wearmigenne = calesco," "ic onginne to anoracigenne = horresco," "ic onginne to blacigenne = pallesco;" but he does not state; nor is it easy for me to conceive, why the inflected infinitive is better in such cases than the uninflected infinitive. Alfred evidently thought the uninflected infinitive proper, for in Bede 256.24 (sona swa he trumian ongon = 203.30: cum convalescere coepisset) we find trumian ongan translating convalescere coepisset. Be the reason what it may, the inflected infinitive caught the fancy of Ælfric, and to him we owe 25 out of the total of 37 inflected infinitives after On the other hand, Ælfric uses the uninflected infinitive 82 times, without making any rational differentiation between the two so far as I can

¹ Cf. the quotation below from Dr. Henry Sweet.

discover. It remains only to add that to many grammarians onginnan seems to have paled into a mere auxiliary, and its infinitive seems "complementary" in the narrower sense rather than objective. To me, too, onginnan often seems auxiliary, though oftener not, and the difficulty of drawing a hard-and-fast line between the two uses has led me to put it here rather than under the complementary use.

With aginnan, too, the uninflected infinitive was probably the original construction: it is found 28 times, while the inflected infinitive is found only 5 times; and the latter occurs only in the late manuscript F of the Chronicle or, once, in the later years of manuscript E.

With findan, the uninflected infinitive (*Elene* 1255) is probably better considered predicative to a subject accusative to be supplied. The inflected infinitive (*Daniel* 544) is probably due to the fact that findan here means 'to strive for.'

In the one example of *geleornian* with an inflected infinitive (*Bede* 210.31) the infinitive corresponds to a Latin gerundive; but see the next paragraph, on *leornian*.

Leornian is once followed by the uninflected infinitive, but in all other instances it is followed by an inflected infinitive. In one of the latter instances (Bede 246.7), the inflected infinitive is in translation of a Latin gerund. The only explanation that occurs to me of the six other inflected infinitives is this: possibly leornian denoted the striving for an end rather than the attainment thereof, and was consequently followed by an inflected infinitive. Once (in A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 253^a, 256) we have a series of two infinitives, each inflected.

The only example of the inflected infinitive with myntan occurs in the later $Chronicle~(265^{\rm m},~1137~{\rm E^f})$, but several times the uninflected infinitive occurs both in prose and in poetry. Possibly the double regimen of the compound, gemyntan (with accusative (or to + dative) of thing and dative of person), has affected the simplex, myntan.

(b) With a verb governing the genitive only (ablinnan, 'cease,' 'desist from'). The single inflected infinitive after ablinnan (Ælf. Hom. II. 74^t) immediately follows the verb; the one uninflected (Ælf. L. S. XXX. 39) follows with but one word intervening; and the double construction is probably due to the analogy of other verbs of cessation, which, as we saw in the preceding section, have a double regimen with the infinitive as with the noun.

(c) With a few verbs not found with a case (gestihhian, 'determine,' 'decide;' geðristlæcan, 'presume').

To sum up the matter for the verbs taking both the uninflected and the inflected infinitive, the double construction is found, in far the larger number of instances,² with verbs having a double or triple regimen, that is, with verbs governing two cases at once or any one of two or three cases, or with verbs followed by a case or by a preposition plus an oblique case; and the distinction between the uninflected and the inflected infinitive is in the large such as we find with the different cases (genitive, dative, instrumental, and accusative)

¹ After writing the above, I came upon the following sentence in Wilmanns, l. c., p. 116: "Nur bei wenigen hat sich der blosse Infinitiv behauptet: bei den Prät.-Präsentia ausser wissen, also bei mögen, können, dürfen, sollen, müssen, und bei wollen und lernen; doch verbinden wir lernen mit dem Inf. mit zu, wenn nicht das Objekt, sondern das Ziel des Lernens bezeichnet werden soll."

Exclusive of onginnan, an apparent rather than a real exception.

with these verbs, though with not a few exceptions, duly pointed out in the several groups. But with some verbs that govern only the accusative, or that are not found with a case, we also find both infinitives; and the double construction here seems to be due at times to the double regimen of another verb of the same root; at times to the analogical influence of verbs of different roots but of kindred signification; and at times to the fact that some of the infinitives fluctuate in sense between the adverbial and the objective uses. With all groups, occasional disturbing factors are the occurrence of the infinitive in a series, in which case at times, but by no means habitually, the second infinitive, even when following an inflected infinitive, is likely to be uninflected; and the influence of the Latin original, which at times, as with the gerund or the gerundive, tends to cause the inflected infinitive to be used, and at other times, as with the accusative and infinitive construction, tends to cause the uninflected infinitive to be used. Once more, the distinction between the two infinitives, which, as stated, rested originally on slight differences in meaning in the chief verb as indicated in the different cases of its noun objects, early began to fade away, and is very pale in Late West Saxon. sional exceptions that I have pointed out to this theory, I hope and believe that the main principles here formulated as to the differentiation of the two infinitives will meet with acceptance, the more so that, as will be seen in Chapter XVI, they seem as applicable to the Germanic languages in general as to Anglo-Saxon.

The foregoing has been written concerning the active infinitive with active verbs; but the same general principles apply to the active infinitive with passive verbs. In the group followed by the inflected infinitive only, after deman (Wxrf. 254.14) the inflected infinitive is doubtless due to the gerundial periphrastic of the Latin original. Forbeodan and (ge)manian, in the active, are followed by either infinitive, each being a verb of double regimen. (Ge)myngian governs an accusative or a genitive.

I do not know of any detailed attempt by previous investigators to differentiate the two infinitives as object in Anglo-Saxon. Dr. van Draat's "The Infinitive with and without Preceding to," in his Rhythm in English Prose (1910), does not touch upon the Anglo-Saxon period. But several helpful suggestions have been made by others. In his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, § 453, for instance, Professor March notes this interesting fact: "The gerund [= inflected infinitive] as genitive object is pretty common: ondred to faranne, dreaded to go (Mat. ii, 22); wished to see (xiii, 17). Other objects occur, § 448, 2." The second passage cited by Professor March, Matthew xiii. 17 (gewilnudon da ding to geseonne . . . and gehyran da ding) contains both an uninflected infinitive and an inflected infinitive as objects of the same verb, but no explanation is offered of the double construction. Dr. Wülfing, likewise, in his Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen, II, p. 204, tells us that "Der Infinitiv mit to als Objekt an Stelle eines Akkusativs oder eines Genetivs steht bei transitiven Zeitwörtern," but he does not indicate when, in his judgment, we have an accusative use of the inflected infinitive and when a genitive use; nor does he say anything of a dative objective use of the inflected infini-

¹ Dr. H. Willert's "Vom Infinitiv with To" is based upon the selections in Zupitza's Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch. As this article appeared after my study had been put in its final form, what seems noteworthy therein has been incorporated in my footnotes.

tive. Again, Dr. Wülfing duly records that certain verbs govern both an uninflected and an inflected infinitive, but he offers no explanation of that fact. Helpful, too, is this statement by Dr. Henry Sweet, in his A New English Grammar, II, p. 118: "The substitution of the supine [= inflected infinitive] for the infinitive [= uninflected infinitive] began in Old English itself. Thus the supine of purpose, as in hie comon dat land to sceawienne, 'they came to spy out the land,' gradually supplanted the older infinitive with many verbs of desiring, intending, attempting, etc., so that while such a verb as willan, 'will,' continued — as it still does in Modern English — to take the infinitive only, other verbs of similar meaning, such as wilnian, 'desire,' together with such verbs as onginnan, 'undertake,' 'begin,' began to take the supine as well as the infinitive." Nor is Dr. Sweet's view in essential conflict with that given by me above: he mentions here only one factor, while I have discussed in addition other factors.

Finally, the quotation from Dr. Sweet raises the interesting question as to whether, in the objective use, the uninflected infinitive or the inflected was the original idiom in Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Sweet seems to declare for the former, as does Dr. Kenyon, who, in his The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer, p. 100, writes: "In O. E. [= A. S.] the simple infinitive seems to have been the original construction, but the prepositional came in early." My own view, as implicitly indicated in the exposition of the objective infinitive with the various groups of verbs, is that, while the uninflected infinitive was by far the commoner form and was with most verbs the original construction, the inflected infinitive was with other verbs not uncommon, and was with these verbs the original construction. Indeed, Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 100, considerably modifies his first statement above given, as immediately thereafter he adds: "Aside from the general tendency to substitute the prepositional for the simple infinitive, the prepositional is used in M. E. after many words like commeven, compellen, constreynen, driven, enclynen, and the like, after which the original force of the preposition to is still evident and appropriate, and after which to with noun objects is also used, as in Bo. V, p. 3, 166: constreinth hem to a bitydinge . . . This is true of verbs of causing, such as maken, techen, etc., but not of verbs of perception, like sen, heren, etc., which still have the simple infinitive in Chaucer as in O. E.

"The same relation between the prepositional infinitive and the prepositions to and for with nouns can be seen also in connection with verbs which take the complementary infinitive (see p. 88, above). It is perhaps noteworthy that there, in connection with auxiliary verbs where such an analogy between to + inf. and to + nouns as R. A. 597, I entende to nothing But . . . for to kembe and tresse me, did not work, and also here in the case of verbs of perception, the simple infinitive never gave place to the prepositional to any extent. This suggests that the great spread of the prepositional infinitive was not wholly due, perhaps only slightly, to a general substitution of the latter for the simple infinitive, but was rather due to an extension of the original construction of the prepositional infinitive as more closely related to the construction of preposition + abstract nouns. This possibility is to be considered also in connection with the spread of the prepositional infinitive as subject, which, as we have seen under Adjectives, was probably greatly enhanced by a transference of the dependent infinitive to the subject relation, as in it is good to do. See pp. 49 ff."

If the interpretation given by me of the illustrative examples in this chapter is correct, Dr. Kenyon's second statement is much nearer the truth than the first. It remains only to add that my interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon statistics had been written out in full before the appearance of Dr. Kenyon's work; and that it is a pleasure to find a conclusion based upon an independent study of Anglo-Saxon so strongly supported by that of Dr. Kenyon based upon an independent study of Middle English.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

Occasionally (about 24 times) the passive infinitive is found as the object of the following active finite verbs:—

aginnan, begin.
geearnian, earn, merit.
gewilnian, desire.

habban, have.

onginnan, begin. wil(1)nian, desire. witan, know.

Typical examples are:—
aginnan [-y-], begin:

L. 12.45^d: agynð beatan ða cnihtas . . . and etan and drincan and beon of erdruncen = cæperit percutere servos . . . et edere, et bibere, et inebriari. geearnian, earn, merit:

Bede 372.34: geearnode onfongen beon = 275.21: meruisset recipi. — Ib. 406.16: Sæt he . . . geearnade . . . onfongen beon = 294.10^b: recipi mereretur. gewilnian, desire:

Wærf. 204.4: Sonne hi gewilnias fullfremede beon = 249 A¹: quatenus dum appetunt perfecti esse.

Mat. 20.28^b: Ge gewilniað to geðeonne on gehwædum ðinge, and beon gewanod on dam mæstan dinge = no Latin.

habban, have:

L. 12.50: ic hæbbe on fulluhte beon gefullod = Baptismo autem habeo baptizari. onginnan, begin:

Bede 88.3: Sonne onginnes Sær seo syn acenned beon = 61.14: peccatum incipit nasci. — Ib. 128.12: ongon . . . swenced beon = 108.18^a: coepit . . . affici. — Ib. 358.14: ongan . . . gewanad beon = 267.11^b: coepit . . . referri.

Wærf. 74.3: heo da ongan . . . beon onstyred = 201 B³: cæpit . . . agitari. — Ib. 206.14: da ongan dis . . . beon gedon = 252 B¹: Cæpit itaque hoc indesinenter agere. — Ib. 206.24: da ongan . . . se hlisa . . . beon gemærsad = 252 B³: cæpit . . . fama longe lateque crebescere.

Mk. 13.4: hwylc tacen bið ðænne ealle ðas ðing onginnað beon geendud? = quando hæc omnia incipient consummari?

wil(1)nian, desire:

Bede 234.1^b: Woldon heo 7 willnadan . . . lifgan . . . oððe forðferde ðær bebyrged beon = 176.30: cupientes . . . sepeliri.

witan, know:

Bede 402.24: Ondswarode ic . . . viste . . . a vegen been = 291.13: respondi, quia salutari fonte in remissionem peccatorum essem ablutus.

2. With Passive Verbs.

In a few instances we have the passive infinitive as "the retained object" after the passive of these verbs:—

æteawan [-ie-], show.

(ge)liefan, believe.

ongietan, understand.

bewerian, forbid. (ge)seon, see.

The examples in full are:—
æteawan [-ie-], show:

Bede 80.13: is gesægd, vætte væt from . . . Gode unclæne 7 besmiten æteawed biv in weorce beon, vætte of wyrtruman . . . accenned biv = 57.5: indicatum est, quia illud ab . . . Deo pollutum esse in opere ostenditur.

bewerian, forbid:

Bede 78.4: heo wæron bewered heora weorum gemengde beon = 55.16: uiris suis misceri prohibentur.

(ge)liefan [-y-], believe:

Wærf. 203.23: Sæt he nane Singa næs gelyfed beon gefylled = 248 C³: ut illis tot virtutibus nisi sciretur esse plenus, nullo modo crederetur.

(ge)seon, see:

Bede 424.28: saula . . . , δa . . . gesegene weeran . . . worpene beon = 305.6: quae . . . uidebantur . . . iactari.

ongietan [-y-], understand:

Bede 88.5: Sonne bis ongyten Sær syn gefremed beon = 61.15: tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici.

For the objective infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ii.

NOTES.

- 1. The Objective Infinitive in a Series. In the following passages, quoted on the pages indicated, we have a series of infinitives in which the first is inflected, but the succeeding is not: Oros. 282.9^{a, b}, p. 49; ib. 292.28, 29, p. 49; Ælf. Hom. II. 196^{b 1, 2}, p. 51; ib. 488^{b 7, 8}, p. 53; ib. 588^{t 1, 2}, p. 55; Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 48.17^{a, b}, p. 49; Ælf. L. S. 154.127^{a, b}, p. 47; Gosp.: Mat. 8.21^{a, b}, p. 46; Mat. 13.17^{a, b}, p. 55. In the following passages we have a series of infinitives in which each infinitive is inflected, after an active verb: Bede 330.25^{a, b}; 334.4, 5; 430.33^{a, b}; Boeth. 41.4, 5; 103.15^{a, b}; 110.29^b, 30; Greg. 249.20^{a, b}; 293.3^{a, b}; 423.2, 3; 453.32^{a, b}; Laws 414, VII, c. 13, A^{1, 2}; 453, c. 3, § 1^{a, b}; Bened. 56.18^{a, b}; Pr. Ps. 34.14^{a, b}; Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 3.25^{a, b}; 32.46^{a, b}; Ælf. Hom. II. 486^{b 1, 2}; Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 223^{a, b}; A. S. Hom. & L. S. I.: 1. 253^b, 256; Wulf. 34.14, 15; 200.3^{a, b}; Poems: Charms V, C. 4^{a, b, c, d}, 5^{a, b}. It seems unnecessary to give the series in which each infinitive is uninflected.
- 2. Infinitive after a Finite Verb Passive in Form, but Active in Sense. In the following passages we have an objective infinitive after the passive of (ge)medemian; or, rather, the finite verb, though passive in form, is active in sense, the passive form being due to the translator's mistaking the deponent verb dignor for a passive: — Wærf. 206.4, 5a: bæd ðæt he wære gemedemod him forgyfan 7 sellan hwylcehugu frofre to eardigenne = $252 \text{ A}^{2,3}$: ab . . . Domino petiit ut ei ad habitandum aliquod solatium donare dignaretur; — Laws 409, Judicium Dei IV, c. 2°: Sæs ilca Godes allmæhtiges mægen ofer hine Sis gibrehtan sie gimeodumad = eiusdem Dei omnipotentis uirtus super eum hoc declarare dignetur; ib. 409, c. 3: of Mar' hebstald flæsc onfoa gimeodumad ar $\eth = \exp$ Maria uirgine carnem assumere dignatus es; ib. 411, c. 4, § 5^b: dis giidlage sie gimeodumad = ueritas hoc euacuare dignetur; — Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 466: ic was gemedemod gebiddan & gerynu & ere . . . rode [MS. G.: to gebiddanne]; — ib. XXX. 354: Sone eac swylce se hælend sylf wæs gemedemod Surh Sone heort to his mildheortnesse gecigan; — inflected: Mart. 120.16: drihten God, beo ou gemedemad me to geheranne. The same thing has happened with (ge)eaðmedan in Bede 340.1: Drihten hire forðfore . . . mid sweotolre gesyhde wæs geeadmeded to onwreonne = 257.4: Dominus . . . obitum . . . manifesta uisione revelare dignatus est.

CHAPTER III.

OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

Aside from the Subjective and the Objective uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, we find occasionally the following additional Substantival Uses: (A) as a Predicate Nominative and (B) as an Appositive. Of (C) the infinitive as the Object of a Preposition, I find no clear example.

A. AS A PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

The use of the infinitive as a predicate nominative is specifically denied to Anglo-Saxon by some scholars, as by Buchtenkirch, l. c., p. 9; by Ortmann, l. c., p. 53; and by Redepenning, l. c., p. 84. But Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 23, cites what he considers an example of the uninflected infinitive as predicate nominative from Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica, p. 112: Me ys geount Godes Seowdom between Sas cræftas ealderscipe healdan. Possibly healdan is a predicate nominative here; but, as has been pointed out by Professor Albert S. Cook,1 it may be considered as predicative to an accusative subject; or, as the context seems to me to make more probable, it may be used predicatively with the quasi-auxiliary, ys geduht: see p. 82 below. In his The Gerund in Old English, p. 35, Dr. T. J. Farrar writes: "The only instance of the Gerund as a pure sentence-predicate is in poems 325.4: 2 to findanne næs to offeorrganne and to witanne næs to odwyrceanne and to lufianne næs to odlædanne." Dr. Farrar does not quote the first part of this clause, swa ic dence dis feoh, a fact that may in part account for his interpretation? At any rate, I take these infinitives to be objects of *dence*, and næs to be an adverb instead of a As indicated, most, if not all, of the examples cited below, admit of a different explanation. I quote all of the less doubtful examples that I have observed, giving first the uninflected infinitive and then the inflected.

(1) Uninflected:

Bl. Hom. 189.30: hit is mycel neddearf det h[ie] man forspille, & mid irenum dislum & ordum hie man slea in anr[e] stowe for (sic!) niman mid witum (or subjective?). [Possibly an and has dropped out before for?]

Ælf. Hom. I. 490^{t 1, 2}: Hwæt is lange lybban buton lange swincan (or subjective?)? — Ib. I. 584^{t 1, 2, 3, 4}: Hwæt is god willa buton godnys, ðæt he oðres mannes ungelimp besargige, and on his gesundfulnysse fægnige, his freond na for middengearde ac for gode lufige; his feond mid lufe forberan, nanum gebeodan ðæt him sylfum ne licige, his nextan neode be his mihte gehelpan, and ofer his mihte wyllan (the infinitives may be appositive)?

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 643: to Sam mynstre ferde on Sære ylcan tide Se heora easter-gewuna wæron togædere becuman [Bosworth-Toller, sub v. gewuna, suggests wæs for wæron]. — Ib. XXV. 310b: Nis nan earfoSnyss Sæm . . .

¹ In his A First Book in Old English, p. 131. Thorpe's quotation is from Ælfric's Colloquy, a work not included in my "Statistics," and is found on p. 30 of the edition of the Analecta cited in my bibliography.

2 = Charms V, C. 4 a, b, c, d, 5 a, b, ... M. C., Jr.

gode on feawum mannum offe on micclum werode to helpenne on gefeohte and healdan fa fe he wile (or subjective?).

(2) Inflected:

With beon + a noun or pronoun, arranged in alphabetic order of noun or pronoun:

— earfoones, difficulty:

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 310^a: Nis nan earfoðnyss ðæm ælmihtigan gode on feawum mannum oððe on micclum werode to helpenne on gefeohte and healdan ða ðe he wile (or subjective?).

— frecednes, difficulty:

Ælf. Hom. II. 160^b: wæs ðam gebroðrum micel frecednys to astigenne dæghwomlice of ðam cludum to wæterscipe (or subjective?).

- gemet, propriety, right:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 10.521: He da Ioseph cwæd mid bifiendre stefne: Nis min gemet swilcum cilde to onfonne, fordan de ic hæbbe fela bearna and da synd ealle yldran donne heo.

-hwæt, what?

Elf. Hom. II. 76^t: Hwæt is to cwedenne, det nan man us to dam wingearde ne gehyrde, buton det nan man us ne bodade lifes weig? — Ib. II. 574^t: Hwæt is to cwedenne, "Ne cann ic eow," buton det ic ne workte eow dyllice? [Or is the infinitive subjective in each?]

— hwilc [-y-], which, what:

Ælf. Hom. I. 614^t: Understandað nu hwilc sy on weges geswince to ateorigenne, and deah nelle done weg geendigan.

Wulf. 214.22: gif ge nellað gelefan, men ða leofestan, ðæs ærendgewrites, ðonne ne geðencað ge na, hu ðæt deofol ðam ancre sæde, hwylc hit in helle wære to wunianne.

— mæð, power, ability:

Ælf. Hom. I. 298: Nis na eower mæð to witenne done timan, de min Fæder durh his mihte gesette.

— sorh, sorrow:

Beow. 473: Sorh is me to secganne... gumena ængum, hwæt me Grendel hafað... gefremed (or subjective, as Dr. K. Köhler, l. c., p. 45, holds?).

— deaw, custom:

Bede 202.29: Dæt eac swilce his Jeaw wæs on offrum cyninges tune to donne = 160.1: quod ipsum et in aliis uillis regiis facere solebat.

J. 19.40: Hig namon væs Hælendes lichaman, and bewundon hine mid linenum clave mid wyrtgemangum, swa Iudea veaw ys to bebyrgenne = sicut mos est Judæis sepelire.

- wunder, wonder:

Beow. 1724: Wundor is to secganne, hu mihtig god manna cynne ourh sidne sefan snyttru bryttao, eard and eorlscipe (or subjective? Dr. K. Köhler, l. c., p. 48, strange to say, holds that the infinitive modifies the noun, wundor).

gebyrian, be fitting:

Wulf. 279.5^{a, b}: ne gebyreð æt cyrican ænig ðing to donne, butan god to herianne and hine to gebiddanne (or subjective?).

As to the differentiation of the uninflected infinitive as predicate nominative from the inflected infinitive, it is substantially the same as in the subjective

use: the infinitive is inflected because of the influence of the noun in the verbal phrase made up of is etc. + a noun. In the few instances of the uninflected infinitive as predicate nominative, the infinitive is usually considerably removed from the noun of the verbal phrase, and in one instance (Ælf. L. S. XXV. 310b) is the second of a series of two infinitives, of which the first is inflected.

At times an inflected infinitive is used as an adjectivized predicate nominative, concerning which see Chapter XIII, pp. 180–181.

For the infinitive as predicate nominative in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section iii.

B. AS AN APPOSITIVE.

We have a few examples in which the infinitive is used as an appositive to a noun or a pronoun. I give all the examples observed, arranged according to the case involved:—

- (a) Nominative:—
- (1) Uninflected:

forhæfednes, restraint:

Ælf. Hom. I. 360^b ^{1, 2}: Deorwyrðe is ðeos forhæfednys, and wulderful ðrowung on Godes gesihðe, ða yfelan geðohtas and unlustas mid agenre cynegyrde gestyran, and fram derigendlicere spræce and pleolicum weorce hine sylfne forhabban.

hwæðer, which?

Gosp.: Mk. 2.9^b: $Hwx \delta er$ is edge to seegenne to dam laman, de synd dine synna forgyfene; hwx der de $cwe \delta an$, Aris, etc. = Quid est facilius, dicere paralytico: Dimittuntur tibi peccata, an dicere, Surge etc.; so: L. 5.23^b.

ðæt, that:

Bede 78.22^{a, b, c, d, e} = 55.32, quoted on p. 3 above.

Mk. 12.33: δx he si gelufod of ealre heortan . . . and lufigean his nehstan swa hine sylfne, δx is mare eallum onsægdnyssum and offrungum = ut diligatur ex toto corde . . . et diligere proximum tanquam se ipsum, majus est omnibus etc.

(2) Inflected:

ægðer [egðer], each:

Solil. 16.16, 17: for 5am me ys eg 5er 5ara alyfad, ge 5æt good to lufianne ge 5æt yfel to hatianne = Licet enim mihi in quovis amare rationem, cum illum jure oderim qui male utitur eo quod amo. [Or is the infinitive a genitive appositive to 5ara? See note to o5er on p. 77.]

hwæt, what:

Mat. 9.5^{a, b}: Hwæt is easlicre to cwesenne, De beos forgyfene sine synna, osse to cwesanne, Aris and ga? = Quid est facilius, dicere: Dimittuntur tibi peccata, an dicere, Surge et ambula?

hwæðer, which?

Gosp.: Mk. 2.9^a and L. 5.23^a, both quoted under "Uninflected" above.

syn, sin:

Boeth. 84.32: Dæt is deah micel syn to gedencanne be Gode, dætte ænig god sie buton on him = 74.72: 0.

ylce, same:

- Pr. Ps. 39, Intr.: swa ylce gebyreð ælcum Cristnum men, ðas twegen sealmas to singanne = 0.
 - (b) Genitive:—
 - (1) Uninflected:

behæs, promise:

Chron. 227^b, 1093 E^{b, c, d}: on his broke he Gode fela behæsa behet his agen lif on riht to lædene 7 Godes cyrcean griðian 7 friðian 7 næfre ma eft wið feo gesyllan 7 ealle rihte lage on his ðeode to habbene.

forhæfednes, restraint:

Ælf. Hom. I. 360^{m 1, 2, 3}: Ober forhæfednysse cynn is deorwurdre and healicre, deah seo ober god sy: styran his modes styrunge..., and campian dæghwamlice wid leahtras, and hine sylfne dreagian.

(2) Inflected:

behæs, promise:

Chron. 227b, 1093a, e: quoted under "Uninflected."

ðæt, that:

Greg. 273.3: δx hie geornlice tiligen to wietanne δx him nis na δx anes δx and to δx enceanne hwelce hie hie selfe utane eowien mannum = 206.3: ut scire sollicite studeant, non solum quales foris ostendere, sed etiam quales se debeant intus exhibere.

Oros. 50.16: For don nis me dæs dearf, cwæd O., to secgenne = 51.11: nec per ordinem nunc retexere nostrum est.

- (c) Dative:—
- (1) Uninflected:

onginn, undertaking:

Pr. Gu. IV. 58: Sa wæs his mod Sæs eadigan weres swide gedrefed on him be Sam onginne, Se he ongan. Sæt westen swa ana eardigan = tunc miles Christi totis sensibus turbatus de eo, quod incoeperat, desperare coepit, et huc illucque turbulentum animum convertus, quo solo sederet, nesciebat.

(2) Inflected:

ægðer, each:

Solil. 2.16, 17: forgife me væt me to ægvarrum onhagige, ge her nytwyrve to beonne, ge huru vider to cumanne = 0.

- (d) Accusative:—
- (1) Uninflected:

ægðer, each:

Oros. 178.10, 11: he him geswor on his goda noman δx he $\alpha y \delta r$ wolde, ge δx we are not absolute, swa swa hi hiene heton, ge eac him δx anwyrde eft βr βr δr δ

bu, both:

Mart. 60.3^{a, b}: hu meahte ic bu somod ge in heofon geheran ge her sprecan? hwæt, what:

Laws 455, Gerefa, c. 13^{1-12} : A he mæig findan, hwæt he mæig on byrig betan — ne dearf he na unnyt beon, donne he dær binnan —: odde hus godian, rihtan 7 weoxian 7 grep hegian, diesceard betan, hegas godian, weod wyrtwalian, betweox husan briegian, beoddian, bencian, horsan styllan, flor feormian odde synnes (sic!) sum ding de to nyte mæge.

nader, neither:

Pr. Gu. XVI. 14a, b: swa sarlice he wæs mid dam sare geswenced, dæt he

naðer ðara ne gesittan ne standan mihte = ut sedere aut stare vel jacere nequivisset (see note to oðer below).

oder, one:

Boeth. $53.20^{a. b}$: To wilnia of of twega, of twega, of him selfe ricsian, of hi to twere ricena freedscipe $ge \circ iodan = 52.20$, 21: hi uel regnare ipsi uolunt uel regnantibus adhaerere conantur (the infinitives may be considered appositive to the genitive, twega, but are more probably appositive to of er: see examples from Orosius below).

Oros. 44.9: secgan het det hie oder sceolden, odde det land et him alesan, odde he hie wolde mid gefechte fordon 7 forhergian = 0. - Ib. $120.31^{a, b}$: det hie siddan oder sceoldon, odde for metelieste heora lif aletan odde Somnitum an hand gan = 0. - Ib. $138.32^{a, b}$: to tache det hie oder wolden, odde ealle libban odde ealle licgean = 0.

Maldon 208^{a, b}: hi woldon da ealle oder twega, lif forlætan odde leofne gewrecan (see note to examples from Boethius above).

weorc, work:

Beow. 76: ic wide gefrægn weorc gebannan manigre mægðe geond ðisne middangeard, folcstede frætwan.

Bede 458.24: he ærest ongan δ æt weorc Cristes godspell læran = 326.18: ipse primus ibi opus euangelicum coepit.

(2) Inflected:

ægðer, each:

Greg. 355.22^{a, b}: forðæm he wisse ðæt hit bið swiðe unieðe ægðer to donne, ge wið ðone to cidanne ðe yfel deð, ge eac sibbe wið to habbenne = 276.1: Difficile quippe erat ut si male acta corriperent, habere pacem cum omnibus possent.

weorc, work:

Bede 56.24: Agustinus . . . hwearf eft on væt weorc Godes word to læranne 7 com on Breotone = 44.29: A. . . . rediit in opus uerbi, peruenitque Britanniam (or does to læranne modify weorc attributively instead of being appositive thereto?).

A careful inspection of the foregoing examples will show that normally the appositive infinitive is uninflected. If inflected, the infinitive is inflected because of its relative proximity to some word that is usually accompanied by the inflected infinitive (as aliefan: Solil. 16.16, 17; eaòlicre: Mat. $9.5^{a, b}$; eaòre: Mk. 2.9^{a} , L. 5.23^{b} ; gebyrian: Pr. Ps. 39. Intr.; onhagian: Solil. 2.16, 17; syn: Boeth. 84.32; unieòe: Greg. $355.22^{a, b}$; behatan [(?): or on riht?]: Chron. 227^{b} , 1093^{a}). I know not how to account for the inflected infinitive in Chron. 227^{b} , 1093^{a} (in which an inflected infinitive occurs after three preceding uninflected infinitives) unless it be due to the disturbing influence of rihte; in Bede 56.24, as there stated, the infinitive may modify the noun (weorc) as an attributive genitive instead of as an appositive. — In two instances (Mk. 2.9^{b} , L. 5.23^{b} , p. 75 above) the uninflected infinitive occurs in a series beginning with an inflected infinitive, while in one instance (Chron. 227^{b} , 1093^{e}), as already stated, the reverse is the case.

For the appositive infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section iii.

C. AS THE OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION.

Aside from the inflected infinitive made up of the preposition to 1 plus a dative of the verbal noun in -ne, which we regard as a unit and which, therefore, does not strictly fall under the above heading, I have found no clear case of an infinitive used as the object of a preposition. Dr. T. J. Farrar, l. c., p. 35, cites Bede 82.22 (ves mon is his seolfes dome to forlætenne, ovve be cirican ingonge, obbe to onfonne dem geryne = 58.25: iste profecto siue de ingressu ecclesiae, seu de sumendo dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio, suo est iudicio relinquendus) as an example of the inflected infinitive used with the preposition be; and it is possible so to construe to onfonne, especially in view of its close correspondence to the Latin de sumendo. It is also possible, however, to consider to onfonne as an adverbial infinitive of specification without dependence upon the preposition be: see Chapter XII, section B. In sentences like Wulf. 279.5^{a, b} (ne gebyreð æt cyrican ænig ðing to donne, butan god to herianne and hine to gebiddanne), butan is probably a conjunctive adverb instead of a preposition, and the infinitives, instead of being objects of butan, are nominatives. — In Wærf. 71.11 (he wæs geornful mid teolone his singalra gebeda = 200 B: continuæ orationis studio) one is tempted to consider teolone an inflected infinitive that has lost its to and that is the object of the preposition mid. But more probably teolone is a noun, though I do not find it so recorded in the dictionaries.

To turn to the uninflected infinitive, it is probable that in such instances as Elf. Hom. I. $490^{t 2}$ (Hwæt is lange lybban buton lange swincan) and Elf. L. S. XXV. 198, 199 (hwæt wille we leng don buton licgan ealle æt his arwurðum cneowum and eadmodlice biddan ðæt he us geðingie to ðyllicum gode?) buton is a conjunctive adverb, not a preposition. — So, too, in Bede 78.26 (Ond hwæt elles is to secenne wið ðæm hungre nemne ondlifen, wið durst drync, wið hæto celnis, wið cyle hrægl, wið werignesse reste, wið untrymnesse lacedom secan = 56.3: Et quid est aliud contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra aestum auras, contra frigus uestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quaerere, nisi medicamentum quidem contra egritudines explorare) nemne is probably a conjunction, as is the Latin nisi; and secan in reality completes the sense of is, as does to secanne, but, owing to its remoteness from is, is uninflected: see Chapter VII, p. 98. — In Læce. 5.37 (gif mon on sinwe beslea æt blodlætan and 45.10 (Gif mon æt blodlætan on sinwe beslea), we have a compound noun, I think, although I do not find this word so recorded in the dictionaries.

For the idiom in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section iii.

¹ Also sporadically of for to.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH AUXILIARY VERBS.

THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Perhaps the most frequent use of the active infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is to complete the sense of these auxiliary verbs:

agan (nagan), owe (not), ought (not). cunnan, know, can. dear(r), dare. magan, can, may.

mot, may, must. sculan, owe, shall. durfan, need. willan, desire, will.

No doubt, as is generally believed, the complementary infinitive after these verbs was originally scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the objective infinitive, treated in Chapter II; for the auxiliary verbs originally were transitive in sense and could govern a noun object, as is still true of willan in its primary sense of 'desire.' As, however, the transitive sense more and more paled away in the auxiliaries, the latter came to seem more and more to be mere copulas between the subject and the infinitive; and the infinitive, instead of seeming to be the object of the auxiliary, appears to us as the most significant element in the verb phrase. Hence it is that I have put the use of the infinitive with auxiliary verbs under the general heading of the more verbal (or the predicative) uses of the infinitive.

The predicative infinitive with auxiliaries is habitually uninflected, though occasionally it is inflected. The examples of the uninflected infinitive are so numerous and are so normal that it has not seemed profitable to me either to collect or to publish the complete statistics thereof. Suffice it to say that this infinitive is very frequent in poetry and in prose, in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, and in the more original works as well as in the translations. Nor have I sought with a verb like willan, which is sometimes a transitive verb and sometimes an auxiliary, to separate the two uses. In a word, the paucity of my statistics as to the predicative uninflected infinitive is intentional, and is based on the belief that what is peculiar in such verbal phrases rests on the shift in meaning of the auxiliaries, and belongs rather to a history of the auxiliaries than to a history of the infinitive. Moreover, the history of the auxiliaries has already been worked out to a greater or less degree, especially in the case of the two most interesting ones, sculan and willan.² A few examples, therefore, will suffice for the uninflected infinitive as the complement of auxiliary On the other hand, I have tried to collect all the examples of the rarer construction, the inflected infinitive as complement to the auxiliaries. not forget that this use of the inflected infinitive as complement to auxiliary verbs is denied by some careful students of Anglo-Saxon, as by Dr. K. Köhler, l. c., p. 45, Professor Blackburn, l. c., p. 57, and Dr. Riggert, l. c., pp. 9, 68, 70,

² See, in the bibliography, the works by Blackburn, C. B. Bradley, H. Bradley, Graef, K. Köhler, H. Kurrelmeyer, Ljunggren, Lüttgens, and Riggert.

¹ For reasons already given, I do not put here, but under the objective use, beginnan, don, gewunian, habban, onginnan, and wunian. Beon (wesan) is treated in Chapter VII. Dr. Kenyon, l. c., pp. 88 ff., uses the terms complement and complementary so as to include a very large number of verbs, transitive and intransitive.

and 75; but I think that the scarcity of examples in the poetry has misled these gentlemen, and that the construction will hardly be questioned by any one after reading the complete statistics thereof given below. It is difficult to discover the view of Dr. Wülfing and of Dr. Farrar: the former, l. c., II, pp. 209-210, gives one example of the inflected infinitive after willan 1 and agan each, but calls it objective; the latter nowhere differentiates the complementary and the objective uses of the inflected infinitive.

As to the position of the uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs, my observation tallies with that of Dr. Riggert, who, *l. c.*, p. 10, declares: "Der Infinitiv pflegt im Hauptsatze dem Hilfsverb zu folgen, im Nebensatze ihm voranzustehen. Zwar ist die Regel nicht streng durchgeführt, jedoch sind die Abweichungen vielleicht des öfteren aus metrischen Rücksichten zu erklären." The inflected infinitive follows the auxiliary except in a very few instances (Laws 396 and 400, quoted below under agan, p. 81; Bened. 135.11, quoted under durran, p. 82).

Whether uninflected or inflected, the predicative infinitive that is active in form is active in sense.

The following are typical examples of the uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs:—

agan, owe, ought:

Wulf. 294.26^b: ac man ah cyrican and haligdom to secanne and öær hine georne inne to gebiddanne and mid eadmodnysse hlystan.

cunnan, know, can:

Beow. 2372: he . . . eðelstolas healdan cuðe. — Ib. 91: se ðe cuðe frumsceaft fira feorran reccan.

dear(r), dare:

Beow. 528: gif ou Grendles dearst nihtlongne fyrst nean bidan. — Ib. 684^b: gif he gesecan dear wig ofer wæpen.

magan, can, may:

Beow. 2954, 2955: öæt he sæmannum onsacan mihte, heaöoliöendum hord forstandan.

mot, may, must:

Beow. 1939, 1940: Sæt hit sceadenmæl scyran moste, cwealmbealu cysan. sculan, owe, shall:

Beow. 1464: Sæt hit ellenweore æfnan scolde. — Ib. 3078: Oft sceall eorl . . . wræc adreogan.

ðurfan, need:

Beow. 2874: nealles folcoyning fyrdgesteallum gylpan Forfte. — Ib. 446^a: Na Su minne Fearft hafalan hydan.

willan, desire, will:

Beow. 2148, 2149: ma\ddotsmas . . . \ddots a ic \ddots . . . bringan wylle, estum geywan.

Below I cite, in alphabetic sequence of the auxiliaries, all the examples of the complementary inflected infinitive that I have observed:—

agan (nagan), owe (not), ought (not):

Chron. 206^t, 1070 A^a: he . . . sæde væt he hit nahte to donne. — Ib. 216^m,

¹ Boeth. 110.29, but the text used by me, Sedgefield's, has here wilnad.

1085 E^d: offe hwile gerihtæ he ahte to habbanne to xii monfum. — Ib. 266^m, 1140 E^b: De eorl . . . benam him al fæt he ahte to hauen (sic!).

Laws 30, Ælfred, Intr., c. 12^a: nage he hie ut on eldeodig folc to bebycgganne. — Ib. 48, Ælfred, c. 2: age he reora nihta fierst him to gebeorganne (or final?). — Ib. 116, Ine, c. 62: nah onne self nane wiht to gesellanne beforan ceape. — Ib. 228, III Æthelred, c. 3: hlafordes gifu, de he on riht age to gifanne. — Ib. 284, I. Cnut, c. 4, § 1: understande se de cunne, mycel is 7 mære dæt sacerd ah to donne folce to dearfe. — Ib. 304, I Cnut, c. 22, § 5a: Fordam he nah æfter forðsiðe Cristenra manna gemanan ne on gehalgedan lictune to restene. — Ib. 304, I Cnut, c. 22, § 5^b: ne he nah væs halgan husles to onfonne her on life. — Ib. 304, I Cnut, c. 22, § 6: ne he nah mid rihte obres mannes to onfonne æt fulluhte. — Ib. 328, II Cnut, c. 24, § 3: Set nan man hit nah to geahnianne raðost ðinga. — Ib. 376, Duns., c. 6: nah naðer to farenne ne Wilisc mon on Ænglisc land ne Ænglisc etc. — Ib. 396, Swerian, c. 3, § 3: swa hit me se sealde, de hit to syllanne agte. — Ib. 400, Becwæd, c. 2: swa hit se sealde, de to syllanne ahte. — Ib. 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, Inscr., MS. B: Hu man mæden weddian sceal: 7 hwylce forewarde der aghon to beonne. — Ib. 477, Episcopus, c. 2^b: Sæt heora ælc wite, . . . eac hwæt hy woruldmannum agan to beodanne.

Wærf. 241.18: δ æt se δ e agymeleasede, δ æt he heolde his lichaman forhæfednesse, nahte sona na ma to sprecenne δ æs wundorlican mægnes word buton lichamlicre tungan = 296 A²: ut qui carnis continentiam servare neglexerat, sine lingua carnea non haberet verba virtutis.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.: 15.252: Hwanan weard eow, det ge minton ahan (sic!) godes deowes to beswicenne = 216.281: Quis te genuit, vel quis vobis præcepit in sancta opera insidiari?

Wulf. 39.17: he ne . . . nah mid rihte æniges mannes æt fulluhte to onfonne ne æt bisceopes handa. — Ib. 123.2: forðam nah ænig man mid rihte to fullianne hæðenne man. — Ib. 135.31: ðæt se deofol eow nage naht on to bestelenne on ðam ytemestan dæge. — Ib. 238.2: nan man nah to . . . cyrican ne to . . . weofode idelhende to cumene. — Ib. 279.19: witodlice nah man on ænigne timan . . . æt godes huse unnyt to donne. — Ib. 290.18: ðu ahst to fyllenne ðine seofen tidsangas. — Ib. 292.2: hu ge agan her on life rihtlice to libbanne. — Ib. 294.20, 24: ðæt man ah to forganne ealle fulnyssa; . . . ælc gemot ænig mann to fremmanne. — Ib. 294.25, 26°: ac man ah cyrican and haligdom to secanne and ðær hine georne inne to gebiddanne and mid eadmodnysse hlystan (sic!). — Ib. 294.30°: ðæt man ah seoce men to geneosianne and deade bebyrian (sic!), earmingas . . . fedan (sic!) and scrydan (sic!). — Ib. 295.5: man ah on ðam dæge hine to gesibsumianne. — Ib. 302.5: ne he nah mid rihte æniges mannes æt fulluhte to onfonne ne æt bisceopes handum. — Ib. 307.27: ne he nah mid rihte oðres mannes to onfonne æt fulluhte.

cunnan, know, can:

Ex. 437: He að swereð, engla deoden, . . . dæt dines cynnes and cneowmaga, randwiggendra rim ne cunnon yldo ofer eordan ealle cræfte to gesecgenne sodum wordum, nymde etc. [In his edition of Exodus and Daniel, Professor F. A. Blackburn comments as follows on this passage: "The object of cunnon is rim, 'know not the number . . . to tell it,' i. e. will not be able to count thy descendants. to gesecgenne cannot be joined directly to cunnon, 'can tell,' since cunnan in this sense takes the pure infin., not the phrasal form." Similarly Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 75, expresses himself: "In loser Beziehung zum

Satze stehend möchte ich den präpos. Inf. Exod. 435 [= my 437] auffassen . . . Da sich in der ae. Poesie Kein Beispiel für die Verbindung von Hilfsverb mit prapos. Inf. findet, ist auch hier wohl nicht to gesecgenne als unmittelbar abhängig von cunnan zu betrachten." The interpretation of Drs. Blackburn and Riggert is, of course, possible; but it does not seem probable to me in view of the fact that we have a second instance of to gescegenne after cunnan in Anglo-Saxon poetry (Rid. 37.13), and not a few clear examples of the inflected infinitive used predicatively with other auxiliaries in Anglo-Saxon prose.]

Rid. 37.13: Du wast gif du const to gesecganne, det we sod witan hu dere wihte wise gonge. [In his edition of The Riddles of the Exeter Book, Professor Frederick Tupper, Jr., does not comment on the inflection of the infinitive here, but cites two analogous passages: And. 603 (Miht du me gesecgan, det ic sod wite) and Chr. 442 (det du sod wite). But Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 70, and Mr. Wyatt, l. c., p. 95, consider to gesecganne the object of wast, not the complement of const, — an interpretation that seems to me quite doubtful.]

dear(r), dare:

Bened. 135.11: for oi ansetles wununge geceosat, the hige that ware and eatomode get the syn and hi nan man gegremianne (sic!) dyrre = 0. [Cf. Farrar, l. c., p. 22, where attention is called to the absence of to, but no explanation is suggested for the inflection of the infinitive.]

nagan: see agan above.

sculan, owe, shall:

Chron. 30^t, 656 E^d: Sa wærs he swise glæd, heot seonden . . . æfter alle sa se Gode luuedon, sæt hi scoldon to him cumene (sic!).

Somewhat akin to the predicative use of the infinitive with auxiliary verbs is the use of the infinitive in the following sentences, after cuman, 'come,' gebyrian, 'be fitting,' and dyncan, 'seem:' Chron. 177^m, 1052 Eⁿ: Da com hit to witenne dam eorlum ut to Sandwic;—Laws 483, Wilhelm I, c. 1ⁿ: Gif Englisc man beclypad ænigne Fræncisne mann to orneste... for ænigan dingan, de gebyrige ornest fore to beonne;—Wærf. 179.9: Nu ic dus swide behealde da neahfædras, de mid us wæron, maran 7 gedungenran manna dæda ic forlet, swa dæt me dynced of gemynde beon Paulines wundor Nolane burge biscopes, se manige mæn dara, de ic gemunde, ægder ge on tida gegange ge eac on wundrum oferdeah = 216 C: Dum vicinis valde Patribus intento, majorum facta reliqueram, ita ut Paulini miraculum, Nolanæ urbis episcopi, qui multos quorum memini virtute et tempore præcessit, memoriæ defuisse videatur.

In the following passages we seem to have an active infinitive used as the complement of the passive of gewunian, 'habituate one's self:' Wærf. 181.13: grene wyrta he is gewunod me to bringanne = 220 A³: herbas mihi ad prandium deferre consuevit; — Ælf. Hom. II. 358b: Sasa se brosor wæs gewunod to mæssigenne; — ib. II. 570b: Ge se wæron gewunode to underfonne manna herunga for eowerum godum weorcum, faras etc. See, too, p. 73 above.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

How shall we account for the instances in which we have an inflected infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb? With all the strict auxiliaries except agan, the predicative infinitive is normally uninflected, and the straggling xamples of the inflected infinitive are clearly the exceptions that prove the

rule. With agan, however, the predicative infinitive is frequently inflected; why? Because of the strong datival sense of the verb, — its signification of propriety or fitness, I think. In Wulfstan we find the infinitive uninflected four times after agan (nagan), in a series, once (294.26b) in a series of three infinitives and three times (294.30b, 31a, b) in a series of four infinitives, with the first infinitive inflected in each of the two series, and also the second infinitive in the former series.

As stated above, Dr. K. Köhler and Dr. Riggert both deny that we have any clear examples of the inflected infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb; hence they do not attempt to differentiate the uninflected infinitive from the inflected infinitive in this use. The most specific deliverance that I have observed as to the differentiation of the two infinitives after auxiliaries is the following by Professor Einenkel, in his "Der Infinitiv im Mittelenglischen," p. 88, written primarily with reference to Middle English: "Eine der ältesten Verbindungen ist die des Objectsinfinitivs mit einem Hilfszeitwort. Hier ist der reine Infinitiv die fast ausnahmslose Regel. Häufiger findet sich die Präposition dort, wo das Hilfszeitwort dem prägnanteren Sinne des Begriffsverbs sich nähert. Die Grenze zwischen diesen beiden Verwendungen ist oft schwer zu ziehen."

As to the complementary infinitive with the passive of gewunian, the inflected infinitive is what we should expect and what we find.

In the kindred Germanic languages, too, we occasionally find the active infinitive inflected after auxiliary verbs: see Chapter XVI, section iv.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb is not nearly so frequent as is the active infinitive in the same use, but it is far more frequent than in other uses of the passive infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. It is very rare in the poems, and is found chiefly in the prose translations. The passive infinitive is made up normally of the verb beon plus the past participle, but occasionally of weorðan or of wesan plus a past participle. I do not see any difference in sense between the passive infinitive made with beon and that made with wesan; but that made with weorðan denotes, originally at any rate, an 'imperfect' action, while the other two denote a 'perfect' action, in the technical sense of these terms.

Typical examples are: -

cunnan, know, can:

Greg. 113.22: se de conn wel stræc beon & ahafen wid da unryhtwisan = 78.26: qui scit per illam super culpas erigi.

dear(r) dare:

Wærf. 132.17: swa deah he ne dorste beon beforan him upp aræred of dære eordan = B. 162 A³: sed ipse ante eum de terra erigi non auderet. — Ib. 232.7: be dam ne dorste us nan wen beon geduht = 284 A: de quibus nil coelestis gloriæ præsumi posse videbatur, oborta occasione, contigit ad martyrii coronas pervenisse?

magan, can, may:

Bede 20.14: Sære lichama on byrigenne gewemmed beon ne mihte = 243.2: cuius nec corpus in monumento corrumpi potuerit. — Ib. 76.2: hwelce rehte mæg Sonne bewered beon from gife . . . fulwihtes? = 54.17: qua ratione poterit

a sacri baptismatis gratia prohibere? — Ib. 92.6: swa efne væs ve meahte wivmeten beon Saule = 71.13: ita ut Sauli . . . comparandus uideretur. — Ib. 186.25: hu vu gehæled beon meaht = 151.3: quomodo cureris. — Ib. 308.12: væt heo . . . meahton . . . beholene beon = 237.25: occulendos se . . . credidissent. — Ib. 328.34: he . . . ne meahte geheaverod beon = 251.19: uidisset . . . eum non potuisse cohiberi. — Ib. 472.10: be væm mæg væt . . . word cweden beon = 346.31: de quibus apostolicum illum licet proferre sermonem.

Greg. 85.20: we magon been getrymede mid Iohannes cuide = 56.27: Johannis

voce roboramur.

Chron. 229^t, 1094 E^b: gesemede beon ne mihtan.

Wærf. 55.2: hit mæg beon de $gecyded = 188 \text{ B}^4$: $valet \ probari. — Ib. 60.33^b$: swa deh hit $forholen \ beon \ ne \ mihte = 192 \text{ B}^4$: $taceri \ non \ potuit$.

Bened. 5.16: Sees weges ongin . . . ne meg (sic!) beon begunnen = 10.26: viam . . . , quæ non est . . . incipienda.

Bl. Hom. 19.22: heo mihte beon acenned.

Ælf. Hom. I. 48^b: Hwa mæg beon rihtlice gecieged mannes Bearn? — Ib. II. 28^t: Seah hi ne magon beon ealle gegaderode.

Ælf. L. S. 98.137: hu magon hi beon gegladode?

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 3.23^b: de mæge . . . beon widmeten dinre strengde = qui possit . . . comparari fortitudini tuæ.

Gosp.: Mk. 10.38: mage gyt . . . beon gefullod? = potestis . . . baptizari?

With weorðan plus a past participle (all examples):

Gen. 261: ne mihte him bedyrned wyrðan.

Chr. 1431: du meahte minum weordan mægwlite gelic, mane bidæled.

Met. 11.19: Forðæm æfre ne magon ða unstillan woruldgesceafta weorðan gestilde. — Ib. 11.98^{a, b}: gif hiora modsefa meahte weorðan staðolfæst gereaht ðurh ða strongan meaht 7 geendebyrd swa swa oðra sint woruldgesceafta. — Ib. 20.97: ðæt hio siððan mæg for ðæm sype weorðan geleht lyftum.

Boeth. 92.29: Det fyr . . . ne mæg næfre weorðan todæled = 80.81: ignis uero omnem refugit sectionem.

Greg. 395.34: gebidde hira ægðer for oðer ðæt hie mægen ðurh ðæt weorðan gehælede = 314.9: exhortantes invicem salvent. — Ib. 399.18: ðonne magon hie ðeah weorðan gehælede suiðe ieðelice ðurh forgiefnesse & ðurh gebedu = 318.4: et tamen venia salvantur. — Ib. 431.24: Ac hit wilnað ðat hit to ðon onwæcne ðæt hit mæge eft weorðan oferdruncen = 356.18: Quæ quidem, evigilare optat, ut rursum vina reperiat.

Oros. 64.34: δ æt hie mid nanum δ inge ne mehton gesemede weor δ an = 0. — Ib. 94.15: δ a hie ne mehton from . . . fyre forbærnede weor δ an = 95.12: quod inmissa per hostem flamma non adiit.

Wulf. 96.14: swa æfre ænig gold mæg clænost amerod weorðan. — Ib. 103.20: forðam ðurh ðæt we magan mycle ðe yð raðe gehælede weorðan.

With wesan plus a past participle (all examples):

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.: 18.424: Set sio gedungennes ne mæg næfre wesan besmitan (sic!).

Læce. 19.14: mæg wesan sio wund gehæled. — Ib. 152.19: mæg seo wund wesan gehæled.

mot, may, must:

Bede 72.11: hwæðer mot biscop halgad beon? = 52.6: an debeat . . . episcopus ordinari? — Ib. 182.31: ðætte . . . reliquias . . . gehealdne beon moston = 148.26: conderentur.

Greg. 171.18: næfre ne moton him beon ofatogene = 126.13: nec umquam extrahentur ab eis.

Wærf. 35.19: moste beon gelæded to Romebyrig = 172 B³: ut ad Romanam urbem deduci debuisset.

Ælf. Hom. I. 292b: ðæt nan man ne mot beon tuwa gefullod.

Ælf. L. S. 270.142: he ne mot na beon eft gefullod.

Wulf. 32.9, 10: Sonne mot he been ærost Singa gemynegad and gewisod.

Note. — No example of the infinitive made up with weor $\Im an$ or with wesan plus a past participle has been found with motan.

sculan, owe, shall:

Chr. 213: sceolde witedom in him sylfum been sobe gefylled.

Boeth. 95.15: Det corn sceal bion aweht = 81.12: excitatur.

Greg. 251.1: cuæð S. ðæt fremde ne scoldon beon gefyllede ures mægenes = 190.1: Ne forte impleantur extranei viribus tuis.

Oros. 20.33: Donne sceolon beon gesamnode ealle δ a men = 0.

Chron. 145^t, 1014 E^b: ælc ðæra ðinga forgifan (sic!) beon sceolde.

Laws 448, Rectitudines, c. 5, § 3: he sceal beon gehorsad.

Wærf. 54.18: δ æt hi sceolon beon eft mid benum begytene = 188 B¹: ut precibus obtineantur. — Ib. 181.7: hu sceole geseted beon Wændlarice = 220 A²: qualiter disponi debeat. — Ib. 213.4: he sceolde beon eall tosliten = 260 B²: discerpi potuisset.

Bened. 43.20: sealmas sculon beon todælede = 80.24 dividendi sunt.

Bl. Hom. 9.6: Adames gylt ourh of sceal beon geoingod.

Ælf. Hom. I. 24b: cydde hire, öæt Godes Sunu sceolde beon acenned of hire.

Ælf. L. S. 30.82: heo sceolde . . . beon gescyld.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 27.45^b: hwi sceal ic beon bedæled ægðer (sic!) minra sunena on anum dæge? = cur utroque orbabor filio in uno die?

Gosp.: Mat. 3.14: Ic sceal from Se beon gefullod = Ego a te debeo baptizari. — Mk. 2.22: Ac niwe win sceal beon gedon on niwe bytta = sed vinum novum . . . mitti debet.

Ælf. Gr. 255.12: se δ e sceal beon gehyred = audiendus.

Wulf. 96.5, 6: for am de hy sculon beon rade geclænsode and amerode.

Læce. 58.21: bæð . . . sceal beon geworht.

With weorðan plus a past participle (all examples):

Gen. 1102: min sceal swiðor mid grimme gryre golden wurðan fyll and feorhewealm, donne ic forð scio.

Chr. 1617: Sæt he, fah, scyle from his Scyppende ascyred weordan.

Ju. 416: se de on legre sceal weordan in worulde wyrme to hrodor bifolen in foldan.

El. 581: öæt eow sceal öæt leas awundrad weorðan to woruldgedale. — Ib. 688: öæt öu hungre scealt for cneowmagum cwylmed weorðan.

And. 758: The tof his cynne cenned sceolde weord an wuldres god.

Ph. 378: væt he swa wrætlice weordan sceolde eft væt ilce, væt he ær von wæs, fedrum bifongen. — Ib. 564: veah min lic scyle on moldærne molsnad weordan wyrmum to willan.

Met. 25.72: deah he oferwunnen weordan sceolde. — Ib. 29.89, 91: æghwylc hiora wrade tostencte weordan sceolden: æghwilc hiora ealle to nauhte weordan sceoldon wrade toslopena.

Bede 38.30^{a, b}: stow . . . , de eft sceolde mid . . . blode . . . gewurdad 7

 $gehalgod\ weor \Im an = 20.34$: qui beati martyris cruore dicaretur.

Bl. Hom. 77.29, 30: The seo burn sceolde abrocen weordan & bereafod.—Ib. 117.18: hie tealdon that Israhela rice sceolde... gebletsod weordan.—Ib. 121.33^{a, b}: heora edel sceolde eft gebuen 7 geseted weordan mid halgum sawlum.—Ib. 185.6: The sceole to heofenum ahafen weordan.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.147: Wite . . . Sæt Su wurðan scealt . . . ofslagen. Wulf. 88.19: sæde . . . , Sæt his sceolde weorðan æghwylc stan . . . toworpen. — Ib. 103.24: men . . . , Se nyde sculan . . . ascadene . . . weorðan. — Ib. 140.21: wa me earmre, Sæt ic æfre geboren sceolde wurðan. — Ib. 276.1: biterlice scel hit him wyrðan forgolden on Sam toweardan life. — Ib. 277.5: bitere scel hit him wyrðan forgolden.

Nic. 504.3: ne foresæde ic . . . Øæt deade men arysan sceoldon 7 mænige byrgena geopenod weorðan?

With wesan plus a past participle (all examples):

Gen. 1310: Dær sceal fæsl wesan cwiclifigendra cynna gehwilces on ðæt wudufæsten wocor gelæded eorðan tudres. — Ib. 2286: ic . . . secge, ðæt se magorinc sceal mid yldum wesan Ismahel haten. — Ib. 2318^{a, b, c}: Sceal monna gehwilc ðære cneorisse cildisc wesan wæpnedcynnes, ðæs ðe on woruld cymð, . . . geagnod me oððe of eorðan ðurh feondschipe feor adæled, adrifen from duguðum.

Dan. 560: 5æt 5æt treow sceolde . . . his wyrtruman foldan befolen fyrstmearc wesan, stille on stasole, swa seo stefn gecwæð, ymb seofon tida sæde eft onfon.

ðurfan, need:

Greg. 83.16: δ æt he . . . ne eac ne δ yrfe bion to upahæfen for nanum wlencum = 56.3: Non hunc prospera elevent. — Ib. 413.16: δ onne hi hi gesewene hæbben, gedon δ æt hie ne δ yrfen bion gesewene æt δ æm nearwan dome = 334.8: vivendo agant, ut a districto judice videri non debeant.

Wærf. 222.15: δ æt se feond . . . ne δ earf beon ondræded = 272 B²: timeri non debeat. — Ib. 269.16^b: ne δ earf δ æt beon gelyfed = 329 A⁴: Nam credi jam non potest quod videri potest. — Ib. 336.28: δ æt δ urfe beon andswared = 405 A: Non est jam quod responderi debeat apertæ rationi. — Ib. 345.17^b: δ æt hi δ onne mihton o δ δ e δ orfton beon getælede = 421 A²: unde reprehendi potuissent.

Bl. Hom. 135.25: Ne Surfe ge beon unrote, ne gedrefed eower heorte.

Ælf. Hom. II. 48^b 1: ne Fearf he beon eft gefullod.

Ælf. L. S. 176.130: Sæt ic . . . ne Surfe . . . beon gefyled.

Note. — I have found no example of the passive infinitive made up of weordan or wesan and a past participle after durfan.

willan [nyllan], will (not):

Bede 112.12: Gif ge willað onðwegene beon = 91.16: Si uultis ablui. — Ib. 308.3: Sa Se woldon gehælede beon = 237.16: qui saluari uellent. — Ib. 366.5: Gif me seo . . . geofu . . . forgifen beon wile = 271.13: Si mihi . . . gratia . . . donauerit.

Boeth. 36.2: mid hwelce hleahtre ge woldon bion astered = 41.17: quanto moueris cachinno.

Greg. 135.26: noldon beon abisgode nane wuht on eorölicum öingum = 96.29: ut rebus exterioribus nullatenus occupentur.

Oros. 128.5: Da Darius geseah væt he oferwunnen beon wolde = 129.3: Sed Darius cum vinci suos videret.

Wærf. 88.34: nelle du nu beon ma geswenced = 212 C³: noli fatigari. — Ib. 279.3, 4: da geceas heo ma, dæt heo wolde . . . beon Gode gegearwod donne heo . . . wolde beon to hwylcum woruldmen gedeoded = 340 B^{1, 2}: elegit magis spiritalibus nuptiis copulari Deo . . . quam carnalibus nuptiis subjici.

Bened. 112.16: Gif he . . . nelle beon under beoded tam halgan regole = 178.20: ut subdi aut obedire Regulæ nolit.

Bl. Hom. 33.13: Set he acweald been wolde.

Ælf. Hom. I. 34t: Crist wolde on ytinge been acenned.

Ælf. L. S. XXXII. 88: ic . . . wille beon ofslagen.

Ælf. Gr. 143.19: ic wylle beon gelufod = amari volo. — Ib. 144.6: ic wylle beon gelufod = amatum iri volo.

Mat. 2.18: heo nolde beon gefrefed = et noluit consolari. — Ib. 19.21: Gyf on wylt beon fullfremed = Si vis perfectus esse.

Wulf. 194.3: Sæt he wolde Sær beon geboren sos man.

Note. — I have found no example of the passive infinitive made up of weorðan plus a past participle with willan, and but one example of the passive infinitive made up of wesan plus a past participle: Gu. 575: him geornlice gæstgemyndum wille wideferh wesan underðyded.

With a few verbs not auxiliary, we find the passive infinitive used in a way quite similar to that with the genuine auxiliaries. The verbs in question are gedafenian, 'be fitting;' gewunian, 'be wont;' weordan, 'become;' and wunian, 'be wont.' The infinitive after gewunian and wunian may be considered objective, as is the active infinitive after these verbs; but the verbal power seems to me diminished in them when followed by the passive infinitive. I cite all the examples that I have observed:—gedafenian: Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 743: geseah . . . &a handa swa heo gedafenodon alegdon (sic!) beon and eastweardes gewende; — gewunian: Bede 172.28: monig weorc . . . 7 monig tacen . . . wundra . . . $gewunia\delta$. . . sægd beon = 143.3: solent opera . . . et signa . . . narrari; — ib. 270.33: gewuniað . . . wundor hælo geworden beon = 212.9: solent . . . miracula operari; — ib. 474.14: de hie næfre ær gewunedon in δx stowum weor δx de beon = 348.4: nunquam . . . celebrari solebat; — Wærf. 183.17; be . . . Iohanne dis wunder gewunde been sæd fram urum witum = 224 A: De quo etiam illud mirabile . . . narrari solet; weorðan: Wulf. 217.9: det des weoruld mihte eft beon geedstadoled weordan and eft of awecnigan; — wunian: Bede 340.7°. Sær heo wunedon to gebedum gecegde 7 awehte beon = 257.10^{a, b}: quo . . . excitari uel conuocari solebant.

For the passive infinitive with auxiliary verbs in the other Germanic languages, see section iv of Chapter XVI.

NOTES.

1. The Predicative Infinitive in a Series with Auxiliary Verbs. — We have a series of two inflected infinitives after the auxiliary agan in Wulf. 294.20, 24 and 294.25, 26, quoted on p. 81 above. We have a series of infinitives in which only the first is inflected after agan, in Wulf. 294.26^{a, b} and 294.30^{a, b}, 31^{a, b}, quoted on p. 81 above.

2. The Inflected Infinitive without "To" occurs in Bened. 135.11, quoted on p. 82; Chron.

30^t, 656 E^d, quoted on p. 82.

3. A Passive Infinitive as Complement to an Auxiliary, but with Beon (Wesan) Understood, is occasionally found, as in Ælf. Gr. 227.10, Chr. 1260, Gnomic Sayings 94^{a, b}, 122^{a, b}.

4. The Predicative Infinitive Is Omitted after Auxiliary Verbs at times, especially if the omitted infinitive denotes motion, as in Oros. 86.3: Deh ic ær sæde væt we to helle sceolden

= 0. Cf. Wülfing, l. c., II, §§ 388-397; Riggert, l. c., pp. 9 ff.

5. The Auxiliary Verb Is Omitted occasionally, as in Ælf. Hom. II. 560t: Se bið wurðe The thine man arwurdian, sette of the time life for to engla gefean and heofenlicum wurdmynte (or predicative with accusative subject?); Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 168: Sa geseah he him on Sa swiðran healfe ðær he on gebedum stod swa swa he on mennisce gelicnysse on lichaman hine ateowan, and a was he arest swide aforth (or predicative with accusative subject?); Laws 166.3: synoð..., on dam wæs se ærcebisceop Wulfhelme mid eallum dæm ædelum mannum 7 wiotan, de Ædelstan cyning gegaderian (Liebermann would supply mihte); ib. 222(2): ælc ceapscip frið hæbbe, ðe binnan muðan cuman (sic!). In the following passages, the italicized words may be infinitives with auxiliaries to be supplied, or they may possibly be plural subjunctives to the indefinite man: Laws 241 (14 D): And sancta Marian freolstida ealle wurdian (other MSS.: wurðie) man georne; ib. 263 (3 D): Jonne bete man Jæt ciricgrif . . . be Jæs cyninges fullan mundbryce 7 da mynsterclænsunge begite, swa darto gebirige, 7 wid God huru Jingian (other MSS.: Jingie) georne; ib. 264 (4 D): betan (other MSS.: bete) man georne. — Cf. Note 4 to Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER V.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION AND OF REST.

By the phrase, "the Predicative Infinitive with Verbs of Motion," I refer to the infinitive in such sentences as the following: Mart. 26.10: culfre com fleogan of heofonum ond gesæt ofer his heafde; Gen. 1479: culufran . . ., seo eft ne com to lide fleogan; in which the infinitive, instead of denoting purpose, seems equivalent, in modern English, to a predicate present participle: 'The dove came flying from heaven,' etc. Various other names have been proposed for this use of the infinitive: "modal," by Koch, in his Englische Grammatik, 1865; "definitive," by Professor March, in his A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language, 1869; "pleonastic," by Dr. Steig,3 in his "Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altniederdeutschen," 1884; and "phraseological," by Dr. Pratje,⁴ in his "Syntax des Heliand," 1885. To this list might be added still another name, "co-ordinate," since several writers (as Koch, Mätzner, K. Köhler, Wülfing, and Riggert) declare that at times the predicative infinitive expresses an action co-ordinate with that expressed by the finite verb. The grounds for these various names and for my own choice are given in my chapter on "The Origin of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon," section v. should be added that under "the Predicative Infinitive after Verbs of Motion" I do not include the infinitive of verbs of motion after the adhortative (w)uton, a separate chapter being devoted to the latter idiom.

In the predicative use with verbs of motion, the infinitive is invariably uninflected. The construction is far more common in Anglo-Saxon poetry than in prose; but the idiom is far more frequent in prose than has been thought hitherto. Instead of only four examples in the prose, as claimed by Professor Shearin, there are seventeen examples, or twenty, if we include three examples of the predicative infinitive after verbs of rest (stondan, 'stand,' and licgan, 'lie'). The examples not cited by Dr. Shearin are: Wærf. 84.20, 25; — Pr. Gu. I. 26, V. 7, X. 5; — Mart. 26.10, 90.14, 182.4, 200.12; — Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 1039; — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.178, 292; — Apol. 29.10; — to which we may add Pr. Gu. V. 274^{a, b}, in which the infinitive follows stondan; and Ælf. L. S. 512.417, in which the infinitive follows licgan. Moreover, the scope and the life of this idiom in the prose have been underrated by both Dr. Schrader and Dr. Shearin: instead of being found only in Alfred, in the non-Ælfrician Homilies, and in Wærferth, it occurs also, as the above list shows, in the prose

* L. c., p. 337. Ceneral motion defined by specific motion. New years, etc. L. c., § 142.

¹ L. c., II, p. 61. This term is the one most frequently used by writers upon Anglo-Saxon syntax. ² L. c., § 448.4: "General motion defined by specific motion: fleon gewat," etc.

⁵ Shearin, ¹ l. c., p. 13. It is only fair to add, however, that the idiom under discussion by me was only indirectly connected with the main theme of Dr. Shearin's monograph, The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose, and that he devoted thereto only a brief note.

⁶ Schrader, l. c., p. 70, declares that this use of the infinitive is not found in Ælfric, but, when he wrote, in 1887, the third volume of Skeat's edition of Ælfric's Lives of Saints, in which the example occurs, had not been published.

⁷ Shearin, ¹ l. c., p. 13.

Guthlac, in An Old English Martyrology, in Apollonius, and in Ælfric's Lives of Saints. In the poetry the predicative infinitive is found over one hundred times, and occurs in most of the poems.

Normally the infinitive follows the finite verb, as in *Beow.* 703 (*Com* on warre niht *scritan* sceadugenga), but occasionally it precedes, especially in dependent clauses, as in *Dan.* 698 (teah to feoda folc *feran cwome*) and *Ps.* 76.15 (tonne ligette *lixan cwoman*).

The infinitive is active in sense as well as in form.

The following verbs of motion are followed by a predicative infinitive of a verb of motion (occasionally of other verbs, as blican, lixan, and scinan, each meaning 'shine;' and hlynnan, 'resound'):

becuman [bi-], come. cuman, come. dælan (?), distribute. fleon, fly. gewitan, go, depart.

The verbs most frequently so used are cuman and gewitan. The various infinitives that follow the verbs named above are given, in alphabetic sequence after each verb, in my statistics, and need not be named here. The number of infinitives is far larger than the number of finite verbs; but, as the usage is substantially the same, regardless of the verb, I quote only a few examples. It remains only to add that at times it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether we have the predicative or the final use of the infinitive in some passages, — concerning which see section v of Chapter XIV.

Typical examples are: —

becuman [bi-], come:

And. 789: Set he on Mambre becom beorhte blican.

Beow. 2553: stefn in becom headotorht hlynnan under harne stan. [But Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 41, construes differently.]

Chr. 1114: vær blod ond wæter butu ætsomne ut bicwoman fore eagna gesyhv, rinnan fore rincum va he on rode wæs.

cuman, come:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.329: And δa ure drihten him self com of heofonum to eor δa astigan, and hire sona to cwe $\delta = 218.370$: loose paraphrase.

Bede 400.28: Sa ic hreowsende wæs, Sa ic mid Sy heafde 7 mid honda com on Sone stan dryfan; 7 se Suma gebrocen wæs, 7 eac swylce seo geSeodnes Sæs heafdes tobrocen wæs 7 tolesed = 290.19: euenit . . . ut hunc [= lapidem] capite ac manu, quam capiti ruens subposueram, tangerem, atque infracto pollice capitis quoque iunctura solueretur.

Beow. 2915: syððan Higelac cwom faran flotherge on Fresna land.

Gen. 852: Da com feran frea ælmihtig ofer midne dæg.

Pr. Gu. X. 5: Sa comon Sær semninga in twa swalewan fleogan = forte hirundines duae subito domum intrantes, velut magna laetitia . . . sese non haesitantes humeris . . . Guthlaci imposuerunt.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.292: And a are com fleogan drihtnes ængel and he a gehalgode at . . . wæter = 217.326: veniat super me sancta tua columba, . . . et benedicat aquam.

Boeth. 8.16: Sa com Sær gan in to me heofencund Wisdom = 4.2: adstitisse mihi supra uerticem uisa est mulier.

Beow. 1163: Đa cwom Wealhoeo foro gan. — Ib. 1644: Đa com in gan ealdor ogna (may be final, as Dr. Shearin, l. c., p. 237, holds).

Pr. Gu. I. 26: da com der sum wif yrnan of dam huse, . . . and cleopode ecce ex aula propriante (sic!), . . . mulier . . . currens clamabat.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 1039: Sa com Sær færlice yrnan an Searle wod cu. [Cf. ib. XXXI. 1043: com . . . yrnende.]

Rid. 23.2: Ætsomne cwom sixtig monna to wægstæðe wicgum ridan.

Pr. Gu. V. 7: Sa comon semninga twegen deoflu to him of Sære lyfte slidan, and Sa to him cublice spræcon and cwædon = subito coram illo, velut ex aere lapsi, efferis vultibus duo zabuli humano habitu se obtulerunt, ac etc.

dælan, distribute, diffuse:

Gen. 2192: tungel, da nu rume heora wuldorfæstne wlite wide dælad ofer brad brymu beorhte scinan (or may be final?).

fleon, flee:

Doomsday 240: se earma flyhð uncræftiga slæp, sleac mid sluman slincan on hinder.

gewitan, go, depart:

Beow. 124: Sanon eft gewat huse hremig to ham faran.

Beow. 27: Him Sa Scyld gewat to gescæphwile felahror feran on frean wære (predicative according to Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 39, but final according to Dr. Shearin, l. c., p. 237).

And. 786: Gewat he da feran.

Gen. 1471: gewat fleogan eft mid lacum hire.

Gen. 1050: Him da Cain gewat gongan geomormod gode of gesyhde.

And. 238: Gewat . . . gangan on greate.

Beow. 234: Gewat him do to warode wiege ridan degn Hrodgares.

Beow. 2569, 2570: Gewat da byrnende gebogen scridan, to gescipe scyndan.

Gen. 2161: Gewat him da se healdend ham sidian.

The predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of motion is common in the Low Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section v.

Occasionally, too, after verbs of rest we have a similar predicative use of an infinitive, as in the following: — Ælf. L. S. 512.417: Da gelamp hit on dam dagum de das forsprecenan dingc gewurden, det god ælmihtig gescifte ænne swa geradne mann, de ahte geweald ealles des splottes æt celian dune, der dæt scræf wæs tomiddes de da seefen halgan lagen inne slapan; — And. 1712: Hie da gebrohten æt brimes næsse en wægdele wigan unslawne; stoden him da en efter reetan (but Dr. Riggert, l. c. p. 45, considers the infinitive final in sense); — Pr. Gu. V. 274^{a, b}: da geseah he dær standan twegen dara awerigdra gasta wepan swyde and geomrian = a sinistra stantes dues satellites lugentes . . . conspicit (or possibly wepan and geomrian are co-ordinate with standan?). In the former of the two following examples the infinitive may be predicative, but it is more probably final in each: Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.18^b: He eode da in earhlice swide, and see wimman mid hire hwitle bewreah hine sona, let hine licgan swa ætlutian his feendum = Qui ingressus tabernaculum ejus

et opertus ab ea pallio, dixit ad eam; — Gen. 842: sæton onsundran bidan selfes gesceapu heofoncyninges: see Chapter X, pp. 134 and 142.

This predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of rest is common in the High Germanic languages, especially in New High German: see Chapter XVI, section v.

Gradually the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest began to be supplanted by the predicate nominative of the present participle, com... yrnan becoming com... yrnende (as in Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 1039, 1043),—an evolution discussed in the chapter on "Some Substitutes for the Anglo-Saxon Infinitive."

CHAPTER VI.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "WUTON." 1

Predicative, too, may be considered the use of the infinitive to complete the sense of the adhortative (w)uton, 'let.' When so used in Anglo-Saxon, the infinitive is uninflected. Regularly, too, the infinitive is active, only three examples having been found of the passive infinitive so used. Whether active or passive, the infinitive invariably follows (w)uton.

Regularly the infinitive that is active in form is active in sense.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Of the active infinitive used as the complement of (w)uton about 614 examples have been found, 572 in the prose and 42 in the poetry. As in the poetry, so in Early West Saxon, the idiom is relatively infrequent: only 25 examples occur in the whole of Alfred. No example has been found in the Chronicle or in Wærferth. On the other hand, the construction is relatively frequent in the Laws, in the Blickling Homilies, and in the Gospels, and is quite frequent in Ælfric (about 168 examples) and in Wulfstan (about 231 examples).

The construction is found with a large number of verbs, and these have such a diversity of meaning as not to admit of helpful classification. The following verbs occur approximately twenty times or more: beon, 'be;' biddan, 'pray;' don, 'do,' 'make;' gan [gangan, -o-], 'go;' gedencan, 'think,' 'consider; 'habban, 'have; 'healdan, 'hold,' 'preserve; 'lufian, 'love; 'and wyrcan, 'work,' 'make.' The following verbs occur in the poems: acierran [-e-], 'turn;' agan, 'own;' beorgan, 'protect;' biddan, 'pray;' cuman, 'come;' cunnian, 'attempt;' cweman, 'please;' cyðan, 'make known;' earnian, 'earn,' 'merit; 'efstan, 'hasten; 'feogan [feon], 'hate; 'feran, 'travel;' gan [gangan, -o-], 'go; 'gebeodan, 'offer; 'gedon, 'cause; 'gedencan, 'think,' 'consider; 'habban, 'have; 'healdan, 'hold; 'helpan, 'help; 'herian, 'praise; 'hycgan, 'think; 'hyhtan, 'hope; 'lufan, 'love; 'oferhycgan, 'despise; 'oliccan, 'please; 'oðwendan, 'escape; 'scyndan, 'hasten; 'secan, 'seek; 'settan, 'set up,' 'establish; 'staðelian, 'establish; 'tilian, 'strive for,' 'attempt;' toweorpan, 'destroy;' wilnian, 'desire;' and wuldrian, 'honor.' The following are found in Alfred: acræftan, 'devise;' agi(e)fan, 'give; 'bidan, 'await; 'biddan, 'pray; 'biegan [-e-], 'bend; 'bringan, 'bring;' brucan, 'enjoy;' cuman, 'come;' don, 'do,' 'make;' endian [a-], 'end;' fon, 'begin;' forlætan, 'leave;' gebetan, 'amend;' gebiddan, 'pray;' geliefan [-y-], 'believe;' gereccan, 'account,' 'consider;' healdan, 'hold;' hebban, 'lift up;' iecan [e-], 'increase;' lætan, 'allow;' secgan, 'say,' 'relate; 'sellan, 'give; 'spyrian [-u-], 'inquire; 'and tellan, 'tell,' 'relate.'

As the construction is quite the same regardless of the verb used, it seems necessary to give only a few examples:—

¹ Variant forms are uton, (w)utan, (w)utun, uten, ute: see notes at the end of this chapter. For the evolution in the meaning of (w)uton, see Chapter XIV, section vi.

acierran, turn, go:

Fallen Angels 217: Uton acerran dider.

agi(e)fan, give back:

Boeth. 103.5: Wutun agifan væm esne his wif = 87.42: Donamus comitem uiro.

beon, be:

Laws 300, I Cnut, c. 20b: utan been a urum hlaforde holde.

Bl. Hom. 131.1: Uton beon ælmesgeorne.

Ælf. Hom. I. 414b: Ac uton we been carfulle, væt etc.

Wulf. 119.12^b: utan beon a urum hlaforde holde. — Ib. 145.33°: uton beon eadmode.

biddan, pray:

Chr. 774: Utan . . . biddan Bearn Godes ond done blidan Gæst, dæt he us gescilde wid sceadan wæpnum.

Bede 98.27^a: Uton biddan . . . God = 81.29^a: Obsecremus Deum.

Bl. Hom. 159.32: utan we biddan da fæmnan S. Marian dæt heo etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 364t: Uton nu biddan vone . . . Hælend, væt etc.

Wulf. 142.13: uton biddan urne drihten.

brucan, enjoy:

Oros. 86.1: Uton nu brucan disses undernmetes swa da sculon de hiora æfengifl on helle gefeccean sculon = 85.33: Prandete, tamquam apud inferos coenaturi.

Ælf. Hom. I. 618^b 1: Uton forði brucan ðæs fyrstes ðe us God forgeaf. don, do, make:

Boeth. 75.16^a: Uton nu, gif de swa dince, ecan done anwald 7 det geniht, don der weordscipe to, 7 gereccan donne da dreo to anum = 68.22: Addamus igitur sufficientiae potentiaeque reuerentiam, ut haec tria unum esse iudicemus.

Laws 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43°: Ac uton don, swa us dea[r]f is.

Bened. 21.9: Utan don swa swa se witega myngað = 42.7: Faciamus quod ait propheta.

Bl. Hom. 205.28: uton wit . . . don . . . fæsten.

Ælf. Hom. II. 100^b ²: uton don dearfum and wannspedigum sume hidde ure goda.

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 368: Uton don criste Sancung.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 37.20^b: Uton hine ofslean and don hine on Sone . . . pytt and secgan = Venite, occidamus eum et mittamus in cisternam veterem! dicamusque.

Wulf. 20.1^a: utan we don, swa us mycel dearf is (a very common locution in Wulfstan). — Ib. 166.1: utan don, swa us need is.

efstan, hasten:

Beow. 3101: Uton nu efstan obre side seon and secean searogebræc, wundur under wealle.

Bl. Hom. 109.9: Uton we nu efstan etc.

Ælf. Hom. II. 526b: Uton forði efstan to urum eðele.

Wulf. 75.21: uton nu efstan and ealle ure lifwegas geornlice rihtan.

forlætan, leave, abandon:

Solil. 49.12: uton ne forlætan gyet das boc = Non sinam omnino concludi hunc libellum.

Ælf. Hom. II. 380^{m} 3: Uton we herian . . . Drihten . . . and yfel forlætan.

Wulf. 141.28^a: Uton nu, leofan men, gebeorgan us wið swilce eardungstowe and wendon (sic!) anrædlice to urum drihtne and forlætan ælc unriht and don to gode, locahwæt we magon.

gan [gangan, -o-], go:

Beow. 2648: wutun gangan to, helpan hildefruman.

Gen. 839: Uton gan on Sysne weald innan.

And. 1356: Utan gangan eft.

Bl. Hom. 247.1: utan gangan . . . and hine ut forlætan.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 4.8: Uton gan ut = Egrediamur foras. — Deut. 13.6a: Uton gan and Seowian fremdum godum = Eamus et serviamus diis alienis.

Gosp.: Mk. 6.37^b: Uton gan, and mid twam hundred penegon hlafas bicgan = Euntes emamus ducentis denariis panes. — Mk. 14.42: Arisað, uton gan = Surgite, eamus.

gedencan, think, consider:

Har. 278: Uton, la, gedencan geond das worulde det we hælende heran onginnen.

Laws 146, I Æthelstan, c. 2ª: Uton gedencan, hu Jacob cwæð.

Bl. Hom. 91.13: Uton we foroon gedencean etc.

Wulf. 112.6: utan gedencan, det we habbad ænne . . . fæder.

lufian, love:

Hymn 3: Wuton wuldrian weorada dryhten halgan hlioforcwidum, hiofonrices weard lufian liofwendum, lifes agend.

Laws 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43, § 1: utan God lufian.

Ælf. Hom. I. 52^{b 2}: Uton lufian ure gebroðra. — Ib. II. 316^{b 3}: Uton lufian God.

Wulf. 94.13: utan luftan god ofer ealle offre fing.

wuldrian, glorify:

See Hymn under luftan.

wyrcan [wircean], work, make:

Ælf. Hom. I. 160^b 2: uton . . . god weorc wyrcean.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 1.26: Uton wircean man = Facianus hominem.

Mat. 17.4^b: uton wyrcean her 5reo eardungstowa = faciamus hic tria tabernacula.

Wulf. 41.1: utan durh æghwæt godes willan wyrcan.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive as the complement of (w)uton is found only three times, as follows: $\mathcal{E}lf.\ L.\ S.\ 242.68$: $uton\ beon\ gehyrte;$ — $\mathcal{E}lf.\ Hom.\ I.\ 602^{t\ 3}$: $Uton\ awurpan\ 5eostra\ weore$, and $beon\ ymbscrydde\ mid\ leohtes\ wæpnum;\ repeated in the same, I. <math>604^{t\ 2}$.

The predicative infinitive with (w)uton is occasionally found in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section vi.

NOTES.

1. The Adhortative "Veni" (or "Venite"). — Several times in the Latin original we have the adhortative veni or venite in addition to the subjunctive of exhortation, in the Heptateuch: Gen. 11.7a: Soolice uton cuman and todælan vær heora spræce = Venite igitur, descendamus et confundamus ibi linguam; — ib. 19.32a, b: Uton fordrencan urne fæder mid wine, and uton licgan mid him = Veni, inebriemus eum vino dormiamusque cum eo; — ib. 37.20a, b, c: Uton hine ofslean and don hine on vone . . . pytt and secgan = Venite, occidamus eum et mittamus . . . dicamusque; — ib. 31.44: Ga hider near and uton syllan wedd = Veni, ergo et inemus foedus. The same idiom is found, also, in the Gospels: Mat. 21.38a, b, c: uton gan and ofslean hyne, and habban us hys æhta = Venite, occidamus eum, et habebimus (sic!) hæreditatem ejus. With the foregoing, compare L. 20.14: Her ys se yrfeweard: cumav, uton hine ofslean, væt seo æht ure sy = Hic est hæres, occidamus illum, ut nostra fiat hæreditas; and notice, also, the use of ga in Gen. 31.44, quoted in the preceding part of this note.

2. "(W)uton" to Be Supplied. — In Laws 280, I Cnut, c. 2 (And Godes cyrican griðian 7 friðian 7 gelomlice secean saulum to hæle 7 us sylfum to dearfe), (w)uton is to be supplied,

as Dr. Liebermann indicates.

3. "Uten" for "(W)uton."—Occasionally we have uten instead of (w)uton, as in A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 7.322 (uten wurcæn (sic!) mihte on Sone . . . god); Bened. 3.13 (uten

ahsien urne drihten); etc.; etc.

4. "Ute" for "(W)uton." — Occasionally we have ute instead of (w) uton: Boeth. 17.8: Ute nu tellan beforan swilcum deman swilce δu wille = 27.6: quouis iudice de opum dignitatumque mecum possessione contende; — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 14.51: Ac ute we beon gemyndie ure sawle $\delta earfe$; — ib. 14.53: Ute gemunan δene ... dæg; — ib. 14.77: ute gehyran hu etc.; — Wulf. 173.7: ute don eac swa, ealswa hi dydon.

5. Infinitive in "-e-." — Occasionally, as in Laws 269, I Æthelred, Expl.^a (uton ænne God . . . and ænne Cristendom ealle healde and ælene hæðendom mid ealle aweorpan), we

have an infinitive in -e.

6. The Infinitive Is to Be Supplied with "(W)uton" in Boeth. 75.18: Uton væs, forvæm hit is sov = 68.22: a loose paraphrase with a subjunctive; Solil. 55.5: Uton væs = 0; and possibly in Laws 269, IX Æthelred, Expl., b but the text is here defective.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "BEON" ("WESAN").

The Predicative Infinitive with been or wesan normally denotes (A) Necessity or Obligation, but occasionally denotes (B) Futurity or (C) Purpose. As will be seen, save in a few sporadic cases of (A) the infinitive is inflected. No example of the compound passive infinitive has been found.

A. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES NECESSITY OR OBLIGATION.

As to the voice of the infinitive with been (wesan) denoting necessity or obligation, most students of the construction believe that, while the infinitive is normally passive in sense, occasionally it is active in sense. Among those that have expressed themselves to this effect may be mentioned Dr. Farrar, l. c., pp. 34-35, 37; Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 136; Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 37; Dr. Tanger, l. c., p. 312; and Dr. Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 47. Indeed, I know of but one 1 noteworthy divergent opinion; and this divergence, I must believe, is apparent rather than real. Dr. Henry Sweet seems to hold that the infinitive is always passive in sense. In his Anglo-Saxon Reader, 7th ed. (1894), p. lxxxiv, he says of the inflected infinitive: "With the verb be it expresses necessity or duty in a passive sense: monige scylda beod to forberanne, 'many sins are to be tolerated '(3.24). So also 3, 100," which reads: "Eac is to wietanne dæt æresd bid se wah durhdyrelod." Again, in his New English Grammar, II. (1898), p. 119, we read: "In Old English the supine is used in a passive sense to express what must be or ought to be done: Ja Jing Je to donne sind, 'the things which are to be done.' We still keep up this passival use in the phrase a house to let; but, as we cannot do this with other verbs, we have to use the passive form in such constructions as this house is to be let or sold, whence there is a tendency to say a house to be let. Originally these passival uses were probably simply ambiguous: to donne meant indifferently 'for some one to do' or 'to be done by some one.'" But, in the last sentence quoted by me, Dr. Sweet may intend to modify the earlier unqualified statements so as to allow that occasionally in Anglo-Saxon we have with been (wesan) an infinitive that is active in sense. The foregoing opinions are with reference to the inflected infinitive only. This general view seems to me substantiated by the investigation of Dr. Farrar and by the present study. As already indicated, I find a few sporadic instances of the uninflected infinitive denoting necessity, some active in sense and some passive in sense.

Normally the infinitive follows the principal verb, as in *Bened.* 39.5: eal Senung is to donne on Set ylce gemet = 72.12: ita agatur; but at times it precedes, as in Wulf. 57.15^a: geredas æfre, hwæt him to donne sy and hwæt to forlætenne; and at times the same principal verb is both preceded and followed by the infinitive, as in the passage just quoted from Wulfstan. The foregoing

¹ I am not sure as to the position of Dr. Riggert. On p. 68 of his dissertation we read: "Der Infinitiv hat stets aktive Form; jedoch wird durch den aktiven Infinitiv ein passiver Sinn zum Ausdruck gebracht (cf. ahd. nist iu thaz zi wizzanne)."

applies primarily to the infinitive that is passive in sense, for, when active in sense, the infinitive usually precedes the finite verb, as may be seen by an inspection of the examples given later in this chapter.

1. The Infinitive Passive in Sense.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

In the two following examples, one from Alfred and one from Ælfric, we have an uninflected infinitive denoting necessity or obligation and passive in sense:—

Bede 78.26: Ond hwæt elles is to secenne wið ðæm hungre nemne ondlifen, wið ðurst drync, wið hæto celnis, wið cyle hrægl, wið werignesse reste, wið untrymnesse lacedom secan? = 56.3: Et quid est aliud contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra aestum auras, contra frigus uestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quaerere, nisi medicamentum quidem contra egritudines explorare? [Secan may be considered active here. See p. 78 above.]

Ælf. L. S. 336.223: Sas feower and syndon to underforme on geleaffulre gelasunge and forlætan (sic!) Sa obre Se lease gesetnysse gesetton.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

Of the inflected infinitive denoting necessity or obligation and passive in sense, about 894 examples have been found; of which only ten examples occur in the poetry. As is evident from the instances quoted below, sometimes (about 654 times) the subject of the principal verb is personal, sometimes (about 240 times) the subject is impersonal.

The ten examples in the poems are as follows:—

S. & S. 54: Ac hulic is se organ ingemyndum to begonganne dam de his gast wile meltan wid mordre, mergan of sorge, asceadan of scyldum?

Seizure and Death of Alfred 13: Nu is to gelyfenne to San leofan gode, Sæt hi blission blise mid Criste.

Rid. 42.8: Dæt is to gedencanne deoda gehwylcum, wisfæstum werum, hwæt seo wiht sy!

Rid. 29.12: Micel is to hycganne wisfæstum menn hwæt seo wiht sy.

Rid. 32.23: Micel is to hycgenne wisum wooboran hwæt [sio] wiht sie.

Met. 21.42: Jonne wile he secgan, Jæt Jære sunnan sie beorhtnes Jostro beorna gehwylcum to metanne wid Jæt micle leoht godes ælmihtiges (or absolute?).

Gu. 502: micel is to secgan (sic!) eall æfter orde, væt he on elne adreag.

Gu. 510: is væs gen fela to secgenne, væs ve he sylfa adreag.

And. 1481: Mycel is to secganne, langsum leornung, öæt he in life adreag, eall æfter orde!

Ps. 77.10: nis to wenanne, dette wolde god hiora gasta mid him gyman awiht = 77.8: non est creditus cum Deo spiritus ejus.

As to the prose, the construction is very common in Early West Saxon: Alfred has about 473 examples, though, as we shall see later (in Chapter XIV), only when suggested by the Latin directly (usually) or indirectly. It is rare in the *Chronicle*, in the *Laws*, in the *Gospels*, and in Wulfstan; and, as compared with Alfred, is rare in Ælfric, who has about 115 examples to Alfred's 474.

The idiom occurs with so many different verbs in prose that it seems impossible to make helpful groups thereof. The verbs most frequently occurring in this construction are $cy \delta an$, 'make known;' don, 'do,' 'make,' 'cause;' forlætan, 'leave,' 'forsake;' geliefan, 'believe;' $ge\delta encan$, 'think,' 'consider;' healdan, 'hold,' 'consider;' manian, 'admonish' (which occurs about 243 times, in Alfred); secgan, 'say,' 'tell;' smeagan, 'consider;' understandan, 'understand;' witan, 'know;' and wundrian, 'wonder.'

Typical examples are: —

cyŏan, make known:

Greg. 263.9: Đæt is to cyðanne de him swingellan ondrædad, dæt hie etc. = 198.12: Dicendum namque est flagella timentibus. — Ib. 287.3: Ongean dæt is to cyðanne dæm de beod to hrade, . . . dæt etc. = 216.19: 0. — Ib. 189.1: Suadeah is dæm to cyðanne, dæt etc. = 140.20: Quibus profecto intimandum est etc. — Ib. 201.15: Dam hlafordum is eac to cyðanne dætte hie etc. = 150.15: Domini admonendi sunt quia etc. — Ib. 301.14: Dæm eadmodum is to cyðanne dætte etc. = 228.6: Dicatur ergo humilibus, quia etc.

don, do, make, cause:

Bede 50.10^a: ræddon hwæt him to donne wære, hwær him wære fultum to secanne = 30.16: est consilium, quid agendum, ubi quaerendum esset praesidium. — Ib. 128.13: hwæt him selest to donne wære = 108.18^b: quid ageret (or with adjective?). — Ib. 68.7: Sonne is hit of lufan to donne = 50.7: agendum est.

Chron. 215^t, 1083 E^a: nyston hwet heom to donne wære.

Laws 368, II Cnut, c. 84^a: smeage swybe georne, hwæt him sig to donne 7 hwæt to forganne.

Bl. Hom. 199.30: beahsodan, hwæt him væs to donne wære.

Ælf. Hom. I. 314^{b 2}: hwæt is us to donne?

Wulf. 173.4: ah hi dydon, swa heom to donne was.

Læce. 62.21: Sas Sing sint to donne.

forlætan, leave, forsake:

Bede 70.12: seo æftere cneoris . . . alle gemete is to forbeorenne 7 to forlætenne = 51.3: secunda . . . a se omni modo debet abstinere. — Ib. 292.14: wundor . . ., de us nis to forlætenne = 224.20: Sane nullatenus praetereundum arbitror miraculum.

Wærf. 23.18: ne wene ic no, væt me sy an væra spella to forlætanne = 164 B²: Sed unum dicam, quod ab eo narratum prætereundum nullo modo æstimo. — Ib. 109.18: væt nis na mid swigunge to forlætanne = B. 140 A¹: quod silentio prætereundum non est.

Pr. Gu. XIX. 1: Swylce nys eac mid idelnysse to forlætanne væt wunder = Non me . . . praesagium narrarre piget.

Wulf. 51.20: hwæt him to donne sy and hwæt to forlætanne.

Læce. 5.28: Læcedomas on hwilce tid blod sie to forganne, on hwilce to forlætenne.

geliefan [-y-], believe:

Bede 224.22: Sæs sedel wære ece to gelyfenne in heofonum = 172.6: cujus sedes aeterna . . . in caelis esset credenda. — Ib. 372.27: Is Sæt to gelyfenne, Sætte etc. = 275.16: ut credibile est. — Ib. 228.23: to gelyfanne is Sæt etc. = 174.9: credendum est quia etc.

Chron. 158b, 1036 C: Nu is to gelyfenne to San leofan Gode.

Wærf. 328.6: Sæt clænsiende fyr is to gelyfanne = 396 A¹: purgatorius ignis credendus est. — Ib. 146.2: hwæser hit to gelyfenne sy = B. 174 A: nunquid non credendum est.

Bl. Hom. 29.15: Us is to gelyfenne det etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 442b: Micele swidor is to gelyfenne dæt he etc.

Ælf. L. S. 100.176: Se god is to gelyfanne. — Ib. XXIII B. 108: is to gelyfanne det etc.

gedencan, think, consider:

Bede 84.3^b: Mid . . . mode is to smeageanne 7 to gedencenne væt etc. = 59.5: pensandum est.

Boeth. 52.2: Eac is Seos bisen to gestencenne = 0.

Greg. 385.24: Donne is us [væt] swide wocorlice to gedenceanne dætte ure Hælend etc. = 302.1: Vigilanti itaque consideratione pensandum est, quod cum Jesus etc. — Ib. 59.21^a: Ymb dyllic is to gedencenne & to smeaganne, fordam etc. = 34.27: Cui considerandum quoque est etc.

Wærf. 239.27°: in dere wisan us is to sceawianne 7 to gedencanne, det etc. = 292 °C2: Qua in re considerandum est. — Ib. 328.26: us is geornlice to gedencanne... det etc. = 395 °C1: pensandum sollicite est.

Bl. Hom. 19.31: Eac is to gedencenne hwæt Drihten spræc.

healdan, hold:

Bede 68.15^{b} : see lufu is . . . to haldanne = 50.14: caritas . . . tenenda est.

Greg. 119.2^a: on dere heortan is a sio eadmodnes to healdanne = 82.16: Servanda... est et in corde humilitas.

Bened. 6.16: Hu on sumera seo nihtlice tid to healdenne sy = 64.10: Qualiter aetatis tempore agatur nocturna laus. — Ib. 7.4: Hwylc gemet on δ are bote to healdenne sy = 90.13: Qualis debeat esse modus excommunicationis. — Ib. 49.3: Dis is mid gesceade to healdenne δ am δ e ascyrede syn fram . . . gereorde = 92.1: Privati autem a mensæ consortio, ista erit ratio. — Ib. 60.11: Untrumra manna gymen is to healdenne toforan eallum δ ingum = 112.14: cura . . . super omnia adhibenda est. — Ib. 110.5: Nis na δ is be munecum anum to healdene = 176.11: Non solum autem Monachum . . . stabilire potest.

Ælf. Æthelw. 6: δ eawa . . ., δ e synd to healdenne = agenda sunt.

Wulf. 270.16: das feower sinodas syndon to healdenne.

Læce. 63.18: hwæt him sie to healdanne.

manian [-o-], admonish:

Bede 70.26: heo seondon to monienne = 51.19: admonendi sunt.

Greg. 13.20: Dette on orre wisan sint to manianne weras, on orre wiif = 130.6: Aliter namque admonendi sunt viri, atque aliter feminæ. So about 241 times in Gregory.

secgan, say:

Bede 208.32: bi son her æfter in heora tiid is to secgenne = 163.17: dicendum est. — Ib. 334.30: is nu to secgenne = 254.31: dicamus.

Boeth. 41.3: Det is nu hradost to secganne, det ic wilnode weordfullice to libbanne etc. = 0.

Greg. 215.6: Dæm ungedyldegum is to secganne dæt etc. = 162.4: Dicendum est impatientibus. — Ib. 261.3: Him is to secgeanne dæt hie etc. = 196.16: no Latin here, but is preceded by admonendi sunt.

Bl. Hom. 63.16: Nis vet no be eallum demum gelice to secggenne.

Wærf. 139.32: gif hwylce syn nu gyt to secganne = B. 168 A: In objectione

meæ quæstiunculæ patuit causa rationis. Sed quæso te, si qua sunt adhuc de hujus viri virtutibus, subjunge.

Wulf. 204.2: dider scylan wiccan and wigleras, and radest is to sæcgenne, ealle da manfullan, de ær yfel worhton.

smeagan, consider:

Bede 84.3^a: Mid . . . mode is to smeageanne 7 to geometrie of etc. = 59.5: pensandum est.

Greg. 153.13: manegu diglu ding sindon nearolice to smeageanne = 110.20: sunt perscrutanda. — Ib. 59.21^b: Ymb dyllic is . . . to smeaganne, fordam etc. = 34.27: Cui considerandum quoque est etc.

Bened. 16.9: Gif . . . hwylc læsse δ ing sie to smeagenne = 28.20: Si qua vero minora agenda sunt. — Ib. 15.6: secge eallum embe hwæt neoda to smeagenne sy = 26.16: dicat ipse unde agitur.

Bl. Hom. 33.17: Ac us is to smeagenne væt etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 254^t: Us is to smeagenne & word. — Ib. I. 308^m: Us is to smeagenne hu seo clænnys wæs & onde.

Wulf. 185.6^a: Sæt is ofer eal gemet to smeagenne and to sorgianne and on mycelre care to cweSanne.

understandan, understand:

Bened. 23.7: Nis butan tweon to understandenne se upstige = 46.9: Non aliud sine dubio . . . ascensus a nobis intelligitur.

Ælf. Hom. II. 270^b ^{1, 2}: nis forði nan ðing ðæron to understandenne lichamlice, ac is eall gastlice to understandenne. — Ib. I. 132^b: Be ðisum is to understandenne hu etc.

Wulf. 192.21: Sæt is Sonne swa to understandenne, Sæt etc. — Ib. 113.8: Sonne is Særtoeacan gyt to understandenne, Sæt we etc.

witan, know:

Bede 334.26: is hrædlice to witanne væt etc. = 254.27: intimandum.

Greg. 157.14: Eac is to wietanne væt etc. = 114.9: Notandum itaque est. — Ib. 269.19: Eac is to witanne vætte etc. = 204.1: Sciendum vero est, quod etc.

Laws 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, Insc., c. 2: Æfter dam is witanne (MS. B: to witanne), hwam dæt fosterlean gebyrige.

Wærf. 329.4: us is væt to witanne..., væt etc. = 396 C²: Hoc tamen sciendum est. — Ib. 281.3: Eac us is to witane between ovrum wisum, væt etc. = 341 B¹: Sed inter hæc sciendum est.

Bl. Hom. 129.26: Sæt is Sonne geare to witenne. — Ib. 63.35: us is to witenne Sæt etc.

Ælf. Hom. I. 110t: Us is eac to witenne, & et etc.

Ælf. Gr. 154.1: is to witenne, oet etc. = Sciendum est.

Wulf. 201.23: eow is eac to witanne, væt etc.

wundrian, wonder, admire:

Bede 178.11: Ne væt swide to wundrienne is = 145.23: Nec mirandum.

Boeth. 104.4: Set is to wundrianne = 88.12: quod solum quanta dignum sit ammiratione.

Solil. 12.24: hu din godnes is to wundrienne = admiranda et singularis bonitas tua!

Wærf. 67.31: Sa weorc us syndon swySor to wundrianne = 197 A: illa magis miranda sint.

Bl. Hom. 33.12: Nis væt to wundrigenne.

2. The Infinitive Active in Sense.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

Twice we have an uninflected active infinitive denoting obligation or necessity, with an objective case: Ælf. Hom. I. 400^b: Is nu forði munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnysse to forbugenne ðas yfelan gebysnunga, and geefenlæcan (sic!) ðam apostolum, ðæt hi, mid him and mid Gode, ðæt ece lif habban moton; Ælf. L. S. 376.183: Us is to secenne . . . ða bote æt gode, na æt ðam gramlicum wiccum, and mid ealra heortan urne hælend gladian (sic!). As with the infinitive passive in sense, so here, when active in sense, the uninflected infinitive is second in a series.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

In my judgment we have only a few examples of the inflected infinitive with beon (wesan) in which the sense is active, not passive, and in which the infinitive governs as an accusative 1 of the direct object what, in the passival use, would be the subject nominative. A few instances of the active use are found in Alfred and in Wærferth, but the majority are found in Ælfric. Dr. Farrar, 2 let me add, considers as active in sense a large number of inflected infinitives that to me seem passive in sense, as in the following: Bede 50.10 $^{a, b}$: ræddon hwæt him to donne wære, hwær him wære fultum to secanne = 30.16, 17: est consilium, quid agendum, ubi quaerendum esset praesidium; — ib. 66.4 $^{a, b}$: be heora ondlifne is to \mathcal{E} encenne 7 to foreseonne \mathcal{E} ext heo godum \mathcal{E} eawum lifgen = $49.8^{a, b}$: cogitandum atque providendum est.

I give a complete list of what seem to me the clearer cases, arranged alphabetically:—

biddan, pray:

Ælf. Hom. II. 494^b ³: Us is to biddenne Drihtnes mildheortnysse, væt he visum mannum miltsige.

brucan, enjoy:

Mart. 72.25: Da dagas sindon rihtlice to fæstenne, ond dara metta to brucenne de men brucad on dæt . . . fæsten.

clænsi(g)an, cleanse:

Pr. Gu. V. 58: ac on seofon nihta fyrstes fæste ne bið to clænsienne done man (Vercelli MS.: ac on seofon nihta fyrstes fæsten bið to clænsigeanne se man) = sed septenarum dierum valida castigatio jejunium est.

cydan, make known:

Greg. 187.15: Dæm oferbliðum is to cyðanne ða unrotnessa ðe ðærafter cumað, 7 ðam unbliðum sint to cyðanne ða gefean ðe him gehatene sindon = 140.10: Lætis . . . inferenda sunt tristitia . . .; tristibus vero inferenda sunt læta. [The second to cyðanne is probably passive in sense.]

ehtan, punish, persecute:

Bede 72.9: Forðon, swa swa bi ðam monnum is hwæthwugu to aræfnenne, ða ðurh unwisnesse synne fremmað, swa ðonne is stronglice to ehtenne, ða ðe him ne ondrædað weotende syngian = 52.1: culpa . . . toleranda est, ita in his fortiter insequenda, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare.

¹ Occasionally a genitive or a dative.

forbugan, avoid:

Ælf. Hom. I. 400^b: Is nu forði munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnysse to forbugenne ðas yfelan gebysnunga, and geefenlæcan (sic!) ðæm apostolum.

forswelgan, swallow:

Læce. 68.30: swelc swa $bi\delta$ freo beana ælce dæge to forswelganne 7 fisum gelice drencas.

gearcian, prepare:

Ælf. L. S. XXIV. 21: Sysum is to gearcigenne da redestan wita.

gewitan, know:

Ælf. Hom. I. 294^b: Nis na eow to gewitanne da tid odde da handhwile de min Fæder gesette durh his mihte (or subjective?).

manian, mix (?):

Greg. 125.13: Sua eac dam lareowe is to monianne (Cot. MS.: to mengenne) da liednesse wid da rednesse, & of dam gemonnge wyrce gemetgunge, det etc. = 88.4: Miscenda ergo est lenitas cum severitate.

metan, measure:

Boeth. 44.20: For dem hit nis no to metanne det geendodlice wid det ungeendodlice = 46.57: infiniti uero atque finiti nulla umquam poterit esse collatio. [The infinitive may be passive, but is probably active in sense. Concerning the use of hit in this sentence, compare Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 136: "As in the construction of the infinitive after nouns and adjectives the dependent infinitive interchanges with the subject infinitive (pp. 49 ff.), so with the predicative infinitive denoting purpose, obligation, etc., a construction occurs in M. E. in which the subject of the sentence comes to be used as the object of the infinitive. A thing is to do appears, often with the assistance of the expletive it, in the form it is to do a thing, meaning it is necessary to do a thing, in the same way that the Greek $\xi \xi \epsilon \sigma \tau$ is used to denote necessity. The examples of this construction are not numerous in Chaucer. He appears to have retained the other form in most cases."]

ongietan, understand:

Bede 224.19: Ac God ma wære to ongeotanne in örymme unbesændlicne (sic!), menniscum eagum ungesenelicne, almeahtigne, ecne = 172.1: Deum potius intellegendum maiestate inconprehensibilem, humanis oculis inuisibilem, omnipotentem, aeternum etc., before which is to be understood, from 171.20, solebat eum hortari.

secan, seek:

Ælf. L. S. 376.181: Us is to secenne... Sa bote æt gode, na æt Sam gramlican wiccum, and mid ealra heortan urne hælend gladian (sic!) (or subjective?). [Cf. Kenyon, l. c., p. 137.]

secgan, say:

Ælf. Hept.: De N. T. 21.14: Nys us na to secgenne one . . . moro (or subjective?). [Cf. Kenyon, l. c., p. 137.]

sellan, give:

Læce. 63.37: him is to sellanne lactucas 7 suberne popig inneweard. — Ib. 76.33: merce on wætre gesoden 7 swilca wyrta 7 migole drincan 7 bynne win him is to sellanne wel scir.

underfon, receive, accept:

Ælf. Hom. II. 344^b²: ac swadeah nis to underfonne nanes synfulles mannes æhta on his geendunge, ne his lic ne sy on haligre stowe bebyriged.

understandan, understand:

Ælf. L. S. 354.258: Us is to understandenne das endebyrdnyssa (or subjective?).

warni(g)an, warn:

Wærf. 340.29: forðan him is to warnianne ðone rihtan dom ðam, ðe ær ne beoð his synna forlætene = 413 A²: Qua ex re aperte datur intelligi quia hi quibus peccata dimissa non fuerint, ad evitandum judicium sacris locis post mortem non valeant adjuvari.

Ælf. Gr. 3.10: is nu for di godes deowum and mynstermannum georne to warnigenne, det seo halige lar on urum dagum ne acolige odde ateorige.

weorðian, honor:

Ælf. Hom. I. 354^t: Ac us is to wurðigenne mid micelre gecnyrdnysse Cristes gebyrdtide.

wundrian, admire:

Pr. Gu. III. 63: And nu, hwæt, ys swiðe to wundrianne ða diglan mihte ures drihtnes and his mildheortnysse domas = O quam admiranda est divinae miserationis indulgentia, et quantum glorificanda paternae dilectionis providentia!

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

Regularly the infinitive of necessity is inflected, whether active or passive in sense. Sporadically, however, we find the infinitive uninflected, as in the examples given on pp. 98 and 102. In each of these examples the uninflected infinitive is the second in a series of two infinitives, the first in each series being inflected; and one may hold that the influence of the to of the first is carried over to the second infinitive, or, to state it differently, that to is omitted with the second infinitive because of its presence with the first infinitive; or, as I prefer to think, that the second infinitive is uninflected primarily because of its remoteness from the principal verb. Or, finally, the lack of inflection, occurring so seldom, may be due to mere chance.

B. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES FUTURITY.

At times the inflected infinitive with beon (wesan) denotes Futurity, is active in sense, and corresponds to the Latin periphrastic conjugation made up of the verb sum and the future participle, of which, indeed, it is usually a translation.

I give all of the clearer examples observed by me:—aliesan, redeem:

L. 24.21: We hopedon öæt he to alysenne wære Israhel = Nos autem sperabamus quia ipse esset redempturus Israel.

cuman, come:

Gosp.: Mat. 11.3: Eart $\delta u \, \delta e \, to \, cumenne \, eart = Tu \, es \, qui \, venturus \, es?$ Similarly: Mat. 11.14, 16.27; — L. 7.19, 20; 10.1; — J. 1.15.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 11.106: Hwi nis se wyroe oæt he onfo oinra metelafe, oe mid oe is to cumenne to engla gebeorscipe?

cweðan, say, speak:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 12.86: And ure drihten is to cwedenne donne he to dam dome cymd: Hospes eram et suscepistis me. don, do:

L. 22.23^{b} : hi agunnon betwux him smeagan hwylc of him δx to donne wxre = cx experiment quærere inter se, quis esset ex eis qui hoc facturus esset.

gefyllan, complete:

L. 9.31: sædon his gewitendnesse de he to gefyllenne wæs on hierusalem = dicebant excessum ejus, quem completurus erat in Jerusalem.

onfon, receive:

Bede 224.26: Sæt heo Sonne wæren from him ece mede to onfonne = 172.9: aeterna ab illo praemia essent percepturi.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 11.103: For hwi ne mot se dearfa on fon dines metes de mid de is to on fonne heofona rice? Similarly: ib. 11.105.

sendan, send:

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 4.13: sende vone ve vu to sendenne eart = mitte quem missurus es.

Frowi(g)an, suffer:

Mat. 17.12: ys mannes Sunu eac fram him to Frowigenne = Sic et Filius hominis passurus est ab eis.

Note.—"Beon" ("Wesan") Plus "Toweard" to Denote Futurity.—Occasionally beon (wesan) plus toweard represents the future indicative, as in Bede 270.2: (hwonne he... toweard sy in ... wolcnum ... to demanne cwice and deade = 211.7: uenturus est ... ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos) and in Chad 188 (Sonne he bistoweard to demenne cwice 7 deade). See Chapter XI, where all such examples are recorded.

C. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES PURPOSE.

At other times the inflected infinitive with beon (wesan) denotes Purpose, is active in sense, and corresponds to and occasionally translates a Latin phrase made up of ad plus a gerund or a gerundive in the accusative.

All the clearer examples observed are given:—

adiligian, destroy:

Hept.: Gen. 9.15: heonon forð ne $bi\eth$ flod to adiligenne eall flæsc = non erunt ultra aquæ diluvii ad delendam omnem carnem. [The infinitive may modify flod instead of $bi\eth$.]

etan, eat:

Napier's Ad. to Th. 101.315^m: Hæbbe ge her æni ðing, ðe to etenne sy? [Cf. L. 24.41: Hæbbe ge her ænig ðing to etenne? = Habetis hic aliquid quod manducetur?]

faran, go, run:

Wærf. 221.1: hit wæs wæter to fultume 7 to helpe dam mannum, de in dære cyrican wæron, 7 swylce hit wæter nære in da stowe to farane = 269 B: ut aqua erat ad adjutorium et quasi aqua non erat ad invadendum locum.

forlæran, lead astray:

Gen. 703: was hire on helpe handweorc godes to forlaranne [lacuna].

gehælan, heal:

L. 5.17: and Drihtnes mægen wæs hig to gehælenne = et virtus Domini erat ad sanandum eos.

getacni(g)an, signify:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 241: he is to getacnigenne of dere sawla dædum.

gremian, irritate:

Chron. 239^b, 1104 E^b: Eall dis was God mid to gremienne, 7 das arme leode mid to tregienne.

healdan, hold, preserve:

Oros. 46.17^a: oder æt ham been heora lond to healdanne = 47.17: reginae... quae... vicissim curam belli et domus custodiam sortiebantur. onfon, receive:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II: 13.266: Uton . . . tilian δ æt we syn clæne and unwæmme δ am to onfonne (or the infinitive may modify the adjectives instead of syn?).

sceawian, see, examine:

Greg. 131.21: Da recceras sceolon bion beforan 5æm folce sua sua monnes eage beforan his lichoman, his weg & his stæpas to sceawianne = 92.28: ut recta pedes valeant itinera carpere, hæc procul dubio caput debet ex alto providere.

tregian, grieve:

Chron. 239b, 1104 Ec: quoted under gremian above.

degnian, serve:

Wærf. 281.20: ac dysum wæs æt his moder 7 his broder to degnienne = 341 C: Huic ad serviendum mater cum fratre aderat.

For the predicative infinitive with the verb to be in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section vii.

NOTES.

1. The Predicative Infinitive with "Beon" ("Wesan") in a Series. — In the following passages we have a series of two infinitives with beon (wesan) in which the first is inflected but the second is not: Ælf. Hom. I. $400^{\text{b-1, 2}}$, quoted on p. 103; Ælf. L. S. 336.222, 223, quoted on p. 98; ib. 376.181, 183, quoted on p. 102; Bede 78.24, 26, quoted on p. 98. In the following passages we have a series of inflected infinitives: Ælf. Hom. I. $498^{\text{t-1, 2}}$; — Bede $66.4^{\text{a, b}}$; $430.32^{\text{a, b}}$; — Bened. $5.8^{\text{a, b}}$; — Boeth. $72.27^{\text{a, b, c}}$; — Greg. $183.3^{\text{a, b}}$; — Læce. $25.30^{\text{a, b}}$; — Laws $14^{\text{a, b, c}}$; $46^{\text{a, b}}$; $474^{\text{a, b}}$; — Wærf. $108.32^{\text{a, b}}$; 239.26, 27; $348.9^{\text{a, b}}$; $349.27^{\text{a, b}}$.

2. Predicative Infinitives Becoming Absolute. — In Bede 88.23 (Ono se mon bið, ðæs ðe swa to cweðenne sy, æghwæðer ge gehæfted ge freo = 62.1: Ecce itaque homo est, ut ita dixerim, captiuus et liber etc.), in Boeth. 39.10 (Swa hit is nu hraðost to secganne be eallum ðam woruldgesælðum = 42.63: concludere . . . licet), and in Wulf. 158.16 (and hrædest is to cweðenne) and 204.2 (and raðest is to sæcgenne), we have inflected predicative infinitives of necessity on the way to becoming absolute in use. Cf., too, Boeth. 41.3 (Dæt is nu hradost to secganne, ðæt ic wilnode weorðfullice to libbanne etc. = 0).

3. Predicative Inflected Infinitive without "To." — In Laws 442 (2), quoted on p. 101

above, we have, in one manuscript, an inflected infinitive of necessity without to.

4. The Inflected Infinitive with "Habban."—As stated in Chapter II, p. 43, occasionally the inflected infinitive with habban denotes obligation or futurity. See the examples there given, and compare the statement of Wilmanns, who, l. c., p. 128, after speaking of the infinitive of obligation after the verb to be, adds: "Ähnliche Bedeutung nimmt haben mit dem Inf. mit zu an: Tat. c. 138.8: ih haben thir sihwaz zi quedanne, habeo tibi aliquid dicere."

5. A Mixed Construction occurs in Greg. 23.1 (Dætte hwilum 5a leohtan scylda beoð beteran to forlætan (sic! but Cotton MS.: to forlætonne) = 388.21: Quod aliquando leviora vitia relinquenda sunt): the inflected infinitive may be considered as predicative with beoð or as modifying the adjective beteran; but, although I have put it under the former head, it really belongs under each.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.

The uninflected infinitive active as the quasi-predicate of an accusative subject, in object clauses, is found about 1512 times in Anglo-Saxon. It is common in Anglo-Saxon prose, early and late, and in Anglo-Saxon poetry, after certain verbs (1) of Commanding, (2) of Causing and Permitting, (3) of Sense Perception; is less frequent after (4) verbs of Mental Perception; and is almost unknown after (5) verbs of Declaring. The passive infinitive in this construction is far less common, being restricted almost exclusively to the translations. In subject clauses, the predicative infinitive with accusative subject, whether active or passive, is very rare, and with one exception is found only in the translations.

In object clauses, the infinitive phrase usually follows the principal verb, as in Bede 156.21: Da gehyrde he sumne dara brodra sprecan det etc. = 130.19: audiret unum . . . disposuisse; but occasionally it precedes, as in Beow. 1346: Ic det londbuend leode mine selerædende secgan hyrde, det etc.; and occasionally it partly precedes and partly follows, as in Bede 190.1: det he hine . . . herde secgan = 152.15: eum audierit . . . narrare. In subject clauses, the situation is practically the same: see examples toward the end of this chapter.

Whether in objective or subjective clauses, the infinitive that is active in form seems to me active in sense. Some hold, however, that, after verbs of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception, we sometimes have a predicative infinitive that, though active in form, is passive in sense. The grounds for the active interpretation have been given in Chapter II, pp. 29 ff.; where I have stated that to me the infinitive in examples of the sort there cited seems, not predicative, but objective, and the accompanying accusative, not subjective, but objective.

I consider first the idiom in object clauses.

AS OBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

I. UNINFLECTED.

The active uninflected infinitive occurs as the quasi-predicate of an accusative subject with the following groups of verbs:—

1. Oftenest with Verbs of Commanding ² and the like, of which group the chief representative is *hatan*, 'command,' 'order.' The complete list of verbs belonging to this group is as follows:—

bebeodan [bi-], command, order. biddan, request, command.

forbeodan, forbid. hatan, command.

¹ As is evident from this statement, I include Grimm's 'non-genuine' as well as his 'genuine' accusative with infinitive, — concerning which see Chapter XIV, section viii.

2 Cf. Gorrell, l. c., pp. 371 ff.: Zeitlin, l. c., pp. 55 ff.

3 Cf. Gorrell, l. c., p. 373.

2. Next most frequently with Verbs of Causing and of Permitting,¹ of which the chief representative is lætan, 'allow,' 'cause.' The full list follows:—

alætan, allow.
biegan [began], urge, force.
don, make, cause.
forlætan, allow.
gedon, make, cause.

geðafian, allow.
geðolian [gi-], allow.
geunnan, grant.
lætan, allow, permit, cause.
niedan [-e-, -y-], compel, force.

3. Only slightly less frequently than with the preceding, with Verbs of Sense Perception,² of which the chief representative is geseon, 'see.' This group is composed of the following:—

behealdan [bi-], behold, see. gefelan, feel, perceive. gehawian, see. gehieran [-e-, -y-], hear. geseon, see.

hieran [-e-, -y-], hear. ofseon, see. sceawian, see. seon, see.

4. Far less frequently with Verbs of Mental Perception,³ the chief representatives of which are findan, 'find,' gefrignan, 'learn by asking,' gemetan, 'find,' ongietan, 'understand,' and witan, 'know.' The full list follows:—

æteawan, show.
afindan, find.
eowan, show.
findan, find.
geacsian [-ah-], learn by asking.
gecyðan, make known.
gefrignan, learn by inquiry.
gehatan, promise.
gehyhtan [-i-], hope.
geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe.
gemetan, meet, find.

gemittan, meet, find.
gemunan, remember, recall.
getriewan [-eo-], trust, hope.
gewitan, perceive, observe.
læran, teach.
onfindan, find.
ongietan, understand, perceive.
tali(g)an, consider, account.
tellan, tell, consider.
wenan, hope.
witan, know.

5. Very rarely with Verbs of Declaring,4 of which this is a complete list:—

cweðan, say.
foresecgan, foretell, predict.

ondettan, confess, declare. secgan, say, relate.

6. Very rarely with Other Verbs: once only with the verb **habban**, have, and the verb **todælan**, divide, which do not easily fall under any of the preceding groups.

Typical examples are: —

1. Verbs of Commanding, etc.: —

bebeodan, command:

Ex. 217^{a, b}, 218^{a, b}, 219^{a, b}: oð Moyses bebead eorlas . . . folc somnigean, frecan arisan, habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen, beran beorht searo, beacnum cigean sweot sande near.

Pr. Ps. 41.9^a: On dæg bebead God his mildheortnesse cuman to me = In die mandabit Dominus misericordiam suam. — Ib. 43.6: Su Se bebude hælo cuman to Iacobes cynne? = 43.5: qui mandas salutes Jacob?

biddan, request, command:

Gen. 2031: bæd him vræcrofe, va rincas væs ræd ahicgan.

Dan. 359: bædon bletsian bearn Israela, eall landgesceaft ecne drihten.

¹ Cf. Zeitlin, ¹ l. c., pp. 43 ff.

² Cf. Gorrell, l. c., pp. 395 ff.; Zeitlin, l. c., pp. 66 ff.

³ Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, pp. 384 ff.; Zeitlin, *l. c.*, pp. 78 ff.

⁴ Cf. Gorrell, l. c., pp. 414 ff.; Zeitlin, l. c., 99 ff.

El. 1101: Cyriacus . . . bæd him engla weard geopenigean uncube wyrd niwan on nearwe.

Gu. 1133: bæd hine durh mihta scyppend . . . spræce ahebban.

And. 1614: bæd haligne helpe gefremman gumena geogoðe.

Bede 6.13: bæd hine cristenne beon = 16.3: Christianum se fieri petierit.

Chron. 173^t, 1048 E^a: se cyng . . . bæd hine faran in to cent.

Ælf. L. S. 76.439, 440: bæd hi ealle wacian öær on niht mid him and öingian öam . . . men. — Ib. 266.70: Da sume dæg bæd he öone bisceop ælfeh blætsian his ful.

forbeodan, forbid:

Mat. 19.14: Nelle ge hig forbeodan cuman to me = nolite eos prohibere ad me venire.

hatan, command, order:

Beow. 1869^{a, b}: het hine mid öæm lacum leode swæse secean on gesyntum, snude eft cuman.

Gen. 122: Metod . . . heht leoht . . . forð cuman.

Ex. 254: heht da folctogan fyrde gestillan.

Dan. 431: Het da se cyning to him cnihtas gangan.

Az. 183: Het da of dam lige lifgende bearn Nabocodonossor near ætgongan.

Chr. 1024, 1026: hateð arisan reordberende of foldgrafum, folc anra gehwylc cuman to gemote.

El. 999: Hie se casere heht gearwian sylfe to side.

Ju. 523: The mec feran het Teoden of Tystrum.

And. 365, 366, 367: ælmihtig heht his engel gan, . . . mete syllan, frefran feasceaftne.

Rid. 7.5: Sonne mec min frea feohtan hates.

Jud. 54: nymöe se modga hwæne niöe rofra him öe near hete rinca to rune gegangan.

Ps. 80.12: Ac hi liftan het lustum heortena.

Bede: 34.25^{a, b}: Da het he . . . his Jegnas hine secan 7 acsian = 18.25: iussit milites eum . . . inquirere. — Ib. 58.28: Da het se cyning hie sittan = 46.5: Cumque ad iussionem regis residentes . . . uerbum praedicarent. — Ib. 118.8, 9: heht his Jegnas hine . . . beran . . . 7 asettan = 94.22: iussit se . . . efferi. — Ib. 138.11^{a, b}: heht his geferan toweorpan . . . Jone herig . . . 7 forbærnan = 113.19^{a, b}: iussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum. — Ib. 232.8: cwom ærendwraca, se Je hine to cyninge feran het = 176.1: uenit qui clamaret eum ad regem.

Greg. 279.19: Se gemetgað irre, se de done disigan hætt geswugian = 210.26:

Qui imponit stulto silentium.

Oros. 202.8: Sone here he het mid Sæm scipum Sonan wendan = 203.1: $deflexo\ cursu. -- Ib.\ 280.12$: $hiene\ het\ iernan\ on\ his\ .$. . purpurum = 281.13: ut per aliquot millia passuum purpuratus ante vehiculum ejus concurrisse referatur.

Chron. 12^t, 449 A^a: Se cing het hi feohtan agien Pihtas.

Wærf. 10.4: Hu man het Æquitium cuman to Rome = 0. — Ib. 58.13: het ealle vanon utgan = 189 C¹: omnesque exinde egredi præcepit. — Ib. 297.9a, b: hine het forv gan 7 him gearwian his hrægl = 360 A¹, ²: vocavit puerum suum,

¹ Hatan is followed, also, by a substantive clause introduced by δat , as in Elf.L.S. 142.404; 154.99; 162.245; 224.68; 396.218; 400.261; 406.360; 442.37; 464.373; etc.; etc. Cf. Gorrell, l.c., p. 375.

pararique sibi vestimenta ad procedendum jussit. — Ib. 337.37: drihten & het faran = 408 A: Paratus esto, et quia Dominus jussit, migra.

Bened. 70.18: oð . . . hine geswican hate = 134.7: usque dum ei jubeat iterum Abbas, ut quiescat ab hac satisfactione.

Bl. Hom. 21.30: hateð da eorðan eft agifan dæt heo ær onfeng.

Ælf. Hom. I. 28t: het hi faran geond ealne middangeard, bodigende fulluht and soone geleafan.

Ælf. L. S. 98.142: Martianus het his . . . cwelleras done halgan beatan.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 22.6: Abraham da het Issac beran done wudu = Ligna holocausti imposuit super Isaac. — $Ex. 32.5^{a, b}$: het bydelas beodan and dus cwedan = præconis voce clamavit dicens. — Num. 31.17: het hig da acwellan ealle da wif = Ergo mulieres . . . jugulate. — Judges 16.25: heton hine standan betwux . . . swerum = feceruntque eum stare inter . . . columnas.

Gosp.: Mat. 14.19: And δa he het δa menegu ofer δa gærs hi sittan = Et quum jussisset turbam discumbere super fænum. — Mk. 8.6: Da het he sittan δa menegu ofer δa eor δa n = Et præcepit turbæ discumbere super terram.

Wulf. 235.16: Sa deoflu hy potedon . . . and heton hy ut faran rase. Læce. 55.25^{a, b}: hine mon sceal swise hlude hatan grædan osse singan.

2. Verbs of Causing and of Permitting:—

alætan, allow:

Beow. 2666: Sæt Su ne alæte be Se lifigendum dom gedreosan.

Dan. 591: Oft metod alæt monige Feode [lacuna] wyrcan.

biegan [began], urge, force:

Ps. 143.14: Đara bearn swylce begað æðelum settum beamum samed anlice standan on staðule stiðe wið geoguðe = 143.12: Quorum filii sicut novellæ plantationes constabilitæ in juventute sua.

don, make, cause:

Ps. 103.30: He on Sas eorSan ealle locaS, deS hi for his egsan ealle beofian = qui respicit super terram, et facit eam tremere.

Bede 98.27^b: se de eardigan ded da anmodan in his fæder huse = 81.29^b: qui habitare facit unanimes in domu Patris.

Laws 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 1: δ u onsiist ofer ear δ e 7 δ u doest δ a fyrhta (sic!) = qui respicis super terram et facis ea[m] tremere.

Ælf. Hom. I. 468^m 1, 2, 3, 4: Swa swa du dydest minne brodor his god forlætan, and on dinne god gelyfan, swa do ic eac de forlætan dinne god, and on minne gelyfan.

Wulf. 196.1, 2: treowa he deð færlice blowan and eft raðe asearian.

forlætan, allow:

Beow. 3167: forleton eorla gestreon eorðan healdan.

Gen. 1406: da hine halig god . . . forlet edmonne streamum stigan.

El. 598: Hio on sybbe forlet secan gehwylcne agenne eard.

Gu. 1148: næfre ic lufan sibbe, deoden, æt dearfe dine forlæte asanian.

And. 836: dryhten forlet dægcandelle scire scinan.

Bede 318.4: Bæd heo . . . Sone cyning Sæt . . . heo forlete . . . Criste Seowian = 243.28: postulans . . . Christo servire permitteretur.

Greg. 467.11: Forðæm oft se . . . God fo[r]let ðæt mod his gecorenra gesyngian on sumum lytlum ðingum = 404.1: imperfectas tamen ex parva aliqua parte derelinquit.

Solil. 21.22: Sonne forlæt he Sæt scyp standan = eos dimisi.

Chron. 5t, Introd. E: da he forlet his here abidan mid Scottum.

Wærf. 294.5: öæt se . . . God swa forlæteð sweltan his gecorenan = 356 A¹: Quid est hoc, quæso te, quod . . . Deus sic permittit mori, quos tamen post mortem cujus sanctitatis fuerint, non patitur celari?

Bl. Hom. 87.14: ne forlæt du us nu on witum wunian.

Ælf. Hom. II. 192^{t 2}: beod him öæt he min folc forlæte of his leode faran.

Ælf. L. S. 144.429: forleton hine swa licgan for deadne.

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 3.21: He forlet &a &at swurd stician on him = Nec eduxit gladium, sed reliquit in corpore.

Wulf. 232.17: Sæt ge forlætan Sa unnyttan spræca gewur San and Sa unnyttan ge Sancas of eowrum heortum.

gedon, make, cause:

Bl. Hom. 239.16: Matheum he gedyde gangan to Sam eastdæle.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 316: gebide to drihtne for us öæt he gedo us werlice becuman to hælo hyöe.

geðafian, allow:

Bl. Hom. 45.19: gif he ne gedafað væt godes folc heora lif on woh lybban.

Ælf. Hom. II. 92t: ne geðafiað godne willan infaran to his heortan.

Ælf. L. S. 108.323, 324: Geðafa ðæt min modor me gespræcan and sume ðreo niht on minum ræde beon.

geoolian [gi-], allow:

Laws 412, Judicium Dei V, c. 2, § 4^b: unscyldigo hwoedre 7 dingleaso from dissum synne unascendedo wosa gidolades = innocentes uero et inmunes ab hoc crimine inlesos esse patiaris.

geunnan, grant:

Ælf. Æthelw. 53: ic bidde . . . & & & & geunna me & urhwunian & one toweardan dæg on & inum halgum & eowdome = deprecor . . . ut concedas mihi diem uenturum sic in tuo sancto seruitio peragere (or objective?).

lætan, allow, permit, cause:

Beow. 1490: læt . . . widcuöne man heardecg habban.

Gen. 438^a: Sittan læte ic hine wið me sylfne. — Ib. 1349: Ic . . . sigan læte wællregn ufan widre eorðan.

Dan. 683: let Babilone blæd swiðrian.

Chr. 159: ne læt awyrgde ofer us onwald agan.

El. 237: Leton da ofer fifelwæg famige scridan, brontne brimdisan.

Ju. 200: Læt da sace restan.

Gu. 924: Da se ælmihtiga let his hond cuman.

And. 832, 833: Leton Jone halgan . . . swefan . . ., blidne bidan.

Bede 256.29: δ a onlesde he hine 7 let feran æfter δ am biscope = 204.4: absoluit eum, et . . . ire permisit.

Boeth. 6.10: forhwy se . . . God læte ænig yfel beon = 0. — Ib. 8.23: Lætað hine eft hweorfan to minum larum = 5.39: meisque eum musis curandum

 $san and um que \ relinquite.$

Greg. 139.8: hi donne lætað acolian da innecundan lufan = 100.4: ab intimo amore frigescunt. — Ib. 171.1: læt hi stician dæron = 124.24: qui semper erunt in circulis. — Ib. 193.25: Đæt is donne dæt mon his eage læte slapian = 144.29: Somnum quippe oculis dare est etc. — Ib. 457.13: Fordæm sceal se gesceadwisa læce lætan ær weaxan done læssan = 390.3: ut . . . unum patiatur crescere.

Oros. 126.15: he . . . Sæt folc sum Sær sittan let = 0.

Solil. 14.2: ne læt me nanwiht oferwinnan on dis wege = nihilque mihi repugnare facias tendenti ad te. — Ib. 48.19: læt beon done wop and da unrotnesse = cohibe te a lacrymis, et stringe animum.

Pr. Ps. 15.10^{a, b}: ne dinne gehalgodan ne lætst forrotian ne forweordan

= neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.

Chron. 161^b, 1038 D: væt he hine ne lete lybban. — Ib. 164^b, 1046 C^b: let hi syvvan faran ham.

Laws 160, II Æthelstan, c. 20, § 6: Gif he nylle hit geðafian, leton hine licgan. — Ib. 454, Gerefa, c. 7: Ne læte he næfre his hyrmen hyne oferwealdan.

Wærf. 234.3: sacerdas . . . seo arfæstnes ne læteð ehtan 7 oferswiðan done geleafan = 285 B; ut . . . sacerdotes . . . fidem persequi minime permittat. — Ib. 276.3: ne let he næfre hi him neh gan = 336 C¹: presbyteram . . . ad se proprius accedere nunquam sinebat.

Bened. 120.8: Sæt he leahtras fyr Srige and wehsan læte = 186.13: ut permittat nutriri vitia.

Bl. Hom. 69.17: lætað ðis ðus wesan to cyðnesse minre bebyrgednesse.

Pr. Gu. V. 153^a: Sa leton hi hine ane hwile abidan and gestandan = sistere illum paullisper fecerunt.

Ælf. Hom. I. 12^t: hi ealle adræfde of heofenan rices myrhð, and let befeallan on ðæt ece fyr. — Ib. I. 522^b: Fæder, seðe læt his sunnan scinan ofer gode and yfele.

Ælf. L. S. 18.147: gif heo læt rixian on hire da gewilnunge.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 9.24: drihten let rinan hagol wið fyr gemenged = pluitque dominus grandinem. — Lev. 1.15: læte yrnan ðæt blod nyðer = decurrere faciet sanguinem. — Num. 11.24: folce, δa he let standan . . . ymbutan ða eardungstowe = quos stare fecit circa tabernaculum.

Gosp.: Mat. 8.22: læt deade bebyrigean hyra deadan = dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos. — Mk. 5.37: he ne let him ænigne fyligean = non admisit quemquam se sequi. — Mk. 10.14: Lætað ða lytlingas to me cuman = Sinite parvulos venire ad me. — L. 9.60: Læt ða deadan byrigan hyra deadan = Sine ut mortui sepeliant mortuos suos. — L. 9.61: læt me æryst hit cyðan ðam ðe æt ham synt = permitte mihi primum renuntiare his, quæ domi sunt (or objective?). — J. 18.8: lætað ðas faran = sinite hos abire.

Wulf. 10.7, 8: hy durh heora synna god to dam swyde gegremedon, dæt he let æt nehstan flod gan ofer ealne middaneard and adrencan eal. — Ib. 14.3^{a, b}: dæt folc da weard swa wid god forworht, dæt he let faran hædenne here and forhergian eall dæt land.

Læce. 12.2: læt gedreopan on 🗞 eagan ænne dropan. — Ib. 97.22: læt gerestan ਨone man.

niedan [-e-, -y-], compel, force:

Mk. 6.45: Da sona he nydde his leorningcnihtas on scyp stigan = Et statim coegit discipulos suos adscendere navim. Cf. p. 166 below.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception: —

behealdan [bi-], behold, see:

Ælf. Hom. II. 32^m: Dæt folc beheold vone brover standan buton . . . cwacunge.

gefelan, feel, perceive:

Bede 156.32: ne wiste he hwæt he gefelde cealdes æt his sidan licgan = 130.30: sensit nescio quid frigidi suo lateri adiacere.

Wærf. 236.1: da semninga gefeldon hi an swyn yrnan hider 7 dider = 288 B: porcum . . . discurrere senserunt.

gehawian, see:

Wærf. 250.26: Sa Sa hi naht ne gehawedon flowan Sæs eles = 305 C: Cumque illi ex olivis oleum defluere non cernerent.

gehieran [-e-, -y-], hear:

Beow. 786, 787: anra gehwylcum ðara ðe of wealle wop gehyrdon gryreleoð galan godes andsacan, sigeleasne sang, sar wanigean hellehæfton.

Gen. 508^{a, b}: ic gehyrde hine ded and word loftan on his leohte and ymb

din lif sprecan.

Chr. 797, 798: gehyreð Cyning mæðlan, rodera Ryhtend, sprecan reðe word. El. 443^{a. b}: Gif . . . ðu gehyre ymb ðæt . . . treo frode frignan 7 geflitu ræran.

Ju. 629: gehyrde heo hearm galan helle deofol.

Bede 400.18: Sa geherde ic Sone biscop . . . cweoSan = 290.8: $audiui\ illum$. . dicentem.

Wærf. 117.22: gehyrde Sone hlisan weaxan = B. 148 A³: Cumque . . . conversationis illius opinionem crescere.

Bl. Hom. 15.15: Sum blind dearfa . . . gehyrde myccle menigo him beforan feran.

Pr. Gu. XX. 75: ic $\mathcal{S}e$ gehyrde sprecan on æfenne and on ærenmergen = te loquentem vespere et mane audiebam.

Ælf. Hom. II. 518^t ³: Hwæt ða gehyrdon gehwilce on life halige englas singan on his forðsiðe.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 80: gehyrde . . . martinus one hælend clypian to his . . . englum.

Mk. 14.58: Sobes we gehyrdon hine secgan = Quoniam nos audivimus eum dicentem.

geseon, see:

Beow. 1517: fyrleoht geseah, blacne leoman beorhte scinan.

Gen. 548: der he det wif geseah, on eordrice Euan stondan.

Ex. 104: for gesawon lifes lat beow liftweg metan.

Dan. 553: wundor . . ., dat du gesawe durh swefen cuman.

Chr. 498: Gesegon hi on heahou Hlaford stigan.

El. 1111: leode gesawon hire willgifan wunder cyðan.

Gu. 28^{a, b}: gesihð he ða domas dogra gehwylce wonian and wendan.

Rid. 69.1: Ic da wiht geseah on weg feran.

Bede 102.32: Sa geseah he . . . sacerdas . . . sundor stondan = 84.7: Cumque . . . uideret sacerdotes . . . consistere. — Ib. 112.8a, b: Mid Sy heo . . . gesegon Sone biscop mæssan onsymbelnesse mærsian . . . 7 . . . husl sellan = 91.10, 11: Cumque uiderent pontificem, celebratis . . . missarum sollemniis, eucharistam dare. — Ib. 128.16: Sa geseah he . . . sumne mon wið his gongan = 108.22: uidit . . . adpropinquantem sibi hominem. — Ib. 430.31: seo denu . . ., de Su gesawe egeslice beon = 308.11 Uallis illa, quam aspexisti . . . horrenda . . ., ipse est locus.

Boeth. 97.18: ic væt lytle leoht geseah twinclian = 0. — Ib. 111.13: Đa we

gesioð sittan on dam . . . heahsetlum = 95.1: Quos uides sedere.

Greg. 255.24, 25: Đæt wæs forðæmðe se assa geseah ðone engel ongean hine standan, & him ðæs færeltes forwiernan = 194.5: Prohibitione quippe immorata asina Angelum videt.

Oros. 162.6, 7: mon geseah weallan blod of eorðan 7 rinan meolc of heofonum = 163.5: sanguis e terra, lac visum est manare de coelo.

Pr. Ps. 48.8: Sonne he gesyhs Sa welegan and Sa weoruldwisan sweltan = 48.11: cum viderit sapientes morientes.

Wærf. 95.15: ac da da he geseah manige men gan = B. 126 A: Sed cum in eis multos ire per abrupta vitiorum cerneret. — Ib. 116.15: da ylcan ic geseah me upp gelædan of dam wætere = B. 146 C: ipsum me ex aquis educere considerabam.

Bened. 25.20: \forall ylæs \forall e God . . . us geseo bugende to yfele and to nahte gehweorfan = 50.18: ne nos declinantes in malo, et inutiles factos . . . aspiciat.

Bl. Hom. 187.34: nu git geseoð hine geond heofenas feran.

Pr. Gu. IX. 8: da geseah he done hrefen da cartan beran = volantem alitem chartulam in ore suo portantem prospicit.

Mart. 16.25: Antonius geseah & Paules sawle . . . stigan to heofonum.

Ælf. Hom. I. 42^b: Da geseah heo væt cild licgan on binne. — Ib. I. 48^b ²: Se eadiga Stephanus geseah Crist standan.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 28.12^a: Da geseah he on swefne standan ane hlædre = Viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram. — Gen. 37.25: hig gesawon twegen . . . men cuman of Galaad = viderunt . . . viatores venire de G. — Gen. 41.2: him butte bæt he gesawe gan upp . . . seofon fægre oxan = ascendebant septem boves.

Gosp.: Mat. 20.3: he geseah oðre on stræte idele standan = vidit alios stantes in foro otiosos. — L. 21.1: he geseh δa welegan hyra lac sendan on δ one sceoppan = vidit eos qui mittebant munera sua in gazophylacium, divites.

Wulf. 187.11^{a, b}: we dæghwamlice geseoð beforan urum eagum ure ða nehstan feallan and sweltan.

hieran [-e-, -y-], hear:

Beow. 1346: Ic δ æt londbuend leode mine selerædende secgan hyrde, δ æt etc. El. 241: Ne hyrde ic sið ne ær on egstreame idese lædan . . . mægen fægrre. Ju. 1: we δ æt hyrdon hæleð eahtian . . . δ ætte etc.

Bede 190.1: he hine . . . herde secgan = 152.15: eum audierit . . . narrare. Chron. 258^{m} , 1127 E^h: δa muneces herdon δa horn blawen (sic!).

ofseon, see:

Ælf. Hom. II. 508^m: Sa ofseah he feorran Sa hæsenan ferian an lic to eorsan. sceawian, see:

Wærf. 206.27^{a, b}: Sonne Se he sceawað Sa godan fremian 7 weaxan to Godes wuldre = 252 C¹: bonos cernit enitescere ad gloriam.

seon, see:

Rid. 32.3: Ic seah sellic ding singan on ræcede.

Mart. 2.18, 19: manig seah meoloc rinnan of heofonum ond lamb spæcan on mennisc gecynde. — Ib. 144.4: ac ourh oa wunder oe he seah Sebastianum den he onfeng fulwihte.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception: — æteawan, show:

Bede 84.2: δa æteawde he δx synne weosan = 59.4: culpam esse demonstrauit. afindan, find:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.364: se afunde his hlaford liegan heafodleasne. eowan, show:

Wærf. 200.14: he eowde hine sylfne . . . on gebede $standan = 244 \text{ C}^4$: qui se tribus diebus et noctibus orare ante oculos hominum demonstraret.

findan, find:

Beow. 119: Fand da dær inne ædelinga gedriht swefan æfter symble.

Jul. 364: vær ic hine finde ferð staðelian to Godes willan, ic beo gearo sona etc.

Jud. 278: funde da on bedde blacne licgan his goldgifan.

Oros. 128.14: funde hiene ænne be wege licgan, mid sperum tosticad, healf-cucne = 129.12: invenit in itinere solum relictum confossum vulneribus.

Ælf. Hom. I. 452^t: funde his spere standan mid blode begleddod.

L. 19.32: fundon . . . Sone folan standan = invenerunt . . . stantem pullum. geacsian [-ah-], learn by asking:

Bl. Hom. 109.2^{a, b}: manig yfel we geaxiað her on life gelomlician & wæstmian. Wulf. 2.2, 5: we ða geacsodon be ðam heofonlican eðle, and we geacsodon his geceasterwaran beon godes englas, and we geacsodon ðæra engla geferan beon ða gastas soðfæstra . . . manna.

gecyŏan, make known:

Wærf. 137.7: to dan dæt he gecydde hine sylfne cunnan, hwylce wæren Godes gestihtunge = B. 166 A: ut se ostenderet nosse quæ Dei sunt.

gefrignan, learn by inquiry:

Beow. 2695: Da ic æt dearfe gefrægn deodcyninges andlongne eorl ellen cydan.

Gen. 2060: Da ic neðan gefrægn under nihtscuwan hæleð to hilde.

Ex. 99: Da ic on morgen gefrægn modes rofan hebban herebyman hludan stefnum.

Dan. 1, 2, 3: Gefrægn ic Hebreos eadge lifgean in H., goldhord dælan, cyningdom habban.

Chr. 79: Ne we soʻdlice swylcne gefrugnan in ærdagum æfre gelimpan.

And. 1706: Da ic lædan gefrægn leoda weorode leofne lareow to lides stefnan.

Jud. 8, 9: Gefrægen ic da Holofernus winhatan wyrcean georne, and eallum wundrum drymlic girwan up swæsendo.

Har. 161: Da ic gongan gefregn gingran ætsomne ealle to Galileam.

gehatan, promise:

Bede 122.34: geheht hine sylfne deofolgildum wiðsacan = 99.25: promisit se, abrenuntiatis idolis, Christo seruiturum. — Ib. 316.29: se de hine gehatende wæs mid us eac wunian = 243.22: qui se nobiscum . . . manere pollicetur. — Ib. 394.27: ic . . . mec gehet wedlum ælmessan sellan = 287.15: promittens . . . me elimosynas . . . dare.

gehyhtan [-i-], hope:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 557: ic to sodan gehihte me ætstandan.

geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe:

Wærf. 207.25: gelyfað we gewislice $\eth xt$ beon hefige synne 7 myccle = 253 B: Nunquidnam valde grave esse credimus etc.?

gemetan, meet, find:

And. 145: Hie . . . gemetton . . . haligne hæle bidan beadurofne. — Ib. 1062: oððæt he gemette be mearcpaðe standan stræte neah stapul ærenne.

Bede 386.3: gemaetton we . . . nænig hyht hælo in us to lafe stondan = 282.5: inuenimus . . . nullamque spem nobis in nobis restare salutis. — Ib. 398.19: Dæs biscopes lif . . . ic gemette biscobwyrðe beon = 289.12: Uitam . . . illius . . . episcopo dignam conperi.

Boeth. 61.18: he hine gemette sittan on . . . scridwæne = 58.7: Catullus licet in curuli Nonium sedentem struman tamen appellat.

Greg. 415.23: Sihhem . . . geniedde . . . Dinan, & he hie gemette swa wandrian. Swa de& se dioful & t mod & t he gemet on unnyttum sorgum: he hit awiert (sic!) = 336.22: Quam Sichem . . . opprimit: quia videlicet inventam in curis exterioribus diabolus corrumpit.

Chron. 124b, 982 C: Sa gemette he . . . mycele fyrde cuman up of sæ.

Wærf. 99.23: Sa gemette he hine lutian in anum scræfe = B. 130 B: eumque latere in specu reperit.

Bl. Hom. 237.18: hie vær gemetton seofon hyrdas standan.

Pr. Gu. XX. 49: Sa gemette he hine hl onian on Sam hale his cyrcan = invenitque eum recumbentem in angulo oratorii sui.

Mart. 112.5: Sa gemette heo sume dæge Sær ute standan twegen godes Seowas.

Ælf. Hom. I. 502^m: æt nextan hine gemette standan uppon dam cnolle.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIII. 185: gemette hine . . . on eorðan licgan.

gemittan, meet, find:

Gen. 2426: Hie da æt burhgeate beorn gemitton sylfne sittan.

Spirit of Men 46: Nu du cunnan meaht, gif du dyslicne degn gemittest wunian in wicum.

gemunan, remember, recall:

Bede 322.19: ic gemon mec . . . beran &a . . . byrðenne = 246.9: me memini . . . pondera portare.

Wærf. 281.9: be son eac ic geman me sylfne secgan = 341 B²: Unde in Homilis quoque Evangelii jam narrasse me memini. — Ib. 283.1: ic gemune... me sylfne secgan = 344 B: In eisdem quoque Homilis rem narrasse me recolo.

Ælf. Hom. I. 48^m: forði gemunde swiðe gedafenlice ðæt godcunde gewrit, mannes Sunu standan æt Godes swiðran.

getriewan [-eo-], trust, hope:

Bede 190.30: ne getreowe me onfoende beon = 153.14: me accepturum esse confidam.

gewitan, perceive, observe:

And. 802a: geweotan da da witigan dry modige mearcland tredan.

læran, teach:

Bede 460.3: bodedon 7 lærdon ænne willan 7 ane wyrcnesse beon on Drihtne = 326.27: qui unam in Domino . . . uoluntatem atque operationem dogmatizabant.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 14.108^{a, b}: God us læreð fæstan and ælmessan syllan earmum mannum.

L. 11.1: ler us us gebiddan = doce nos orare.

onfindan, find:

Beow. 2842: gif he wæccende weard onfunde buon on beorge.

ongietan, understand, perceive:

Beow. 1432: bearhtm ongeaton, guðhorn galan.

Bede 178.32: Sa onget he hwæthwugu . . . in Sære stowe beon = 146.12: intellexit aliquid . . . inesse. — Ib. 266.27: Gif . . . Su . . . werod ongete ofer us . . . cuman = 209.30: Si . . . superuenire coetus cognouisti.

Wærf. 74.20: swa myccle ma he ongæt him ongæn standan in anum lichaman dæt weorod = 201 B⁵: contra se assistere legionis aciem invenit. — Ib. 130.6: swa mycclum swa he hine sylfne ma ongæt æfweardne agyltan beforan . . . eagum Benedictes = B. 160 A³: quanto se cognovit etiam absentem in Benedicti Patris oculis deliquisse. — Ib. 139.14: da de ic de ongæt secgan = B. 139 C: quæ te dixisse cognovi.

taligan, consider, account:

Alex. 39^{a, b}: Nu ic hwæðre gehyhte and gelyfe ðæt ðu ðas ðing ongete swa ðu me ne talige owiht gelpan and secgan be ðære micelnisse ures gewinnes and compestellan, tell, consider:

Bede 82.4: ne tellað we synne weosan gesinscipe = 57.29: Nec haec dicentes culpam deputamus esse coniugium.

wenan, hope:

Bede 430.24: Mid dy ic unc wende inngongende beon = 308.4: in cuius amoenitatem loci cum nos intraturos sperarem.

Wærf. 181.25: ne wene ic ne δ ysne wer swa mycelre geearnunge swa swide been δ issere worulde man = 220 B³: nam hunc tanti meriti virum . . . esse non suspicor.

Ælf. Hom. I. 590^b: ðæt ðu wenst me for tintregum ðe geopenian ða godcundan gerynu.

witan, know:

Ju. 92: öær he glædmod geonge wiste wic weardian.

Gu. 1312: se de his mondryhten life bilidenne last weardian wiste wine leofne.

And. 183: Dær ic seomian wat dinne sigebrodor.

Rid. 50.1: Ic wat eardfæstne anne standan deafne dumban.

Wids. 102: hwær ic under swegle selast wisse goldhrodene cwen giefe bryttian.

Bede 36.17: Sonne wite Su me cristene beon = 19.19: Christianum iam me esse . . . cognosce. — Ib. 408.21: Đara cynna monig he wiste in Germanie wesan = 296.13: quarum in Germania plurimas nouerat esse nationes.

Læce. 105.32: 8ær 8u wite elenan standan.

5. Verbs of Declaring: —

I quote all the examples observed by me: —

cwedan, say, declare:

Wærf. 203.25: hwæt cweðe wit ðis beon? = 248 D: Quidnam, quæso te, hoc esse dicimus?

foresecgan, foretell, predict:

Bede 406.21: Done . . . riim wintra hiene hæbbende beon, he . . . foresægde = 294.23: quem se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum . . . praedicere solebat. ondettan, confess, declare:

Bede 84.17: ær oon Dauit ondete heo fram wiifum clæne beon = 59.16: nisi prius mundos eos Dauid a mulieribus fateretur.

¹ Gorrell, l. c., p. 386, holds that in Beow. 933 we have an accusative with an infinitive after wenan, but, with most translators of the poem, I take me to be dative.

secgan, say, relate:

Bede 340.20, 22: hire sægde . . . Hilde . . . of worulde geleoran 7 . . . to . . . leohte . . . astigan = 257.24, 27: nuntiauit matrem . . . Hild . . . mi-grasse . . . et . . . ascendisse.

L. 24.23: engla gesihőe, őa secgað hine lybban = qui dicunt eum vivere.

6. Other Verbs: habban, have, and todælan, divide:

Ælf. Hom. II. 440^m: Seo swuster hi wolde habban to hire bysegan. Oros. 46.16, 17, concerning which see Chapter XII, pp. 169 ff.

II. INFLECTED.

Occasionally we seem to have an inflected infinitive as the quasi-predicate of an accusative subject. As indicated below, some of the examples admit of other explanations; but a few of them seem to me to belong here. I discuss the cases under the same general groups as I did the uninflected predicative infinitive. The examples occur in the prose texts only.

Under Verbs of Causing we have don, make, cause, and its compound, gedon, make, cause. The verbs of compelling (geniedan, neadian, niedan, etc.) might be put here, but the infinitive after them seems to me consecutive rather than predicative: see Chapter XII. I give all the examples that I have observed:—

don, make, cause:

Bede 334.18^a: heo . . . leornunge . . . gewreota . . . 7 . . . weorcum hire underðeodde dyde to bigongenne = 254.18: Tantum lectioni . . . scripturarum suos uacare subditos, tantum operibus iustitiae se exercere faciebat.

Greg. 357.5: Swa hwa swa urum wordum & gewritum hieran nylle, do hit mon us to witanne = 276.10: Si quis non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate (or final? see Oros. 126.131 under gedon below).

Chron. 257^m, 1127 E^e: se ilce Heanri dide Sone king to understandene Sæt he hæfde læten his abbotrice. — Ib. 259^t, 1128 E: He dide Sone king to understanden (sic!) Sæt he wolde . . . forlæten Sone minstre.

gedon, make, cause:

Oros. 126.31: Genoh sweotollice us gedyde nu to witanne Alexander hwelce da hædnan godas sindon to weordianne, dæt etc. = 0. [Or is us dative, as is claimed by Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 12, who compares the New High German Ich thue Dir zu wissen? The examples of the infinitive after don given above argue for the accusative and the predicative infinitive, but the following example from Cato 10 argues for the dative and the final infinitive: Donne du eald sie and manegra ealdra cwidas and lara geaxod hæbbe, gedo hie donne dam geongum to witanne. Likewise, the following passage from Otfrid argues for the dative and the final infinitive: I, 17, 48: duet ouh thanne iz mir zi wizzanne. See Chapter XVI, section x, and cf. Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 209; De Reul, l. c., p. 131; and Kenyon, l. c., p. 103.]

Verbs of Mental Perception: -

findan, find. gereccan, direct.

læran, teach. tæcan, teach.

The examples in full follow:— findan, find:

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 980: Da comon his geferan and fundon hine licgenne (sic!) on blodigum limum and tobeatenum lichaman.

gereccan, direct:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 76: god . . . us gerecce &a wearc to begangenne &e him licige (or final?).

læran, teach:

Bede 100.28: The Cristes geor bere 7 eow lære to beorenne = 83.1: quia iugum Christi et ipse portet, et uobis portandum offerat (or final?). — Ib. 226.27: he . . . heo lærde to healdanne regollices liifes Teodscipe = 173.11: disciplinam uitae regularis . . . custodiri docuit. — Ib. 472.6: Tara Tinga, Te he or lærde to donne, he sylfa wæs se wilsumesta fylgend 7 læstend = 346.27: et eorum, quae agenda docebat, erat exsecutor deuotissimus (or final?).

Bl. Hom. 131.32: To eow cymed Halig frofre Gast, . . . se eow ealle ding læred to donne.

tæcan, teach:

Boeth. 149.21: tec me dinne willan to wyrcenne = 0 (or final?).

Hept.: Pref. to Gen. 24.19: Crist . . . and his apostolas us twhton ægder to healdenne. — Cf. Zeitlin, l. c., p. 50.

Of Verbs of Declaring only one word is found in this construction, foresecgan, foretell, predict, in Wærf. 10.22: Hu Bonefatius foresæde to sweltenne sone cimbalgliwere = 0; which is repeated on p. 61.20 = 192 C: 0.

Once, in Luke 1.73, we have an inflected infinitive with accusative subject, and the infinitive phrase is in apposition to a noun: he alysde us of urum feondum . . ., mildheortnesse to wyrcenne mid urum fæderum, and gemunan (sic!) his halegan cyönesse: hyne us to syllenne öone að öe he urum fæder Abrahame swor = Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum . . . prophetarum ejus: salutem ex inimicis nostris . . . ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et memorari testamenti sui sancti: jusjurandum quod juravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, daturum se nobis. The inflected infinitive is evidently caused by the future of the Latin, daturum, and is used to denote futurity.

Note. — Other Supposed Examples of the Inflected Infinitive Used Predicatively have been suggested. Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 31, apparently would put here Pr. Ps. 34.13 (gebigde min mod to fæstenne = humiliabam in jejunio animam meam) and Ælf. Hom. I. 114^t (8æt se . . . God nænne mann ne neadað to syngigenne), but I have put both under the consecutive use. Stoffel, l. c., p. 53, thinks that in Mat. 17.4 (god ys us her to beonne = bonum est nos hic esse) we have an accusative with a predicative inflected infinitive, but to me it seems more probable that us is a dative and that the infinitive is subjective: see Chapter I, p. 12 above; and cf. De Reul, l. c., pp. 136-137; Zeitlin, l. c., p. 115. It may be that in Mat. 8.21^a we have an accusative with a predicative inflected infinitive after aliefan, but I believe that the pronoun is dative and that the infinitive is objective: see p. 46 above.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

The foregoing statistics make clear that the predicative infinitive with accusative subject is normally uninflected in Anglo-Saxon. Of the possible examples of the inflected infinitive used predicatively above given, several, as there indicated, may be considered final rather than predicative in sense; several (after *læran*) are in translation of a Latin gerund or gerundive; several occur after a verb (*tæcan*) denoting tendency, with which we should expect the

inflected infinitive; two (after foresecgan) are probably due to the desire to denote futurity, as one other (Luke 1.73^t, translating a Latin future participle) undoubtedly is, for, as Ælfric, l. c., 246, tells us, the denotation of futurity is one function of the inflected infinitive. The clearest cases occur in the later Chronicle and in Ælfric, by which time the distinction between the two infinitives had begun to break down appreciably.

THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive with accusative subject as object of active verbs is very rare in Anglo-Saxon, only about 52 examples having been found. It is almost unknown in the poems, only two examples having been found (with lætan: see below).

Verbs of Commanding: —

bebeodan, command.

hatan, command.

biddan, request.

The examples in full are:—

bebeodan, command:

Bede 14.13: bebead deofolgyld beon toworpene = 0.-172.9: bebead δ æt feowertiglice fæsten healden beon = 142.8^{b} : ieunium xl dierum observari . . . praecepit.

biddan, request:

Bede 38.31: bæd . . . Albanus fram Gode him wæter seald beon to sumre his denunge = 21.1: Albanus dari sibi a Deo aquam rogavit.

hatan, command:

Bede 18.2: mid . . . gewritum 7 stæfcraftum hi georne het beon gelærede = 204.11: coeperint studiis imbui.

Wærf. 194.18: δa het he δy sne biscop beon gelæded to δa ere stowe = 237 B¹: $hunc \dots jussit deduci.$

Verbs of Causing and Permitting:—

don, make, cause.

lætan, allow.

forlætan, allow.

The examples in full are:—

don, make, cause:

Wulf. 196.2: sæ he deð on lytelre hwile been ungemetlice . . . astyrode.

forlætan, allow:

Bl. Hom. 33.11: se hine sylfne forlet from deofles leonum & from yflum mannum beon on rode ahangenne.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.237: Sa ne forlet Sære lyfte smyltnes [ænig Sing] wesan gederede.

lætan, allow:

Gen. 2194: Ne læt du din ferhd wesan sorgum asæled.

Gu. 1235: nelle ic lætan ðe æfre unrotne æfter ealdorlege meðne modseocne minre geweorðan soden sorgwælmum.

Wærf. 294.6: his gecorenan, ða donne hwædre he ne læteð na beon forholene æfter dea $\delta e = 356 \text{ A}^2$: quos non . . . patitur celari.

Ælf. L. S. 250.215: læt me beon geteald to heora getele. — Ib. XXX. 443: læt hi beon her atgædere gelede.

Mk. 7.27°: Læt ærust ða bearn beon gefylled = Sine prius saturari filios. Læce. 101.12: bewrech ðæt wif wel 7 læt beon swa beclæmed lange tide.

Verbs of Sense Perception: —

gefelan, feel, perceive. gehieran, hear.

geseon, see.

Typical examples are: —

gefelan, feel, perceive:

Bede 378.24: δa gefelde he his lichoman . . . geslægene beon = 278.14: sensit dimidiam corporis . . . langore depressam.

gehieran ¹ [-e-, -y-], hear:

Bede 310.4: gehyrde Theodor Sone geleafan . . . gedrefde (sic!) beon = 238.28: audiens Theodorus fidem . . . multum esse turbatam.

Chad. 112: Sa geherde he . . . Sone ilcan blisse song upp astigan 7 Sy wege Se he com to hefonum beon gecerredne mid . . . swetnisse.

geseon, see:

Bede 24.4: geseah him fram deoflum tobrohte beon δa boc = 311.1: oblatum sibi a daemonibus codicem . . . uiderit. — Ib. 34.17: mid δy δe he hine δa geseah on . . . gebedum 7 wæccum . . . beon abysgadne = 18.16: quem dum orationibus . . . studere conspiceret. — Ib. 80.33: se δe hine gesii δ hefigadne beon = 57.23: qui se grauari . . . uidet. — Ib. 340.12: δa geseah heo . . . sawle . . . to heofonum up borenne (sic!) beon = 257.16: uidit animam . . . ad caelum ferri.

Wærf. 171.22: Sa geseah he Germanes sawle . . . fram ænglum beon borne in Sone heofon [MS. H.: Sa geseah he englas ferian etc.] = B. 198 B³: vidit Germani . . . animam . . . in cælum ferri.

Verbs of Mental Perception: —

geleornian, learn. geliefan, believe. gemetan, meet, find. gemunan, remember. ongietan, understand. tweogian, doubt.

The examples in full are: -

geleornian, 2 learn:

Bede 90.16: edneowade . . . δa cirican, δe he ær geara geo geleornade ealde Romanisce weorce geworhte beon = 70.13: ecclesiam, quam . . . opere = factam fuisse didicerat.

geliefan, believe:

Bede 208.1: Sa æriste he gelyfde on anum Sara restedaga beon gewordene = 162.10: resurrectionis, quam una sabbati factam . . . credebat.

gemetan, find:

Bede 354.17: $n \alpha n i g n e \dots$ ic $g e m e t t e \dots$ abisgodne b e o n = 265.10: $n e m i n e m \dots$ occupatum repperi.

Wærf. 68.24: Sa gemette heo hire hwæte ealne beon neah gedæledne fram hire

¹ Cf. Gorrell, l. c., p. 401.

² Cf. Gorrell, l. c., p. 403. In Bede 404.21, cited by Dr. Gorrell as having an accusative and active infinitive. I take the infinitive to be objective.

... suna δ earfendum mannum = 197 B¹: pene omne triticum ... invenit a filio suo pauperibus expensum.

gemunan, remember:

Bede 440.24, 25, 26: Sæt we gemundon Sætte usse dæde 7 usse geSohtas . . . in idelnesse toflowenne, ah . . . gehaldene beon 7 us . . . æteowde beon = 313.11, 12, 13: ut meminerimus facta et cogitationes nostras non in uentum diffluere, sed . . . seruari; et . . . nobis ostendenda.

ongietan, understand:

Bede 330.16: feola oberra gescrepa 7 gesynta . . . he oncneow 7 ongeat heofonlice him forgifen weosan = 252.3: alia . . . fuisse donata intellexit. — Ib. 340.14: Da onget heo . . . æteawed weosan, bætte heo geseah = 257.19: intellexit . . . ostensum sibi esse quod uiderat.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 485: Da ic das stemne gehyrde and for minum dingum ongeat beon geclypode, ic wepende spræc.

tweogian [twygian], 2 doubt:

Bede 190.22^{a, b}: Ne twygeo ic . . . mec . . . gelæd beon 7 . . . underðeoded . . . ne beon = 153.5, 6: nec dubito . . . me . . . rapiendum ac . . . subdendum esse.

Verbs of Inclination and of Will: —

gefeon, rejoice.

willan, desire.

geomrian, lament.

The examples in full are: —

gefeon, rejoice:

Bede 470.24, 25: 7 hi swa swa niwe discipulhada væs eadegestan ealdres vara apostola Sce. Petres underveodde beon 7 mid his mundbyrde gescylde 7 (sic!) eall seo veod geriht gefeah 7 blissade = 346.12^{a, b}: et quasi nouo se discipulatui . . . Petri subditam, eiusque tutandam patrocinio gens correcta gaudebat.

geomrian, lament:

Bede 88.15: geomra \eth hine swa gebundenne beon = 61.23: ligatum se uehementer ingemiscat.

willan, desire:

Bede 322.21: ic gelyfo, δ ætte me . . . seo . . . arfæstnis wolde mec gehefigade beon = 246.10: credo, quod . . . me . . . pietas . . . uoluit grauari.

Verbs of Declaring: —

cwedan, say.

secgan, say.

The examples in full are: —

Bede 64.24: nænig . . . owiht his beon onsundrad $cw\alpha\delta = 49.1$: nullus . . . aliquid suum esse dicebat.

Bede 398.15: Nis δx wunder to forswugianne, δx Herebald δx from him ge δx eac swylce geworden been in him selfum = 289.7: Heribald in se ipso ab eo factum solet narrare miraculum.

We find, too, what may be considered an elliptical passive infinitive with accusative subject, made up of an accusative noun and of a past participle

¹ Cf. Gorrell, *l. c.*, p. 399.

after an active transitive verb; and the infinitive (beon or wesan) is understood, or, at least, it may be considered as being understood. Since in most, if not all, of the instances the supplying of the infinitive is a matter of taste rather than of necessity, I cite only a few examples, after the different groups of verbs:—

Verbs of Sense Perception: —

gehieran, hear:

El. 957: Sefa wæs de glædra, dæs de heo gehyrde done hellesceadan oferswidedne.

hieran, hear:

And. 361: Æfre ic ne gehyrde oon cymlicor ceol gehladenne heahgestreonum.

Verbs of Mental Perception: —

findan, find:

Rid. 44.7: hy gesunde æt ham findað witode him wiste and blisse.

geaxian, learn by inquiry:

Bl. Hom. 107.28: we . . . geaxiað . . . deaðas geond deodland to mannum cumene.

gefrignan, learn by inquiry:

Gu. 1335: se selesta . . . Sara Je we on Engle æfre gefrunen acennedne Surh cildes had gumena cynnes.

geliefan, believe:

Chr. 120: Nu we hyhtfulle hælo gelyfað ðurh ðæt Word Godes weorodum brungen.

getacnian, signify:

Mart. 104.10: mid dy he getacnode Crist cumenne in dere clenan fæmnan innod.

ongietan, understand:

Greg. 211.3^{a, b}: Da fortruwodnesse & Sa anwilnesse an Corinctheum Paulus ongeat suide widerweardne wid hine, & betweeh him selfum suide adundene & upahæfene = 158.6: Unde cum proterve Paulus Corinthios adversum se invicem videret inflatos. — Ib. 211.22: gif we hwæt ongietað on him ungesceadwislices gedoon = 158.24: Et si qua ab eis inordinate gesta sunt, non jam tamquam perpetrata corripimus. — Ib. 295.24, 25: donne hie ongietað hwelcne monnan gesuencedne mid irre & mid hatheortnesse onbærnedne = 224.6: cum per abrupta furoris mentem cujuspiam ferri conspicit.

Ps. 61.11^b: æne ic god spræcan gearuwe gehyrde and ðæt treowe ongeat tidum gemeldad.

witan, know:

Gen. 42^{a, b}, 43: Da he hit geare wiste synnihte bescald, susle geinnod, geondfolen fyre.

Gu. 1327: wat his sincgiefan holdne biheledne.

And. 942, 943: Wat ic Matheus ourh mænra hand hrinen heorudolgum, heafodmagan searonettum beseted.

Bl. Hom. 81.34: we witon eall Fis Sus geworden. — Ib. 85.34: Set Su wistest Crist on rode ahangenne.

Verbs of Declaring: —

bodian, announce:

Wærf. 250.3: se bodode me Sone ylcan wer for Sferedne = 305 B: quia eumdem virum obisse nuntiavit.

It should be added that by some it is claimed that this predicative use of the participle (and, also, of the adjective and of the noun) had much to do with the origin of the predicative infinitive with accusative subject, — a claim discussed in Chapter XIV, section viii.

AS SUBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

That the accusative with an infinitive is used, though very rarely, as the subject of an impersonal verb in Anglo-Saxon, is admitted by Erckmann, l. c., p. 6; by Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 22; by De Reul, l. c., p. 135; and by Stoffel, l. c., p. 52. And what seems to me a clear example of the passive infinitive so used in Anglo-Saxon (Bede 338.11^{a. b}), is given by Mätzner, and is copied by Dr. Stoffel. But, in his recent The Accusative with Infinitive, p. 167, Dr. Zeitlin denies the existence of this construction in Anglo-Saxon: "The use of a substantive with infinitive as the subject of a neuter or impersonal verb... is not found at all in Old English [= Anglo-Saxon]." Below I give all the clearer examples that I have observed of this construction, with both active and passive infinitive. Although, as indicated, some of the examples are doubtful, and although the total number of clear examples is not large, it is sufficient, I believe, to establish the existence of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon. As is evident from my examples, the use of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon is due to the influence of the Latin originals.

gebyrian, be fitting:

Gosp.: — Mat. 17.10: Hwæt secgeað ða boceras ðæt gebyrige ærest cuman Heliam? = Quid ergo scribæ dicunt quod Eliam oporteat primum venire. — Mk. 8.31^{b, e}: Da ongan he hi læran ðæt mannes Sunu gebyreð fela ðinga ðolian, and beon aworpen fram ealdormannum . . . and beon ofslegen, and . . . arisan = Et cæpit docere eos quoniam oportet Filium hominis pati multa, et reprobari a senioribus . . . et occidi; et . . . resurgere. — L. 13.33: Deah hwæðere me gebyreð to dæg and to morgen and ðyæfteran dæge gan = Verumtamen oportet me holdie et cras et sequenti die ambulare (or is me dative and gan subjective?). L. 24.46^{a, b}: ðus gebyrede Crist ðolian, and ðy ðriddan dæge of deaðe avisan = sic oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die. [In his 1893 edition of The Gospel of Saint Luke in Anglo-Saxon, Professor J. W. Bright has, in 24.46, Criste, dative, instead of Crist, accusative. Three manuscripts have the accusative, while only one has the dative here.]

gedafenian, be fitting:

Mat. 3.15: Sus unc gedafena ealle rihtwisnesse gefyllan = sic enim decet nos implere omnem justitiam (or is unc dative and gefyllan subjective?).

Possible, but not probable, examples of the active infinitive with accusative, as subject of a finite verb (impersonal), are found in the following passages, the infinitives in which seem to me rather subjective than predicative, and have accordingly been put in Chapter I, pp. 15, 16, and 17: after gebyrian, Mat. 18.33, L. 11.42^b, 12.12; after gedafenian, Bede 342.18; L. 4.43; after lician, Bede 276.12. See, too, p. 73 above, the comment on healdan.

Once we have the inflected infinitive with accusative subject as subject of a passive verb, in the Chronicle 252^b, 1123 E^c: δx was for δx an δx hit was don δx one pape to understanden (sic!) δx he have etc.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive with accusative subject as subject of an active verb is found a few times (7 in all) with the following verbs:—

gebyrian, be fitting:

Gosp.: Mk. 8.31^{t, g}, already quoted on p. 124 above under Mk. 8.31^{b, c}.— Mk. 13.10: And on ealle deoda ærest gebyrad beon dæt godspel gebodud = Et in omnes gentes primum oportet prædicari evangelium. — L. 24.47: dus gebyrede Crist dolian, and dy driddan dæge of deade arisan; and beon bodud on his naman dædbote and synna forgyfenesse on ealle deoda = sic oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die; et prædicari in nomine ejus pænitentiam, et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes.

gedafenian, be fitting:

Bede 294.11: Sætte swelces modes wer ma gedafonade beon to biscope gehalgad, Sonne cyning wære = 225.24: quia talis animi uirum episcopum magis quam regem ordinari deceret.

lician, be pleasing:

Bede 338.11^{a, b}: da licede dem ... foreseonde ... da ... sawle ... ademde 7 asodene beon = 256.14: placuit ... prouisori ... animam ... examinari.

Once we have a passive infinitive with accusative subject as subject of a passive verb, in $Bede\ 70.32$: δy læs on him $gesegen\ sy\ \delta a\ \delta ing\ onwrecen\ beon$, in δem heo $\delta urh\ unwisnesse\ gesyngodon\ er\ fulwihtes\ bæ<math>\delta e=51.24$: ne in eis $illa\ ulcisci\ uideantur$, in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lauacrum baptismatis adstrinxerunt.

For the predicative infinitive with accusative subject in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section viii.

Occasionally in Early West Saxon and frequently in Late West Saxon, the predicative infinitive with accusative subject is supplanted by the predicative present participle with accusative subject, and *I heard her sing* becomes *I heard her singing*, — a topic discussed in Chapter XV.

NOTES.

- 1. Ambiguous Infinitives. It may be that, in Mat. 8.21^b (Drihten, alyfe me ærest to farenne and bebyrigean minne fæder = Domine, permitte me primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum) and in Luke 9.59 (alyf me æryst bebyrigean minne fæder = permitte mihi primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum), we have an accusative and predicative infinitive, but I am inclined to believe that we have rather a dative (me) and an objective infinitive, for in the only instance in which we have aliefan followed by an infinitive plus a pronoun whose case is certain, in Ælf. L. S. 102.227 (ðam alyfde se casere heora cristendom to healdenne), we have the dative case. Me and an infinitive occur after other verbs, but in most cases it is clear whether the accusative or the dative is intended from the construction of the verb with other pronouns or with nouns.
- 2. Future Active Infinitive. We have a kind of future infinitive active in the following: Bede 406.21: Done . . . riim wintra hiene hæbbende beon, he . . . foresægde = 294.23: se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum . . . prædicere solebat; ib. 190.30: ne getreowe me onfoende beon = 153.14: me accepturum esse confidam; ib. 430.24: Mid dy ic unc wende inngongende beon = 308.4: in cuius amoenitatem loci cum nos intraturos sperarem.
- 3. Alternation of Participle and Infinitive. Occasionally we find the predicative present participle alternating with the predicative infinitive active, as in: Bened. 25.20: Sylæs Se God on ænigne timan us geseo bugende to yfele and to nahte gehweorfan = 50.17: ne nos

declinantes in malo, et inutiles factos aliqua hora aspiciat Deus; Bl. Hom. 177.15^{a, b}: mon geseah hine blinde onlyhtende, & hreofe clænsian.

- 4. An Infinitive Phrase Introduced by "Dæt." Occasionally in the Blickling Homilies we have the infinitive phrase introduced by the conjunction $\eth æt$: 217.21: Da he \eth a Sanctus Martinus \eth æt geseah, \eth æt \eth a o \eth re bro \eth or ealle swa unrote ymb \eth æt lic utan standan (sic!), \eth e (sic!) weop he & eode into him; 45.19: gif he ne ge \eth afa \eth \eth æt Godes folc heora lif on woh lybban (or subjunctive?); in Bede: 440.24, 25: \eth æt we gemundon \eth ætte usse dæde 7 usse ge \eth ohtas . . . in idelnesse toflowenne, ah . . . gehaldene beon = 313.11, 12: ut meminerimus facta et cogitationes nostras non in uentum diffluere, sed . . . servari; and in Ælfrics's Lives of Saints: 108.323, 324: Ge \eth afa \eth æt min modor me gespræcan and sume \eth reo niht on minum ræde beon. Cf. Note 5 to Chapter IV.
- 5. Inflected Infinitive without "To." An inflected infinitive without to is found in Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 980, quoted on p. 119 above.
- 6. The Accusative Subject of the Passive Infinitive Is to Be Supplied in Wærf. 337.20^{a, b}: swa 8u sylf gelomlice gehyrdest mid me been sæd 7 reht be sumum halgum were = 405 C²: sicut narrari de quodam sancto viro mecum frequenter audisti; or one may prefer to consider the infinitive as merely objective.
- 7. The Infinitive "Beon" or "Wesan" May Be Supplied in such sentences as the following, but this is not necessary: Greg. 291.21,22: buton væt he ongeat Titum hwene monværran & gevyldigran vonne he sceolde, & Timotheus (sic!) he ongeat hatheortran vonne he sceolde = 220.22: nisi quod mansuetioris spiritus Titum, et paulo ferventioris vidit esse Timotheum.
- 8. Position of the Accusative Subject. Normally the accusative subject precedes its predicative infinitive, but occasionally it follows the infinitive, in both objective and subjective phrases, as in the following passages, quoted on the pages indicated: Gen. 438° and 1439, p. 111; Ælf. L. S. 18.147, p. 112; Beow. 786 and 787, p. 113; Oros. 162.6, 7, p. 114; Wærf. 74.20, p. 117; Mat. 17.10, p. 124; etc.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH DATIVE SUBJECT.

The first to suggest that in the Germanic languages, specifically in Gothic, there occurs after an impersonal verb (wairþan) a dative with predicative infinitive substantially identical with the well-known accusative with predicative infinitive, was Jacob Grimm, who, in his Deutsche Grammatik, IV, p. 131, cited the following as an example in Gothic: Mark 2. 23: jah warþ þairhgaggan imma þairh atisk = Kaì ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν . . . διὰ τῶν σπορίμων. To me the infinitive here seems subjective, not predicative, and the dative seems governed by the finite verb, not to be the subject of the infinitive; but not so to Grimm: "Auf warþ beziehen mag ich den Dat. nicht (etwa in dem Sinn: es geschah, begegnete ihm, dass), dann würde er unmittelbar daneben stehen." Further discussion of this locution in Gothic is deferred to Chapter XVI, section ix; and the example is quoted here merely to define the idiom under discussion and, incidentally, to give a bit of its earliest history.

For the moment accepting Grimm's theory, have we such a dative-with-infinitive construction in Anglo-Saxon? True, Grimm says that not a trace of the idiom occurs in any other Germanic language besides Gothic: "In keinem andern deutschen Dialect die Spur einer solchen Construction, wie sie auch im Goth. nur nach warp vorkommt." But I cannot see that the dative with infinitive in the following examples differs essentially from that in the Gothic sentence above quoted:—

(1) Uninflected:

Gosp.: Mk. 9.47: betere & is mid anum eagan gan on Godes rice = 9.46: bonum est tibi luscum introire in regnum Dei. — L. 12.12: Halig Gast eow lærð on ðære tide ða ðing åe eow specan gebyrað = Spiritus enim sanctus docebit vos in ipsa hora quid oporteat vos dicere. — L. 15.32°, b: åe gebyrede gewistfullian and geblissian = Epulari autem et gaudere oportebat.² — L. 24.26°, b: Hu ne gebyrede Criste das ding doligean, and swa on his wuldor gan? = Nonne hæc oportuit pati Christum, et ita intrare in gloriam suam? — Pr. Gu. V. 67, 68, 69: swa donne gedafenað dam men [Vercelli MS.: dane man] gelice durh six daga fæsten done gast gefrætwian, and donne dy seofodan dæg mete dicgan and his lichaman restan = ita etiam hominem decet sex diebus per jejunii plasma spiritu reformari, et septimo die comedendo carni requiem dare. — L. 4.43 Sodlice me gedafenað oðrum ceastrum Godes rice bodian = Quia et aliis civitatibus oportet me evangelizare (may be accusative and infinitive).

(2) Inflected:

Mat. 19.24: eaðelicre byð dam olfende to ganne durh nædle eage, donne se welega on heofona rice ga = facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire, quam divitem intrare in regnum cœlorum. Mk. 10.25: Eaðere ys olfende to farenne durh nædle dyrel = Facilius est camelum per foramen acus transire. —

¹ Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 131.

² Cf. Tatian's translation of the same passage, in Chapter XVI, section ix. ³ Cf. Tatian's translation of the same passage, in Chapter XVI, section viii.

Mat. 17.4°: god ys us her to beonne = Domine, bonum est nos hic esse.¹ — Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 2.18°: Nis na god disum men ana to wunienne = Non est bonum hominem esse solum. — Mk. 14.31: And deah me gebyrige mid de to sweltenne = Et si oportuerit me simul commori tibi. — L. 11.42°: das ding eow gebyrede to donne, and da ding ne forlætan (sic!) = hæc autem oportuit facere, et illa non omittere. — Bede 196.17: Hwæt woldest du, min domne biscop, dæt cynelice hors dæm dearfan syllan, de de gedafenade agan (sic!) to habbanne = 156.18: Quid uoluisti, domine antistes, equum regium, quem te conueniebat proprium habere, pauperi dare?

True, in the Anglo-Saxon examples, the dative usually is next to the finite verb, but at times it is not, as in L. 12.12; and in the examples from the Old High German, below, Chapter XVI, several times the dative is separated from the principal verb. Moreover, while Professor Streitberg emphasizes the fact that, in the examples which he cites of the Gothic dative with infinitive, "der Dativ steht fast ausnahmslos hinter dem Infinitiv, wie im Griech. das Subject des Akk. m. Inf.," 2 at times, as in 2 Cor. 7.7, cited by Professor Streitberg himself, the dative precedes the infinitive as in the Greek original the accusative precedes its infinitive; and both pre-position and postposition of the dative seem to me to result from a slavish rather than an independent handling of the Moreover, in our Anglo-Saxon examples the dative regularly precedes the infinitive, while in Old High German it sometimes precedes and some-These facts lead me to the conclusion that little, if any, times follows it. significance is to be attached to the fact that the dative generally follows the infinitive in Gothic. Nor do I think that in the Gothic examples much, if any, weight is to be attached to the separation of the dative from the chief verb, since this separation, too, comes of following the order of words in Greek. of the chief arguments offered for setting up a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction after impersonals seem to me, therefore, considerably weakened, if not nullified.

It may be urged, however, that the above examples from Anglo-Saxon differ radically from the Gothic example in that in the latter we have a well nigh colorless word, warp, translating the Greek ἐγένετο, while the chief verbs in Anglo-Saxon (gebyrian, gedafenian, and beon (wesan) + an adjective are more datival in sense. There is a difference, to be sure, but not such as to preclude the Anglo-Saxon examples from being included in the same general category with the Gothic, I think; for the dative-with-infinitive in the Slavic languages — where the construction in question is most frequent — arose, as Miklosich ³ tells us, because of the very large number of dative-governing verbal nouns therein; — a fact of which I was not aware until I had independently come to the conclusion that, in the Anglo-Saxon examples above given, we more usually have the dative and the infinitive because of the datival force of the chief verbs, a force, however, that is occasionally overcome by the translator's following the Latin original and giving us an accusative and infinitive. When we have the dative, though, we have not in Anglo-Saxon, I think, a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction: the dative depends on the chief verb, This conclusion is rendered the more and the infinitive is subject thereto.

¹ Cf. Tatian 185.23: guot ist uns hir zi wesanne = bonum est nobis hic esse (from Denecke, l. c., p. 71).

² Streitberg, ² l. c., p. 213. ³ See Miklosich, ¹ l. c., p. 494, and Jolly, l. c., p. 269; also Vondrak, l. c., II, pp. 366-368, 420-422.

fessor C. D. Buck, of the University of Chicago, kindly called my attention to the grammar by Vondrak.

probable, not only for Anglo-Saxon but also for Gothic, I believe, by the similar development in Old High German, especially after *gilimphan*, concerning which see Chapter XVI, section ix.

Moreover, this interpretation of the dative with the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon tallies, so far as I have been able to discover, with that given of the dative with the infinitive in Latin. In Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar, § 272, a. 1, we read: "With certain impersonal verbs and expressions that take the infinitive as an apparent subject (§ 270. b), the personal subject of the action may be expressed (1) by a dative depending on the verb or verbal phrase or (2) by an accusative expressed as the subject of the infinitive. Thus: rogant ut id sibifacere liceat (B. G. i. 7), 'they ask that it be allowed them to do this; '- si licet' vivere eum quem Sex. Naevius non volt (Quinct. 94), 'if it is allowed a man to live against the will of Sextus Nævius (whom S. N. does not wish)." The phrase, "the dative with an infinitive," occurs in but few of the Latin grammars that I have consulted, and, when it does occur, is employed, as in the Allen and Greenough Latin Grammar, to designate a dative that is governed by the finite verb and an infinitive that is the subject thereof. Nowhere have I found a claim, implicit or explicit, that the Latin infinitive in such locutions is genuinely predicative.

It will have been observed that, in some of the Anglo-Saxon examples above given, we have sometimes a dative and an uninflected infinitive, sometimes a dative and an inflected infinitive, and sometimes with the same verb a dative and both an inflected infinitive and an uninflected infinitive. This interchange of uninflected and of inflected infinitives has already been explained in the consideration of the Subjective Infinitive, Chapter I, pp. 20–26 above, under which head, as already implied, I have put all of the above examples. Here it remains only to add that, regardless of our attitude to the so-called dative-with-infinitive construction, our explanation of the interchange between the uninflected and the inflected subjective infinitives is strengthened, if not confirmed, by the Miklosich theory of the dative with infinitive in the Slavic languages.

So far as I have been able to discover, the phrase, "the dative with infinitive," in the sense assigned to it by Grimm, is confined in the grammars to the dative with infinitive after impersonal verbs, as illustrated in the preceding section of this chapter. But, if the phrase is to be used at all, I do not see why it should not be used with reference, also, to the dative after certain personal verbs. Note, for example, how close to the accusative with infinitive after permitto in the Latin Mat. 8.21 (Domine, permitte me primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum = Drihten, alyfe me ærest to farenne and bebyrigean (sic!) minne fæder) is the dative with infinitive after the same verb in Luke 9.59 (permitte mihi primum ire, et sepelire patrem meum = alyf me æryst bebyrigean minne fæder), at least as close, in my judgment, as is the dative with infinitive after the impersonal, licet, to the accusative with infinitive after the same, in the passages quoted above. In Anglo-Saxon, too, we have an unin-

According to Zumpt, l. c., § 601, licet is more frequently followed by a dative with an infinitive than by an accusative with an infinitive. I have found no clear example in Anglo-Saxon of aliefan, 'to be allowable,' to allow,' followed by an accusative with an infinitive; but gebyrian 'to happen,' to be fitting,' and gedafenian, to be fitting,' are followed by both the accusative with an infinitive and the dative with an infinitive. — M. C., Jr.

flected active infinitive with a dative after (1) certain verbs of Commanding (beodan, 'command;' hatan, 'command') and (2) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (aliefan, 'allow;' don, 'make,' 'cause;' lætan, 'let,' 'cause'). I quote only a few examples:—

beodan: — Chron. 173^m, 1048 E^c: se cyng... bead heom cuman to Gleaweceastre. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.280^b, 281: Da het se gerefa hio genimon (sic!) and bead heom hire clades of niman and hi up ahon bi dam fotum = 217.312^a, b: Præfectus dixit: Exspoliate eam et in aerem suspendite.

hatan: — Wærf. 202.13: Sa het he heora æghwylcum gesomnian his byrsene wyrta = 245 C²: Quos statim collectis oleribus onustari fecit. — Mart. 210.6, 7: Sa het he hym gebindan anne ancran on his sweoran and hyne forsendan on sæ. — Ælf. Hom. I. 416^t: Da færlice het he his gesihum sone biscop mid his preostum samod geandwerdian.

aliefan: see Mat. 8.21 and L. 9.59, as given above in connection with the comment on the Latin permitto; in these examples, of course, me may be con-

sidered accusative instead of dative, but it is more probably dative.

don: — Chron. 266^b, 1140 E^c: Se biscop . . . dide heom cumen Sider. — Ib. 262^b, 1132 E^{a, b}: king . . . dide him gyuen up Sæt abbotrice of Burch 7 faren ut of lande. — Ælf. L. S. 464.376: gif him Syrste, Su do him drincan (or is drincan a noun?). — Læce. 141.5: do sumne dæl pipores 7 do him ete (sic!) Sreo snæda on nihtnyhstig.

lætan: — Chron. 56^b, 796 F^{a, b}: Ceolwulf Myrcna cing . . . gefeng Eadberht Præn . . . 7 let him pytan ut his eagan 7 ceorfan of his handa. — Ib. 116^t, 963 E^d: se arcebiscop . . . com da to de cyng, leot him locon (sic!) da gewrite de ær wæron gefunden. — Ib. 210^b, 1075 D^b: se scirgerefa . . . let him findan mete. — Ib. 225^b, 1090 E: he . . . let heom swa weordan.

Some of these examples are doubtful. But a few (those with don and lætan) admit of no other explanation than to consider that we have an infinitive with dative subject, unless we hold that at that stage in the history of the language the dative form, him, had already begun to supplant the accusative forms, hine and hie, — a possibility suggested by the fact that most of the clearer examples (those after don and, in a less degree, lætan) occur in the later Chronicle and, usually, in the later manuscripts of that work. With the verbs other than don and lætan the infinitive seems to me objective, not predicative; and the examples have been included in Chapter II. Aside from the confusion of the dative and the accusative forms of the pronouns already suggested, the dative instead of the accusative seems to be due to the fact that in some instances we have verbs (beodan and lætan) which are sometimes followed by a dative as well as by an accusative, and that in other verbs of kindred signification (hatan¹) the same usage arose out of analogy.

Concerning this idiom with personal verbs in the kindred Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ix.

At times, too, we have an inflected active infinitive with a dative after (1) certain verbs of Commanding (bebeodan, 'command;' beodan, 'command;' and forbeodan, 'forbid'); (2) one verb of Sense Perception once (hieran, 'hear'); and (3) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (aliefan, 'allow;' gedon, 'cause;' liefan, 'allow;' and wyrcan, 'make,' 'cause').

As before, I quote only a few examples: —

bebeodan: — Bede 350.28: Swa hwæt swa du me onsettest 7 bebeodest to donne = 263.25: quicquid mihi imposueris agendum (or, as the Latin suggests, to donne modifies hwæt?). — Wærf. 9.31: hu he bebead dere nædran da wyrta to healdenne = no Latin.

beodan: — Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 32.46^{a, b}: beodað ða word eowrum bearnum to healdenne and to donne = ut mandetis ea filiis vestris custodire et facere.

forbeodan: — Ælf. L. S. XXV. 36: mete, & moyses forbead godes folce to Sicgenne (or final?). — Ib. XXV. 42: Moyses forbead . . . & nytenu to etanne & mealdan folce (or final?). — Ib. XXXII. 105: & forbead petre mid wæpnum to winnenne wið & a . . . iudeiscan.

hieran: — Wærf. 221.25: wæs cuð, ðæt se . . . deofol . . . him hyrde ða scos of to donne = 269 D²: Ad cujus vocem mox cæperunt se caligarum corrigiæ in summa velocitate dissolvere, ut aperte constaret quod ei ipse qui nominatus fuerat ad extrahendas diabolus caligas obedisset.

aliefan: — Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 3.25: Alife me to farenne and to geseonne væt seloste land = Transibo igitur et videbo terram hanc optimam.

liefan: — Ælf. Hept.: Num. 21.22: Ic bidde væt vu me lyfe ofer vin land to ferenne = Obsecro ut transire mihi liceat per terram tuam.

Some of the foregoing examples, as indicated, are doubtful. In most of them, however, we have a dative and an inflected objective infinitive, and, with the exception of the infinitive after hieran, all have been put under the objective use, in Chapter II. A few examples are quoted in this chapter on the Predicative Infinitive with a Dative Subject merely to show the affinity of these inflected infinitives with a dative, like the uninflected infinitives with a dative already treated, to Grimm's dative-with-infinitive construction. But in none of the foregoing examples does the infinitive seem to me predicative with the possible exception of the infinitive after hieran. In this example the inflected infinitive is probably due to the gerundive of the Latin original. The inflected infinitive with the other verbs has been explained already in Chapter II.

For the dative with inflected infinitive after personal verbs in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ix.

In a word, I doubt whether we have a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction in Anglo-Saxon, that is, a predicative infinitive with dative subject substantially equivalent to a predicative infinitive with accusative subject, after either impersonal or personal verbs. Normally, after the former class of verbs the infinitive is subjective, and after the latter class the infinitive is objective; and after both the dative depends on the chief verb. In a few sporadic cases, almost exclusively in Late West Saxon, after a few personal verbs like don and lætan, we do have an uninflected predicative infinitive whose subject is dative in form, but probably by that time the distinction between the accusative forms (hine and hie) and the dative form (him) had broken down to such an extent that him was felt as an accusative. And once possibly (after hieran) we may have an inflected infinitive used predicatively with a dative; if so, the inflected infinitive is probably due to the gerundive in the Latin original.

This general conclusion is fortified, I believe, by what we learn of the same construction in the other Germanic languages, especially in Old High German: see Chapter XVI, section ix.

CHAPTER X.

THE FINAL INFINITIVE.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

The active infinitive denoting Purpose after active verbs is quite common, being found about 983 times. Of these infinitives about 442 are uninflected, and 541 are inflected. The total number of final infinitives in prose is about 849, of which 323 are uninflected, and 526 are inflected; the total number in poetry is about 134, of which 119 are uninflected, and 15 are inflected. As a rule, therefore, the final infinitive is inflected in prose, and is uninflected in poetry.

To me the final infinitive, both inflected and uninflected, seems dominantly, if not exclusively, active in sense as well as in form. Dr. Farrar, however, holds that in sentences like the following the inflected infinitive is passive in sense: Bede 22.18: Det . . . cyning to gefullianne com to Rome = 292.9: Ut . . . rex . . . baptizandus Romam uenerit; ib. 124.3: his dohtor to gehalgienne Criste δ am biscope to wedde gesealde = 99.30: filiam suam Christo consecrandam. . . episcopo adsignavit; Greg. 277.17: suelce he . . . sua nacodne hine selfne eowige to wundigeanne his feondum = 210.2: Totam vero se insidiantis hostis vulneribus detegit; Ælf. Hom. I. 46.35: hine . . . of være byrig gelæddon to Personally I think that in such sentences the infinitive is possibly, but not probably, passive in sense; and it may be that this is what Dr. Farrar intends to assert. The grounds of my own opinion are these: (1) In most, if not all, of such sentences, an active translation is allowable, though a passive translation is more common. (2) We find in the original Latin an interchange between gerund and gerundive, as in Bede 76.34: Sas wiif, Sa Se heora bearn ... oʻʻstum to fedenne sella \circ = 55.13: quae filios suos ... aliis ad nutriendum tradunt; ib. 150.8: δa [= these] eft see moder æfter δa on onsende . . . in Gallia rice to fedanne Dægbrehte væm cyninge = 126.4: quos . . . misit in Galliam nutriendos regi Dægberecto. (3) We find the final infinitive not infrequently translating a Latin active infinitive or subjunctive. (4) The Anglo-Saxon had little feeling for a genuine passive infinitive, as I tried to show in the discussion of the voice of the objective infinitive. This conclusion tallies with that of Dr. Shearin, who, l. c., p. 28, writes as follows of the voice of the prepositional infinitive of purpose: "It is doubtful whether this can ever be with certainty called passive, since the infinitive may be felt as a mere verbal noun, as in John 17.4: Set we core Set Su me sealdest to donne, where the Latin quod dedisti ut faciam, and the concurrent Lind. and Rush. glosses, & atte ic gedoe, show plainly that to donne = not 'to be done,' but 'for doing.'"

When uninflected, the infinitive is far less frequently of doubtful voice. While, again, I believe, that the infinitive is prevailingly, perhaps exclusively,

active in sense, in the following we have active infinitives that are apparently but not really passive in sense: Ælf. Hept.: Jos. 11.6: to mergen ic hig sylle on δ isre ylcan tide ealle gewundigean on Israela gesih δ e = cras enim hac eadem hora ego tradam omnes istos vulnerandos in conspectu Israel; Laws, Ordal, c. 4, § 1: sylle heom eallum cyssan boc; Bede 192.14: Da gehalgode ic wæter 7 scæfðan dyde in δ æs . . . treoes, 7 sealde δ am untruman drincan = 153.32: benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati inmittens obtuli egro potandum (with which compare Greg. 329.3b: Me dyrste, & ge me ne sealdon drincan = 254.4: sitivi, et non dedistis mihi bibere); Mk. 6.37°: we him etan syllað = dabimus illis manducare. Again I am in substantial agreement with Dr. Shearin, who, l. c., p. 16, declares: "Only the active meaning of the simple infinitive in final function is found in Old English, as may easily be noted in the examples already quoted, in which the Latin original is of like voice." The last clause of his statement, however, is somewhat too sweeping, as in some of the examples given by him and by me the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds to a passive locution in Latin.

Normally the final infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, follows the verb that it modifies, as in Beow. 115 (Gewat & neosian . . . hean huses) and in Mat. 9.13 (so lice ne com ic rihtwise to gecigeanne = Non enim veni vocare justos), but occasionally it precedes it, as in Gen. 2262 (Heo & fleon gewat & rea- 7 & eowdom) and in Bede 22.18 (to gefullianne com to Rome = 292.9: baptizandus Romam uenerit). In many instances, the pre-positive final infinitive in Anglo-Saxon prose corresponds to a pre-positive word (infinitive, gerund, or gerundive) in the Latin original, as in the example just quoted from Bede. In not a few instances, as Dr. Riggert, passim, suggests, pre-position seems due to the fact that the infinitive occurs in a dependent clause, as in Ex. 472: hwonne wadema stream . . . neosan come.

As stated in Chapter V, with verbs of motion and of rest it is at times difficult to decide whether an infinitive is final or predicative in use. This difficulty arises out of the close kinship of the two uses at the outset, — a topic discussed in section v of Chapter XIV. Again, at times it is difficult to determine whether an inflected infinitive is final or adjectival, as in Bede 150.8 (va eft seo modor . . . onsende . . . in G. rice to fedanne = 126.4: quos . . . misit in Galliam nutriendos), with which compare Bede 76.30b (vætte wiif forhycgave heora bearn fedan, va ve heo cennave, 7 heo ovrum wiifum to fedenne sellave = 55.10: eosque aliis mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant).

I. Only the uninflected final infinitive is found with the following verbs:—

1. Certain Verbs of Motion:—

genægan, approach. gengan, go.

gewitan, depart. hladan, load, draw.

2. Certain Verbs of Rest:—

gesittan, sit.

licgan, lie.

3. Certain Verbs of Commanding and Requesting: — abiddan, request. biddan, request.

4. Certain Other Verbs:—

gewyrcan, make.

scieppan, create.

Typical examples are: —

1. Verbs of Motion: —

genægan, approach:

Ex. 131: wiste genægdon modige metedegnas hyra mægen beton (sic!). [The construction of beton is doubtful. In the original and in the recent editions of Grein's Sprachschatz der Angelsäcshischen Dichter and in Blackburn's edition of the Exodus, beton is entered as an infinitive; but in the latter with this query: "or pt. 3 p. for betton (?)."]

gengan, go:

Beow. 1413: He . . . gengde . . . wong sceawian.

gewitan, depart, go:

Beow. 291: gewitað forð beran wæpen and gewædu. — Ib. 1275: ða he hean gewat, dreame bedæled deaðwic geseon. — Ib. 2820: him of hreðre gewat sawol secean soðfæstra dom.

Gen. 1649: Gewiton him da eastan æhta lædan. — Ib. 1920: Him da Loth gewat land sceawigan be Iordane.

hladan, load, draw:

Greg. 469.7: Ac $hlada\delta$ iow nu drincan = 0.

Wærf. 220.22: $\forall \text{er hlodon heom } drincan = 269 \text{ A}^2$: ad bibendum hauriebant aquam.

2. Verbs of Rest: —

gesittan, sit:

And. 1162: Gesæton searuðancle sundor to rune ermðu eahtigan. [Or predicative? Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 45, considers the infinitive final.]

licgan, lie:

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.18^b: He eode & in earhlice swide, and see wimman mid hire hwitle bewreah hine sona, let hine licgan swa ætlutian his feendum = Qui ingressus tabernaculum ejus et opertus ab ea pallio, dixit ad eam (or predicative? see Chapter V, pp. 91-92).

3. Verbs of Commanding and Requesting: —

abiddan, request:

Bede 392.32: Wilt du wit une abidde (sic!) ondrinean? = 286.13: Uis petamus bibere?

biddan, request:

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.19: bæd him drincan, and heo him bliðelice sealde, beheold hine eft = Da mihi, obsecro, paululum aquæ, quia sitio valde! Quæ dedit ei bibere et operuit illum.

- J. 4.9: Humeta bitst du æt me drincan = Quomodo tu Judæus quum sis, bibere a me poscis?
- 4. Other Verbs, with each of which the construction is doubtful, as is apparent from the examples (complete):—

gewyrcan, make:

Gifts 66: Sum mæg wæpenðræce wige to nytte modcræftig smið monige gefremman, donne he gewyrceð to wera hilde helm odde hupseax odde heaðubyrnan, scirne mece odde scyldes rond, fæste gefegan wið flyge gares (or accusative and infinitive?).

scieppan, create, make:

Gnomic Sayings 129: Gold geriseð on guman sweorde, sellic sigesceorp, sinc on cwene; god scop gumum, garnið werum, wig towiðre wicfreoða healdan (?).

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs followed by the uninflected final infinitive only:—

abiddan, request. biddan, request. genægan, approach. gengan, go. gesittan, sit.

gewitan, go, depart. gewyrcan, make, build. hladan, lade, draw. licgan, lie. scieppan, make, create.

II. The final infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected with the following groups of verbs:—

1. Chiefly certain Verbs of Motion: —

arisan, arise.
asendan, send.
becuman, come.
beran, bear.
cuman, come.
efstan, hasten.
faran, go.
feran, go.

forlætan, leave.
fundian, set out, strive.
gan [gangan], go.
gecierran, turn, go.
onsendan, send.
sendan, send.
wendan, turn, wend.

2. Frequently certain Verbs of Offering and of Giving: —

beodan, offer. gesellan, give.

giefan, give. sellan, give.

Sellan is the verb most frequently used, occurring over 200 times.

3. Occasionally certain Verbs of Rest: —

sittan, sit.

standan, stand.

4. Occasionally certain Other Verbs:

aliesan, release.

The following are typical examples:—

1. Verbs of Motion: —

arisan, arise:

(1) Uninflected:

And. 829, 830: cining engla [lacuna] da da aras sidigean, eadige on upweg edles neosan.

(2) Inflected:

Pr. Ps. 26.4: Seah hi arisan ongean me to feohtanne = 26.3: Si insurgat in me bellum.

Wærf. 201.23: he aras . . . lof to secganne = 245 B³: ad exhibendas laudes Domino surrexisset.

Bened. 40.11: ic aras . . . So to and ettenne = 74.19: surgebam ad confitendum tibi.

Ælf. L. S. 456.233: hi swa oft arisan (sic!) . . . to singenne one lofsang. asendan, send:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hept.: Judges 15.18: bæd vone . . . god væt he him asende drincan,

for dam de on dære neawiste næs nan wæterscipe = clamavit ad dominum et ait: en siti morior.

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 402^b: Se asende . . . Titum to oferwinnenne &a . . . Iudeiscan.

Ælf. L. S. 104.236: hælend hi asende . . . da men to fullienne.

Mk. 3.14: he hi asende godspell to bodigenne = fecit . . . ut mitteret eos prædicare.

becuman, come:

(1) Uninflected:

Ermahnung 53: geðancas, de on niht becumað, synlustas foroft swide fremman.

Beow. 2366: lyt eft becwom . . . hames niosan.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 22.26: becuman wolde on Germaniam to bodianne godcunde lare = 296.3: ad praedicandum in Germaniam uenire uoluerit. — Ib. 486.8^{a, b}: ic... bidde vætte to eallum ve vis ylce stær to becyme ures cynnes to rædenne ovve to gehyrenne, væt hi... vingien etc. = 8.10^{a, b}: Praeterea omnes, ad quos haec eadem historia peruenire potuerit nostrae nationis, legentes siue audientes, suppliciter precor, ut etc.

beran, bear:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 396.8: δ em biscupe bær drincan = 287.26: obtulit poculum episcopo.

Ælf. Hom. II. 180^t: Se deofol cwæð ðæt he wolde beran drincan his gebroðrum.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 440.2^{b} : heht me beran to rædanne = 312.16^{a} : iussit . . . mihi ad legendum deferre.

Wærf. 128.11: bær mid him mettas to ðicgene = B. 158 C: qui sumendos cibos in itinere portabat.

Ælf. Hom. I. 512b: SaSa him man to bær cild to bletsigenne.

cuman, come:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 2010: Ic . . . cwom to Sam hringsele HroSgar gretan. — Ib. 268: We . . . hlaford Sinne . . . secean cwomon.

Ex. 92: Sæt Sær drihten cwom . . . wicsteal metan.

El. 152: Com . . . cyning burga neosan.

Ex. 416: Da him styran cwom stefn of heofonum.

Bede 296.10: Sone Se hy untrumne neosian cwomon = 226.24: quem languentem uisitare uenerant.

Wærf. 251.9: δ æt se δ e δ ider com eles biddan = 308 A²: quia is qui oleum petere venerat, etc.

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 49^{a, b}: ic com væt ic me ve ætywde vurh vysne heort and for hine ve gehuntian and gefon mid vam nettum minre mildheortnysse.

Mat. 10.35: Ic com . . . mann asyndrian ongen hys Fæder = Veni enim separare hominem adversus patrem suum.

(2) Inflected:

Ps. 97.8^b: forson he eadig com eorsan to demanne = quoniam venit judicare terram.

Bede 22.18: to gefullianne com to Rome = 292.9: baptizandus Romam

uenerit. — Ib. 96.8: monige cwomon to bicgenne $\delta a \delta ing = 79.30$: multi ad emendum confluxissent. — Ib. 158.28: coman . . . word to gehyranne = 132.19: confluebant ad audiendum uerbum. — Ib. 220.13: δane (sic!) cwom $\delta ider$ to halgianne . . . se biscop = 169.15: quem ordinaturus uenit illuc . . . antistes.

Wærf. 46.2: se ceorl, de dider com hine to geseonne = 180 B²: is qui ad

videndum eum venerat.

Ælf. Hom. I. 142^b ²: Crist, sede com to gehælenne ure wunda.

Gosp.: Mat. 9.13: soblice ne com ic rihtwise to gecigeanne = Non enim veni vocare justos. — J. 9.39: Ic com on bysne middaneard to demenne = In judicium ego in hunc mundum veni. — J. 12.47: ne com ic middaneard to demanne, ac bæt ic gehæle middaneard = non enim veni ut judicem mundum, sed ut salvificem mundum.

Wulf. 219.26: drehten cwæð, ðæt he come to demenne cwicum.

efstan, hasten:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 3103^{a, b}: uton nu efstan odre side seon and secean searogedræc, wundur under wealle.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 376.6^{a, b}: efestton væm biscope to cyvenne 7 secgenne (sic!) va ving = 276.25: festinarunt referre antisti.

Ælf. Hom. II. 130^m ³: Ongunnon . . . menige efstan to gehyrenne da halgan bodunge.

Ælf. L. S. 312.91: efst du nu me to fultumigenne = 312.90: ad adiuuandum me festina.

faran, go:

(1) Uninflected:

Met. 26.14: for wiges heard Creca drihten campstede secan.

Ælf. Hom. II. 372^b ²: Ic bohte fif getymu oxena, and ic wille faran fandian öæra.

Ælf. Gr. 134.12^b: ic fare huntian = uenatum pergo.

(2) Inflected:

Oros. 46.17°: offer ut faran to winnanne = 47.16: reginae . . . , quae . . . vicissim curam belli et domus custodiam sortiebantur.

Wærf. 237.11: 5æt wit faran (sic!) to Ispanialande . . . to gecy5anne 5a fordemednessa = 289 B: pro ostendenda ejusdem Arianæ hæreseos damnatione, transeamus . . . ad Hispanias.

Ælf. Hom. II. 372b: Se færð to sceawienne his tun.

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 11.29: land, de ge farad on to eardienne = ad quam pergis habitandam.

feran, go:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 840: ferdon folctogan . . . wunder sceawian.

And. 331: us feran het geond ginne grund gasta streonan.

L. 6.12: he ferde on anne munt hine gebiddan = exiit in montem orare.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 372.11^{a, b}: Set wit . . . moton to heofenum feran his gife . . . to geseonne 7 to sceawigenne = 274.30: ad . . . uidendam gratiam transeamus.

Wærf. 63.29: he gewat feran ut sum dæl oðres weorces to wyrcanne = 193 B⁵: ad exercendum opus aliquod discessit.

Ælf. Hom. II. 88^m: Sum sædere ferde to sawenne his sæd.

L. 7.25: Ac hwi ferde ge to seonne? = Sed quid existis videre? forlætan, leave:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 971: Hwæðere he his folme forlet to lifwraðe last weardian, earm and eaxle.

Ju. 554: Da hine seo fæmne forlet æfter dræchwile dystra neosan.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 138.28: Sæt . . . geweorc . . . Oswalde forlet to geendianne = 114.16: opus . . . Osualdo perficiendum reliquit.

fundian, set out, strive:

(1) Uninflected:

Beow. 1820: we fundiad Higelac secan.

Gen. 2270: Hwider fundast du, feasceaft ides, sidas dreogan?

(2) Inflected:

Greg. 93.24: Se Jonne se Je fundige wislice to sprecanne, ondræde he etc. = 64.10: Qui igitur loqui sapienter nititur, magnopere metuat.

Bl. Hom. 93.4^{a, b}: blodig regn & fyren fundiað das eordan to forswylgenne & to forbærnenne.

gan [gangan, -o-], go:

(1) Uninflected:

Gen. 2430: gretan eode cuman cublice.

Beow. 1786: geong sona to setles neosan. — Ib. 493: on beorsele . . . & x swidferhoe sittan eodon.

Dan. 159: Da eode Daniel . . . swefen reccan sinum frean.

Bede 186.30: eode gesittan to væs . . . weres liice = 151.8: sedentemque ad tumbam sancti infirmitas tangere nequaquam, praesumsit. — Ib. 198.2: bæd væt he eode to his sevele sittan to his swæsendum 7 unrotnisse of his heortan asette = 157.3: promittens se multum illi esse placatum, dum modo ille residens ad epulas tristitiam deponeret.

Greg. 309.14: eodon him plegean = 238.10: surrexerunt ludere. — Ib. 415.14: Hit is awriten væt Dina wære ut gangende sceawian væs londes wif = 336.13: Egressa est D. ut videret mulieres.

Wærf. 115.7: se cniht, de eode wæter hladan [MS. H. ferde to hladene] = B. 146 A²: puer ille qui ad hauriendam aquam perrexerat.

Ælf. Gr. 134.14: ic gange drincan = bibitum pergo.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 917^b: tima wære öæt he into cyrcan eode öam folce to mæssigenne and godes mærsunge don.

Ælf. Hom. II. 242b3: He eode eft sittan siððan mid his ðegnum.

L. 1.17: he gæð toforan him on gaste and Elias mihte, ðæt he fædera heortan to heora bearnum gecyrre, and ungeleaffulle to rihtwisra gleawscype; Drihtne fulfremed folc gegearwian = ipse præcedet ante illum in spiritu et virtute Eliæ, ut convertat corda patrum in filios, et incredulos ad prudentiam justorum, parare Domino plebem perfectam. — Ib. 1.76, 79°: du gæst beforan Drihtnes ansyne his wegas gearwian; to syllenne his folce hæle gewit on hyra synna forgyfnesse, durh innodas ures Godes mildheortnesse on dam he us geneosode of eastdæle up springende, onlihtan dam de on dystrum and on deades sceade sittad; ure fet to gereccenne on sybbe weg = præibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus, Ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus, in remissionem pecca-

torum eorum: Per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto: *Illuminare* his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis. [See the section on "the Differentiation of the Two Infinitives" in this chapter.]

Apol. 28.18: gan we secan ure gesthus, δ æt we magon us gerestan = 45^{b} : eamus, hospitalia requiramus.

Læce. 58.5: Sonne he slapan gan wille.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 76.12: Seah Se heo . . . Gode Soncunge to donne in circan gonge = 54.24: si . . . actura gratias intrat ecclesiam. — Ib. 162.7: ut eode to his gebede oSSe to leornianne mid his geferum = 136.17: adcelerauit . . . ad legendum, siue ad orandum egredi. — Ib. 362.18: gedwolan to gereccenne se . . . man wæs ut gongende = 269.22: Ad . . . corrigendum errorem egressus.

Greg. 165.25: Gif hwa gonge . . . treow to ceorfanne = 122.1: Si quis

abierit . . . ad ligna cædenda.

Ælf. Hom. II. 428^m: He eode into . . . temple hine to gebiddenne.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 917: quoted on p. 138.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 2.10: Sæt flod eode . . . to wætrienne . . . wang = fluvius egrediebatur . . . ad irrigandum paradisum. — Gen. 22.5: ic and Sæt cild gað unc to gebiddenne = postquam adoraverimus.

Gosp.: Mat. 13.3: ut eode se sædere hys sæd to sawenne = Ecce exiit qui seminat, seminare. Cf. Mk. 4.3: Ut eode se sædere his sæd to sawenne = Ecce

exiit seminans ad seminandum.

L. 1.77, 79^b, quoted on p. 138.

gecierran, turn, go:

(1) Uninflected:

And. 1079: Hie da unhydige eft gecyrdon, luste belorene, ladspell beran.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 12.8: to bodigenne hider gecyrdon = 92.12: ad praedicandum reuocauerit. onsendan, send:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 398.1: bæd væt he him onsende wines ondrincan = 288.20: rogans sibi poculum uini mittere.

(2) Inflected:

Dan. 76: Onsende da sinra degna worn des werudes west to feran (sic!).

Bede 150.8: Sa eft seo modor . . . onsende . . . in G. rice to fedanne = 126.4: quos . . . misit in Galliam nutriendos.

sendan, send:

(1) Uninflected:

Bede 54.31: he sende A. . . . bodian Godes word = 42.22: misit . . . A. . . . praedicare uerbum Dei. — Ib. 250.21: sende he . . . Sone biscop . . . to gereccenne Sone gedwolan, 7 heo to soffæstnesse geleafan eft gecegan = 199.26: misit ad corrigendum errorem; reuocandamque ad fidem ueritatis prouinciam.

L. 9.2b: he sende hig to bodianne Godes rice, and untrume gehælan = misit

illos prædicare regnum Dei et sanare infirmos.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 10.2: Dæt . . . Gregorius Augustinum sende . . . to bodiganne Godes word = 42.10: Ut Gregorius Augustinum ad praedicandum genti Anglorum mittens etc. — Ib. 172.17^{a. b}: sendon heora dohtor dider to læranne 7 to gedeod-

enne væm . . . brydguman = 142.19, 20: filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac

sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant. — Ib. 250.20: quoted on p. 139.

Greg. 49.17: he forcwæð, & nolde δ æt hine mon sende to læranne = 26.22: ne mitti ad prædicandum debeat, contradicit. — Ib. 405.34: oft sende his englas us ham to spananne to him = 326.4: qui ad revocandum hominem Legem dedit, exhortantes angelos misit.

Oros. 138.8: here . . . sendon an hergiunge, 7 vet folc to amierrenne = 139.5: quibusdam suis ad populandos hostiles agros . . . praemissis.

Chron. 32b, 656 Ee: preost be see kyning . . . seonde to bodian (sic!) Cristendome on Wiht.

Laws 42, Alfred, Intr., c. 49, § 1^b: hie sendan ærendwrecan . . . Cristes æ to læranne.

Ælf. Hom. I. 372b: Đu, . . . Se us sendest to bodigenne Sinne geleafan.

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 13.17: manna . . ., & Moises sende to sceawienne Chanaan = quos misit M. ad considerandam terram C.

 $L. 9.2^{a}$: quoted on p. 139.

Wulf. 295.32^{a, b}: ic sende ofer eow da deode eow to hergianne and eower land to awestenne.

wendan, turn, wend:

- (1) Uninflected:
- S. & S. 20: Ic . . . wende mec on willan on wæteres hricg ofer Coferflod Caldeas secan.
 - (2) Inflected:

Ælf. L. S. XXVII. 13: wende ham . . . to hire . . . sunu his geleafan to getrymmenne.

2. Verbs of Offering and of Giving: —

beodan, offer, entrust:

(1) Uninflected:

Ælf. Hom. II. 254^m: and him budon drincan gebitrodne windrenc.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 114.19: Set . . . eowde . . . , Sette he him bead to healdanne = 92.22: gregem . . . quem sibi ipse crediderat.

gesellan, give:

(1) Uninflected:

Oros. 136.16: him gesealdon ator drincan = 137.10: cum . . . ministri insidiis venenum potasset.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 124.3: his dohtor to gehalgienne Criste Sam biscope to wedde gesealde = 99.30: filiam suam Christo consecrandam . . . episcopo adsignauit.

Oros. 54.11: gesealde Ircaniam & Seode on anwald to habbane = 55.3: eumque Hyrcanorum genti praeposuit.

giefan, give:

(1) Uninflected:

Ps. 79.5: tyhst us 7 fedest teara hlafe 7 us drincan 1 gifest deorcum tearum manna gehwylcum on gemet rihtes = 79.6: Cibabis nos pane lacrymarum, et potabis nos in lacrymis in mensura?

¹ In Bede 486.4 (ic 5e bidde, duguða Hælend, 5æt 5u me milde forgife swetlice drincan 5a word 5ines wisdomes = 360.4: Teque deprecor, bone Iesu, ut cui propitius donasti uerba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam etc.), the infinitive seems to me to be objective rather than final, and has been put in Chapter II.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 236.1: Set he Gode geaf mynster on to timbrenne = 177.30: ad construenda monasteria donaret. — Ib. 242.7: bec on to leornienne . . . gefon = 192.17: libros . . . ad legendum . . . praebere curabant.

Chron. 117^m, 963 E^e: ic gife tocnawlece . . . Peter min messehacel . . . Criste to $\Im euwian$ (sic!).

sellan, give:

(1) Uninflected:

Rid. 13.5: Hwilum ic deorum drincan selle beorne of bosme.—Ib. 72.7: swæse broðor, ðara onsundran gehwylc dægtidum me drincan sealde ðurh ðyrel ðearle. Laws 387, Ordal, c. 4, § 1: sylle heom eallum cyssan boc.

Bede 30.7: Sa sceafsan dyde on wæter, 7 sealde drincan Sam mannum = 13.4: ipsam rasuram aquae inmissam ac potui datam. — Ib. 156.7: Sæt wæter . . . drincan syllas = 129.18: astulas . . . quas cum in aquas miserint, eisque . . . homines aut pecudes potauerint. — Ib. 192.14: Da gehalgode ic wæter 7 scæfsan dyde in Sæs . . . treoes, 7 sealde Sam untruman drincan = 153.32: benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati inmittens obtuli egro potandum.

Greg. 329.3^b: ge me ne sealdon drincan = 254.4: non dedistis mihi bibere. — Ib. 459.18^a: dy ic sceal sellan eow giet mioloc drincan nalles flæsc etan = 392.16: Tamquam parvulis in Christo lac vobis potum dedi, non escam.

Oros. 136.1: Da nam he da [= wyrt] on mergen, 7 sealde hie dæm gewundedum drincan = 135.35: ac post herba per somnium sibi ostensa in potum sauciis data.

Wærf. 161.5: ic wille faran to δ am bro δ rum 7 him syllan drenc drincan = B. 188 A¹: Ecce ad fratres vado potionem eis dare.

Bl. Hom. 229.9: hie him sealdon attor drincan.

Ælf. Hom. I. 582^b: Swa hwa swa sylð ceald wæter drincan anum ðyrstigan menn ðæra ðe on me gelyfað, etc.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 21.19: sumne wæterpytt . . ., and heo of δ am sealde δ am enapan drincan = dedit puero bibere. - Ex. 2.19: hlod wæter mid us and $sealde \delta$ am sceapum drincan = potumque dedit ovibus.

Ælf. Gr. 111.6: syle us drincan = da nobis bibere.

Gosp.: Mat. 25.35^b: ge me sealdun drincan = dedistis mihi bibere. — Mat. 25.42^b: ge me drincan ne sealdun = non dedistis mihi potum.

Wulf. 288.32: ge me drincan ne sealdon.

Læce. 8.21: geseoð cerfillan on wætere, sele drincan. So 170 times in all in Læce.

Greg. 329.3°: ge me nawuht ne sealdun etan = 254.3: non dedistis mihi manducare.

Gosp.: Mat. 14.16^b: sylle ge him etan = date illis vos manducare. — So: Mat. 25.35^a, 42^a; Mk. 5.43^a, 6.37^a; L. 8.55^b, 9.13; J. 6.31.

Læce. 21.39: sele etan. So 27 times in all in Læce.

Ælf. Hept.: Jos. 11.6: to mergen ic hig sylle on disre ylcan tide ealle gewundigean on Israela gesihde = cras enim hac eadem hora ego tradam omnes istos vulnerandos in conspectu Israel.

Læce. 37.19: Sæt seaw sele on cuclere supan. So 8 times in Læce.

Læce. 55.34: sele &icgean. So: 69.21^{a, b}; 150.6.

(2) Inflected:

Beow. 1731: seleð him on eðle eorðan wynne, to healdanne hleoburh wera.

Ps. 54.6: Ic da on mode cwæd, hwa me sealde to fleogenne fideru swa culfran

7 ic δonne ricene reste syδδan = Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ? et volabo et requiescam.

Wids. 134: se bið leofast londbuendum, se ðe him god syleð gumena rice

Bede 76.30^b: heo oðrum wiifum to fedenne sellað = 55.10: eosque aliis mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant. — Ib. 104.29: his gyfe sealde . . ., him to brucanne = 85.29: in usum eorum. — Ib. 158.29: sealde æhte 7 land mynster to timbrianne = 132.21: donabantur . . . possessiones . . . ad instituenda monasteria. — Ib. 232.25: Sealde se biscop ðæt mynster to reccenne . . . Ceaddan his breðer = 176.18: Dedit . . . episcopus regendum post se monasterium fratri suo. — Ib. 480.29, 30: ealle geornesse ic sealde to leornienne 7 to smeagenne halige gewritu = 357.11: omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi.

Greg. 369.14: Sonne he us sels micle getyngnesse & wlitige spræce ymb sosfæstnesse to cysanne = 286.17: cum nobis luce veritatis plena eloquia subministrat.

Oros. 42.29: ealle . . . bearn . . . sealdon &m Minotauro to etanne = 43.29: qui . . . filios Minotauro . . . devorandos addicebant.

Laws 48, Ælfred, c. 1, § 2^b: selle . . . his wæpn 7 his æhta his freondum to gehealdanne.

Wærf. 253.13: he bæd hi, ðæt hi hine sealdon him to healdene = 309 B¹: petiit ut sibi ad custodiam tradi debuisset.

Ælf. Hom. II. 244^{t 3}: gelæhte ænne calic, . . . and sealde his gingrum, of to supenne æfter gereorde.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 28.20^b: Gif drihten . . . sylð me hlaf to etenne = si deus . . . dederit mihi panem ad vescendum. — So: Ex. 16.15; Num. 11.4.

J. 6.52^{b} : Hu mæg des his flæsc us syllan to etanne? = 6.53: Quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam dare ad manducandum?

Læce. 65.8: sele to etanne liferseocum men. — Ib. 17.11: sele Try dagas Try bollan fulle to drincanne. So 9 times in all. — Ib. 87.8: syle Tonne Tæs wæteres bollan fulne to gedrincanne. — Ib. 66.11: Tam mannum sceal man sellan ægra to supanne. — Ib. 65.26: selle him mon leohtes hwæthwega to Ticganne. So 8 times in all.

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 6.8: Sæt ic sylle eow to agenne = daboque illam vobis possidendam.

Mat. 27.26^b: Sone Hælynd he let swingan, and sealde heom to ahonne = Jesum . . . tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur.

3. Verbs of Rest: -

sittan, sit:

(1) Uninflected:

Gen. 842: sæton onsundran bidan selfes gesceapu heofoncyninges (or predicative? see Chapter V, pp. 91-92).

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 542^m: he him behet . . ., væt hi on vam micclum dome ofer twelf domsetl sittende beov, to demenne eallum mannum.

standan, stand:

(1) Uninflected:

Gen. 526: me her standan het his bebodu healdan, 7 me das bryd forgeaf (or healdan may be objective, co-ordinate with standan?).

(2) Inflected:

Ælf. Hom. I. 48^m : gemunde . . . gewrit . . . Sunu standan æt Godes swiðran to gescyndenne ðæra Iudeiscra ungeleaffulnysse.

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 27.13: Sas sceolan standan on H. dune to wirgienne Ruben = stabant ad maledicendum . . . Ruben.

Mk. 11.25: Sonne ge standa δ eow to gebiddenne = Et quum stabitis ad orandum.

4. Other Verbs: -

aliesan, release:

(1) Uninflected:

L. 1.72^b: he alysde us of urum feondum, . . . mildheortnesse to wyrcenne mid urum fæderum, and gemunan his halgan cyönesse = Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum . . . prophetarum ejus: salutem ex inimicis nostris . . . ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et memorari testamenti sui sancti.

(2) Inflected:

L. 1.72a: quoted under "Uninflected" above, L. 1.72b.

The following is a complete alphabetic list of the verbs followed by both the uninflected infinitive of purpose and the inflected infinitive of purpose:—

aliesan, release.
arisan, arise.
asendan, send, offer.
becuman, come.
beodan, command, offer.
beran, bear, offer.
cuman, come.
efstan, hasten.
faran, go, depart.
feran, go, depart.
forlætan, leave.

fundian, set out, strive.
gan [gangan, -o-], go.
gecierran, turn, go.
gesellan [-ie-, -y-], give.
giefan, give, offer.
onsendan, send, offer.
sellan [-ie-, -y-], give, offer.
sendan, send.
sittan, sit.
standan, stand.
wendan, wend, go.

III. The inflected final infinitive only is found with a very large number of verbs of such varied significations that it seems unwise to attempt to classify them. Accordingly, I give merely an alphabetic list of the verbs followed only by the inflected final infinitive:—

æteowan [-ea-], show, appear. ætwindan, escape, fly away. afaran, travel, go. agiefan [-y-], give. alædan, lead away. aliefan [-e-, -y-], allow. aræcan, reach, hand. aræran, disseminate. astigan, ascend. aweccan, bring to life. awendan, translate. beciepan [-y-], sell. befæstan, entrust, commit. belæfan, leave. betæcan, entrust, commit. bedurfan, need. biegan, bend, turn. bindan, bind. brecan [hine], retch.

bringan, bring. cyŏan, make known. don, do, make, put. eowian, show, expose. findan, find. fleogan, [-e-], fly. forestihtian, predestinate. forgiefan [-y-], give. forsendan, send. gadrian, gather. gearcian, prepare. gearwian, make ready, prepare. gebindan, bind. gebredan, draw, hence feign (reflexive). gebugan, turn, go. gebycgan, buy. geceosan, choose. gecuman, come. gedon, commit, entrust.

ge-emtigian [-æm-], keep one's self free. gefreogan [-freon], free. gefultumian, help. gegripan, seize. gehwierfan, turn. gelæcan, seize. gelædan, lead. geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe. gelogian, arrange. gemearcian, mark, plan. genealæcan, approach. geniman, take, accept. gesamnian [-o-], assemble. gescieppan, create, make. gesecan, seek. gesettan, set, establish. gestandan, stand, stand up. geteon [-tion], draw, attract. geðafian, grant, give. ge-unnan, grant, give. gewendan, wend, go. habban (nabban), have (not). healdan, hold, keep. iecan [æcan], increase. iernan, run. ingan [-gangan, -o-], go in. lædan, lead. læfan, leave, entrust. 1ænan, lend. lætan, leave. lecgean, lay, place. libban, live. liehtan, light.

logian, arrange, frame. lufian, love. niman, take. niðerastigan, descend. ondfon, receive. onfindan [?], find, receive. onfon, receive, undertake. onginnan, begin. onlænan, lend. ontynan, open. ræcan, reach, seize. reccan, care. sceawian, grant. scyndan, hasten. secan, seek. settan, set, place. siðian, travel, go. sniðan, cut open. stician, stick. teon, make, create. tocuman, come, come to. tofaran, separate, disperse. toferan, separate, disperse. tosendan, send. orowian, suffer, endure. ðurfan, need. utgan [-gangan, -o-], go out. wegan, carry, manifest. weorpan, throw, cast. wil(1) nian, desire, wish. winnan, struggle, strive. wunian, dwell, remain. wyrcan, make.

I quote only a few examples: — befæstan, entrust, commit:

Wærf. 111.3^b, 4^a: ongunnon . . . &a . . . weras . . . him befæstan heora suna to fedanne 7 to læranne = B. 140 C⁴: Cæpere . . . ei filios omnipotenti Deo nutriendos dare. — Ib. 254.1: bædon, &æt he heom &one agæfe, &e hi him ær befæston to healdenne = 309 C²: quem dederant petierunt (but cf. 309 C¹: qui diaconum ad custodiendum dederant).

Ælf. L. S. XXXVI. 76: gif du wilt me befæstan enapan to lærenne.

Apol. 32.4: ic . . . Sas mine dohtor befæste Sam . . . mannan to fedanne = 49^t: hanc vero . . . filiam meam nutriendam . . . hominibus commendavi. gedon, entrust, commit:

Cato 10: Donne ou eald sie and manegra ealdra cwidas and lara geaxed hæbbe, gedo hie onne oam geongum to witanne. [Cf. Greg. 357.5, Oros. 126.31, and the comments given thereon, p. 118, above. Koch, l. c., II, p. 64, quotes, without a reference, the following passage, which I am unable to locate: "Ic do eow to witanne (thu euch zu wissen)."]

secan, seek:

Bede 50.11^{a, b}: hwær him wære fultum to secanne to gewearnienne 7 to wiðscufanne swa reðre hergunge 7 swa gelomlicre ðara norððeoda = 30.17^{a, b}: ubi quaerendum esset praesidium ad euitandas uel repellenddas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonialium inruptiones.

Mat. 2.13: toweard ys væt Herodes sec væt Cild to forspillenne = futurum est enim ut Herodes quærat puerum ad perdendum eum (may be objective in Anglo-Saxon).

Ælf. L. S. 368.78: Sæt eower nan . . . ne galdras ne sece to gremigenne his scyppend.

2. With Passive Verbs.

The active infinitive of purpose is found uninflected only with the passive of the following verb:—

(ge)wealdan, instruct (?).

I quote all the examples noted: —

Gifts of Men 47: hond bið gelæred wis and gewealden, swa bið wyrhtan ryht, sele asettan.

Both infinitives are found with the passive of:

asendan, send.

(ge)settan, appoint.

Typical examples are: —

asendan:

(1) Uninflected:

L. 1.19^{a, b}: ic eom asend wið de sprecan and de dis bodian = missus sum loqui ad te, et hæc tibi evangelizare.

(2) Inflected:

Chron. 11^b, 430 E: Her Patricius was asend fram Celestine dam papan to bodianne Scottum fulluht.

Ælf. Hom. II. 488^b 5, 6: We sind asende to gecigenne mancynn from deade to life, na to scufenne fram life to deade.

(ge)settan:

(1) Uninflected:

Bl. Hom. 157.35: nu syndon gesette da apostolas inhlet æ hie bodian hire.

(2) Inflected:

Bede 396.28^a: in \Im ere he to bebyrgenne geseted beon scolde = 228.16^a: in quo sepeliendus poni deberet.

But normally the infinitive of purpose is inflected with passive verbs; it is so found with the passive of the following verbs:—

aliefan, allow.
befæstan, commit, entrust.
beran, bear, give birth.
betæcan, commit, entrust.
bringan, bring.
ceosan, choose.
forgiefan, give.
(ge)beodan, offer.
gebringan, bring.
(ge)gadrian, gather together.
(ge)gearwian, prepare.

(ge)healdan, preserve.
(ge)lædan, lead.
(ge)laðian, invite.
(ge)rædan, advise.
(ge)samnian, assemble.
(ge)sellan, give.
(ge)smyrian, anoint.
(ge)tacnian, signify.
(ge)wyrcan, make, build.
gierwan, prepare.

gehalsian [gi-], request.

iecan [-y-], increase.
nacian, make naked.
onfon, receive.
onsendan, send.
ontendan, kindle.
sellan, give, entrust.
sendan, send.
todrifan, drive.
ycan: see iecan.
ymbsellan, surround.

A few examples will suffice:—
aliefan [-y-], allow:

Mat. 12.4: hu he . . . æt da offringhlafas de nærun him alyfede to etynne = Quomodo . . . panes . . . comedit, quos non licebat ei edere.

ceosan, choose:

Ælf. L. S. XXXII. 223: Se beod gecorene gode to degnigenne.

(ge)laðian, invite:

Bede 394.19: wæs ðyder gelaðod circan to halgianne = 287.6:

Bede 394.19: wæs öyder gelaðod circan to halgianne = 287.6: Contigit . . . uirum . . . ad dedicandam ecclesiam . . . uocari.

(ge)wyrcan, make, build:

Bede 354.19^{a, b}: Sa hus Sa Se in to gebiddenne 7 to leornienne geworhte wæron = 265.13^{a, b}: quae ad orandum uel legendum factae erant.

sellan, give, entrust:

Bede 480.26, 27: Sa wæs ic . . . seald to fedanne 7 to lærenne Sam . . . abbude Benedicte = 357.9: datus sum educandus . . . abbati Benedicto. sendan, send:

Bede 108.23: A. . . . to læranne Ongolŏeode sended wæs = 89.5: ad praedicandum genti Anglorum missus est.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

We find that in the poetry practically only the uninflected infinitive of purpose is used, that it is very frequent after verbs of motion, and is very rare after other verbs; that in the prose we have the uninflected infinitive of purpose after certain verbs (1) of motion and (2) of giving only, but that more frequently the inflected infinitive is found, in prose, with these two groups of verbs, while with a very large number of verbs only the inflected infinitive is found. Moreover, as will be shown in the section on the origin of the final infinitive, in Chapter XIV, the Latin original has much to do with whether or not the infinitive is inflected in Anglo-Saxon prose: in a number of instances the uninflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon translates a Latin final infinitive after verbs of motion and of giving; and the inflected infinitive, with verbs of all kinds, the Latin gerund or gerundive. Not a few times, however, the inflected infinitive is found, especially in the Gospels, translating a Latin final infinitive after verbs of motion, — a circumstance doubtless due in part to the fact that the inflected infinitive had by that time become a common instrument for the expression of purpose owing to the Early West Saxon's frequent translation of the Latin gerund and gerundive by an inflected infinitive and in part to the superior clarity 2 of the inflected infinitive as a means of expressing purpose. At any rate, purpose was normally expressed by the inflected infinitive in all Anglo-Saxon prose, early and late, except in the Gospels, in which the uninflected infinitive slightly predominates owing to the large number of final infinitives in the Latin original, and except in the Læceboc, in which the uninflected infinitive decidedly predominates owing to the very frequent use of the uninflected infinitive after sellan, 'give' (especially with drincan, 'drink,' and The probability that the few instances of the inflected infinitive etan, 'eat'). of purpose in Anglo-Saxon poetry are due to Latin influence is discussed in the section on the origin of the final infinitive, in Chapter XIV.

¹ Sporadically, also, with certain verbs (3) of rest and (4) of commanding; in (4) in direct translation of Latin final infinitives.

² On the ambiguity of the uninflected infinitive as the complement of the verb of motion see Chapter XIV, section x.

In a series of co-ordinated final infinitives, each infinitive is, as noted by Professor Shearin, l. c., p. 30, usually preceded by to, though occasionally to appears only before the first infinitive, and the succeeding infinitive is uninflected. A complete list of the final infinitive in a series is given in Note 1 at the end of the present chapter. In the four examples of the uninflected infinitive following the inflected there cited, I believe the absence of inflection is largely due to the remoteness of the infinitive from its chief verb, for, although the examples are too few to demonstrate this, this is in keeping with what we have seen to be the influence of proximity and of separation in the subjective use of the infinitive. Once, however, as shown by Dr. Shearin, l. c., p. 31, we have an alternation of uninflected with inflected infinitive that is probably due to a slavish following of the Latin original, in Luke 1.76-79, in which the Anglo-Saxon has twice an uninflected infinitive for the Latin infinitive, and twice the inflected infinitive for the Latin gerundive.

On p. 27 Dr. Shearin declares: "A separable adverbial prefix seems to have the effect of divorcing sellan from the following purpose idea enough to cause this to be expressed by the prepositional, not the simple, infinitive; e. g. ÆH. ii. 244.12: eft swa gelice gelæhte ænne calic . . . and sealde his gingrum of to suppenne æfter gereorde; L. S. ii. 142.264: sealde dam adligan of to supenne. The same effect is seen after the passive; e. g. Lch. i. 370.15: eft wede hundes heafod and his lifer gesoden and geseald to etanne . . . gehæled; as well as when the infinitive precedes sellan; e. g. 0. 108.28: and hit on mete code on drynce to gedicgenne gesellan." Personally, however, I believe the inflected infinitive is, in each of these cases, to be accounted for by the general principles laid down above rather than on the special grounds suggested by Dr. Shearin; at any rate, my statistics show that we have, also, the uninflected infinitive when the infinitive precedes sellan and when it follows it at an appreciable distance.

Substantially the same differentiation between the uninflected infinitive of purpose and the inflected infinitive of purpose is found in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

I have not found a clear example of the passive infinitive of purpose in Anglo-Saxon.

For the final infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section x.

NOTES.

1. The Final Infinitive in a Series. — Dr. Farrar, l. c., p. 16, cites only one example (Bede 250.20, 21) of an inflected final infinitive's being followed by an uninflected in a series, and Professor Shearin, l. c., p. 30, cites only three: Bede 250.20, 21, quoted on p. 139 above; L. 1.72^{a, b}, on p. 143; and L. 9.2^{a, b}, on p. 139. To these examples, however, should be added Bede 376.6^{a, b}, quoted on p. 137, and Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 917^{a, b}, quoted on p. 138. On the other hand, twice (in L. 1.76, 77, 79^{a, b}, quoted on p. 138) we have an uninflected infinitive succeeded by an inflected infinitive, owing no doubt to the influence of the Latin original, as suggested by Professor Shearin, l. c., p. 31, though Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 2, is inclined to believe that the uninflected infinitive is here used, not because of the Latin infinitive, but because it follows a verb of motion in Anglo-Saxon. In the following passages we have a series of inflected infinitives: Bede 2.3^{a, b}, 4^{a, b}; 50.11^{a, b}; 66.5^{a, b}; 116.32^{a, b, c}; 124.30, 31; 172.17^{a, b}; 272.25^{a, b}; 372.11^{a, b}; 438.14, 15; 454.9^{a, b}; 480.29, 30; 486.8^{a, b}; — Boeth. 19.22,

¹ Dr. Kenyon demurs: see Note 1 below.

² Wede should read wede: see Cockayne, l. c., I, 370.15. — M. C., Jr.

23; — Greg. 307.17^{a, b}; 373.8, 9; — Oros. 188.10, 11; — Wærf. 111.3^b, 4^a; 218.4^{a, b}; — Chron. 253^t, 1123 E^{d, c}; 256^b, 1127 E^{c, d}; — Laws 38, c. 36^{a, b}; 42, c. 49^{b, c, d}; 366, c. 79^{a, b}; — Ælf. Hom. I. 320^t, ²; 582^t, ²; II. 444^t, ²; — Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 28.20^{a, b}; — Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 418, 419; — Ælf. Int. 155^{a, b}; — Mat. 20.19^{a, b, c}; — Wulf. 295.32^{a, b}; — Poems: Christ 1621^{a, b}, 1622. With this list should be compared that given by Dr. Shearin, l. c., pp. 30-31. The differences are slight, and arise from the fact that he gives statistics for one work, Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, to which I have not had access; that he includes a few inflected infinitives that modify a noun (Bede 62.8^{a, b}, 9; Ælf. Hom. II. 360^b 1, 2, 3, 4; Wulf. 202.1^{a, b}), one that seems to me consecutive (*Bede* 330.18^{a, b}, 19), and one that seems to me objective (Greg. 293.3^{a, b}). Dr. Farrar does not give a list of this series; nor does Dr. Riggert.

2. A Clause Alternates with an Infinitive occasionally, as in Ælf. L. S. XXX. 49a, b, quoted on p. 136; J. 12.47, quoted on p. 137; and L. 1.17, quoted on p. 138. Dr. Farrar, l. c., pp. 28 and 33, cites only the example from John. In the two examples from the Gospels we

have the same alternation of clause and of infinitive in the Latin original.

3. An Inflected Infinitive Alternates with a Prepositional Phrase at times, as in Bede 162.7, quoted on p. 139; Oros. 138.8, quoted on p. 140; Ælf. Hom. II. 340^m: Ne lufode he woruldlice whta for his neode ana, ac to dælenne eallum wædliendum; — ib. 430b: des sunderhalga ... hæfde opene eagan to forhæfednysse, to ælmes-dædum, to 3ancigenne Gode.

4. "For To" with the Inflected Infinitive of Purpose is found in Chron. 256b, 1127 Ec. d: se kyng hit dide for to hauene sibbe of se eorl Angeow, for helpe to hauene togænes his neue. Cf. the New English Dictionary, sub v. for IV, 11, where the earliest example given of this

idiom is dated 1175 (Cotton Homilies).

5. An Inflected Infinitive without "To" is found in Ælf. L. S. 222.39: Sa petrus sidode

neosigenne [MSS. U. and B.: neosigende] da geleaffullan.

6. The Uninflected Infinitive after "Beran," "Hladan," and "Sellan." — Dr. Wülfing,2 l. c., II, pp. 178 and 181, seems to consider as objective the uninflected infinitive after beran, hladan, and sellan, but the Latin equivalents in most cases show, I think, that the infinitive is final, as in the Latin da bibere etc. Occasionally in Anglo-Saxon, drincan (after sellan) may be a noun instead of an infinitive, as it at times corresponds to the Latin noun, potum, instead of to the infinitive, bibere, as in Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 2.19 (hlod wæter mid us and sealde δ am sceapum drincan = hausit aquam nobiscum potumque dedit ovibus). The infinitive after these verbs is considered final by Dr. Shearin, l. c., pp. 13-15.

7. A Final Infinitive as Modifier of a Verb to Be Supplied. — Occasionally a final infinitive modifies an infinitive that is to be supplied as the complement of an auxiliary verb, as in Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 22.4 (Da on Sone Sriddan dæg, Sa hig Sa dune gesawon, Sær Sær hig to sceoldon to ofsleanne Isaac = vidit locum procul) and in A. S. Hom. & L. S. II, 15.218 (Ge-

swic ou earning, ne miht ou to nahte minne mægohad me to beswicenne).

8. The Uninflected Infinitive as a Translation of the Latin Supine in "-um." — Ælfric, in his Grammar, p. 134, gives several examples of an uninflected infinitive translating a Latin supine, after a verb of motion in each language, and seems to say that the infinitive denotes futurity, but in each example the infinitive, while future in sense, also denotes purpose, I think. The examples are: vis amatum ire? = wylt ou faran lufian? uenatum pergo = ic fare huntian; uis doctum ire? = wylt ou gan leornian? lectum pergit = he gæo rædan; bibitum pergo = ic gange drincan.

9. Final or Predicative Infinitive? — Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 137, considers the two infinitives (been and faran) after todaldon, in Oros. 46.15, 16, as final. To me, however, they seem predicative, and the infinitive phrase seems absolute: see Chapter VIII, p. 118, and section D

of Chapter XII, p. 169.

10. Infinitive or Indicative? — In Ex. 166 (Wulfas sungon atol & fenleo & etes on wenan, carleasan deor, cwyldrof beodan on lagra last leodmægnes ful), as Grein, in his Sprachschatz, sub v. beodan, states, we may have the infinitive of $b\bar{e}odan$, 'announce,' or the preterite plural of $b\bar{\imath}dan$, 'await.' Professor J. W. Bright kindly writes me that the presumption is certainly against the infinitive, and that he would read fyl for ful. Accordingly, I have omitted $b\bar{e}odan$ from my statistics.

11. "The Split Infinitive." — In the second infinitive quoted in Note 4 above, we seem to have the earliest instance of splitting the infinitive in the English language, though it is of the compound prepositional infinitive introduced by for to, not of the simple prepositional infinitive introduced by to, to which latter idiom the phrase, "the split infinitive," is usually applied. Of the latter idiom, the earliest instance cited by F. Hall is from Wycliffe: see his "On the Separation, by a Word or Words, of To and the Infinitive Mood," as cited in my bibliography.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.1

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Usually the active infinitive that modifies an Adjective is inflected, but occasionally it is uninflected. There are 241 examples of the former to 6 examples of the latter. Of the inflected infinitive, 217 examples occur in the prose, rather widely distributed, in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, and 24 examples in the poetry. Of the six uninflected infinitives, four are found in the prose and two in the poetry. Although Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 71, declares that "Ein reiner Infinitiv in Verbindung mit einem Adjektiv ist in der ae. Poesie nicht zu belegen," he practically withdraws this statement in his comment on Guthlac, 1. 1050. In discussing the simple infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion, he adds, l. c., p. 44: "Anzuführen ist hier endlich Gu. 1050, wo ic eom sides fus als Ausdruck der Eile aufzufassen ist und demgemäss mit dem reinen Infinitiv steht; Gú. 1050: ic eom sides fus upeard niman edleanan georn in dam ecan gefean, ærgewyrhtum geseon sigora frean."

To me the active infinitive with adjectives seems almost, if not quite, exclusively active in sense. Dr. Farrar, however, l. c., pp. 16 and 19, contends that the infinitive is passive in the following: Bede 174.22: wundro, . . . &a The nu to long to seegenne syndon = 143.30: sed have not ad alia tendentes, suis narrare permittimus; Greg. 173.11: Ne brede ge no da stengeas of dem hringum, Sylæs sio earc sie ungearo to beranne = 126.28: Ut ad portandam arcam nulla mora præpeditat. Undoubtedly each of these infinitives may be translated as if passive, but I see no necessity therefor in either sentence. The Latin in the second sentence seems to me distinctly to suggest that to became is to be taken as active, not passive, in sense; and with the former sentence should be compared Greg. 239.10 (nawuht nis iedre to gesecgenne, ne eac to [ge]hefanne donne $so\delta = 180.21$: Nil autem est ad defendendum puritate tutius, nil ad dicendum veritate facilius), in which ad dicendum likewise suggests the active sense for to (ge) seegenne. More doubtful than the two cases cited by Dr. Farrar, in my judgment, are the following: — Oros. 80.11, 12^{a, b}: Swa deah seo . . . menegeo væs folces wæs va ieðre to oferwinnanne vonne heo us sie nu to gerimanne ovve to geliefanne = 81.7, 8: Huic tam incredibili temporibus nostris agmini, cujus numerum nunc difficilius est adstrui, quam tunc fuit vinci; Greg. 459.9a, b: sio hea lar is betere manegum monnum to helanne, & feawum to secgganne = 392.7, 8: Alta enim quæque debent multis audientibus contegi, et vix paucis aperiri. However, despite the presence of the Latin passive infinitives in these sentences, I see no necessity for considering the corresponding infinitives in Anglo-Saxon as passive; it seems to me that the utmost that we can say is this: the infinitives may be passive in sense, but are probably not.

The general contention of the preceding paragraph is supported, it seems to me, by what we know of the infinitive with adjectives in Greek. In his

Syntax of Classical Greek, I, § 143, "Infinitive Active Apparently as Passive," Professor Gildersleeve tells us: "The infinitive being a verbal noun is not so strictly bound by the voices as the finite form. The infinitive as a complement to adjectives and the so-called epexegetic infinitive often coincide with the English idiom in which 'good to eat' is 'good for food,' 'fair to see' is 'fair to the sight,' and in Greek the active form is more common and, if anything, more natural than the passive. Καλὸς ἰδεῖν, 'fair to see;' καλεπὰ εὐρεῖν, Plato, Rpb. 412 B, 'hard to find;' but καλεποὶ . . . γνώσθηναι, Antiphon, 2 a I, 'hard to recognize.'"

As stated in Chapter I, some of the infinitives there classed as subjective may possibly belong here; and this difficulty, if not impossibility, of precise demarcation accounts for the chief divergences of my statistics from those of my predecessors. The differences occur chiefly in pronominal clauses of the sort discussed in Chapter I, pp. 9 ff. Aside from this, Dr. Wülfing puts here Bede 468.30 = 643.7 (Sende him cræftige wyrhtan stænene cyricean to timbrianne = 333.12: misit architectos), which I consider final; and Bede 202.28 = 543.27, which he inightly puts here, has no infinitive in the text used by me. Once more: as stated below, in the discussion of the inflected infinitive with adjectives, I have put a few infinitives with adjectives in the chapter on "Other Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive," in the section treating of the consecutive use.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

Of the six examples of the uninflected infinitive modifying an adjective, three occur with gearu(-o), 'ready,' 'prepared for;' two with fus, 'ready,' 'prepared;' and one with $wier \delta e$ (-u-, -y-), 'worthy.' I give the examples in full:—

fus, ready, prepared:

Gu. 1051, 1053: ic eom sides fus upeard niman edleanan georn in dam ecan gefean, ærgewyrhtum geseon sigora frean, min dæt swæse bearn! [See Dr. Riggert's comment on this passage, above, p. 149.]

gearu, ready:

Bede 56.21: forson he gearo wære in sam ylcan gewinne mid him beon = 43.21: quia laborare scilicet uolo.

Ælf. Hom. I. 534^{b 3}: ic eom gearo to gecyrrenne to munuclicere drohtnunge,

<sup>On this topic see, too, Einenkel, l. c., pp. 243-244.
Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 199. The number after the equal sign is that of the text used by Wülfing, namely, Smith's.
Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 203.</sup>

and woruldlice deawas ealle forlætan (sic!). — Ib. II. 130^t 2: gearowe wæron ehtnysse to doligenne, and deade sweltan.

wierde, worthy:

Ælf. L. S. 138.353^b: biddende mid wope væt hi wurde wæron for criste to vorwiganne and becuman (sic!) to his halgum.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

The inflected infinitive occurs with numerous adjectives to specify the tendency, the purpose, or the activity appropriate to the quality denoted by the adjective, about as does the Latin phrase made up of ad + a gerund (or ad + a gerundive), or the Latin gerund in the genitive or the dative or the ablative, or the supine in -u-, — idioms to which the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive often corresponds in the translations. The Infinitive of Specification occurs with the following groups 1 of adjectives (and adverbs):—

1. Adjectives Denoting Readiness, Capacity, Inclination, and the like, with their opposites, the chief representatives of which are gearu, 'ready,' and its negative, ungearu:—

æmetig, at leisure, free. bealdra, bolder. behydigest, most solicitous. freora, freer. from, energetic. fus, ready. gearu, ready. gedyrstig, audacious. gemyndig, mindful. geornfull [giorn-], eager, desirous. geornost, most eager. geris(e)ne, suitable, apt. geoancol, thoughtful. gifre, eager. hal, whole, able (?). hræd, quick.

hræð: see hræd. læt, slow. latheort, slow of heart. listhendig, skillful. lustbære, desirous. lustfull, desirous. lustlic, desirous. mi(e)htig, mighty, powerful. open, open. scearp, sharp, eager. strang [-o-], strong, powerful. strengra, stronger. swift, swift. trum, firm, strong. Surhwæccendlic, very vigilant. ungearu[-o], unready.

2. Adjectives Denoting Ease and Difficulty and the like, of which the chief representatives are *ie&e*, 'easy,' its negative, *unie&e*, and *earfo&(e)*, 'difficult:'—

deop, deep, profound.
earfoŏ(e), difficult.
earfoŏlic, most difficult.
earfoŏlic, difficult.
hefig, difficult.
ieŏe [y-, e-, ea-], easy.
ieŏelic, easy.

ieðre, easier.
lang [-o-], long, tedious.
langsum [-o-], long, tedious.
leoht, light, easy.
leohtest, lightest, easiest.
lytel, little, insignificant.
unieðe [-ea-, -e-], not easy, difficult.

3. Adjectives Denoting Goodness, Usefulness, Necessity, and the like, of which the chief representatives are god, 'good;' sel, 'excellent;' wierðe, 'worthy,' and its compounds; nyt, 'useful,' with its compounds; and niedðearf, 'necessary,' with its compounds:—

æðele, excellent, valuable.

betere, better. betst, best. frymful, beneficial.
god, good.

mære, glorious, famous.

¹ The groups are substantially those given by Dr. Wülfing, ² l. c., II, pp. 197-206. A few adjectives appear in more than one group.

niedbedearfest [-ea-, -e-], most necessary.
nieddearf [-ea-, -e-], necessary.
nieddearflic, necessary.
nyt(t)wierde [-y-], useful.
nyt(t)wierdlic [-y-], useful.
rædlicost, most advisable.

selost [-a-, -e-], most excellent.
selra, more excellent.
til, excellent.
wierŏe [-u-, -y-], worthy.
wierŏelic, worthy.
wierŏost, most worthy.

4. Adjectives Denoting Pleasantness and Unpleasantness and the like, of which the chief representatives are *leof*, 'dear,' with its compounds; and wynsum, 'winsome,' with its compounds:—

andrysnlic [on-], terrible. arwurðlic, venerable. bitterre, more bitter. eatolice, terribly. egeful, terrible. egeslic, terrible. fæger, fair, beautiful. gecweme, agreeable. gesom, agreed, friendly. glæd, bright, clear. glæshlut(t)or, clear as glass. grimlic, terrible. grimre, more terrible. halwende, beneficial. leof, dear, desirable. leofra, dearer, etc. leofost, dearest, etc. licwierde [-u-], pleasing, acceptable. live, pleasant. lustbære, pleasant, fruitful (also in 1). lustbærre, more pleasant. lustfullic, pleasant. lustlicre, more pleasant. lustsumlic, pleasant. myrige, pleasant. onderslic, terrible. reow [reoh], rough, fierce. scir, white. swete, sweet. dearlic, painful. unwerodre, more unsweet. unwynsum [-i-], unwinsome. wered [-od], sweet. wynsum [-i-], winsome, pleasant. wynsumre [-i-], more winsome, etc.

5. Adjectives Denoting Right and Wrong, Suitability and Unsuitability, the Customary and the Strange, and the like, of which the chief representatives are rihtlic, 'right;' gecoplic, 'suitable;' getriewe, 'true;' gewuna, 'accustomed;' soʻʻlic, 'true;' unrihtlic, 'wrong;' wundorlic, 'wonderful:'—

deaflic, suitable.
diegol [diegle], mysterious.
gecoplic, fit, suitable.
gehendast, most convenient.
gehyŏ, convenient.
getriewe [-e-], true, safe, able.
gewuna, accustomed.
lang [-o-], long (also in 2).
langsum [-o-], long (also in 2).
manigfeald [-o-], manifold.
manigfealdlicor, more manifoldly.

micel [-y-], great, wonderful.
rihtlic, just, proper.
soðlic, true.
unaberendlicre, more intolerable.
ungeliefedlic, incredible.
ungewunelic, unusual.
unrihtlic, wrong, improper.
unscende, honorable.
wrætlic, rare, wonderful.
wundorlic, wonderful.

6. Other Adjectives:—

ana, alone.
feald [god and —], suitable (?).
feorr, far.

læne, fleeting, deceptive. toweard, toward, coming.

Typical examples are: —

1. Adjectives Denoting Readiness, Capacity, Inclination, etc.:—fus, ready:

Beow. 1805: wæron æðelingas eft to leodum fuse to farenne. gearu [-o], ready:

And. 73: quoted on p. 150.

Bede 60.29: quoted on p. 150. — Ib. 98.4: Set he selfa geara were . . . Set we core to fremmenne = 80.27: ipsum paratum esse in hoc opus . . . perficendum.

Boeth. 107.32: Su eart gearo to ongitanne = 93.69: quoniam te ad intelle-

gendum promptissimum esse conspicio.

Greg. 45.9: Sceawiað iowre fet, ðæt ge sien gearwe to ganganne on sibbe weg = 22.28: Calceati pedes in præparatione Evangelii pacis. — Ib. 173.5: ðonne hi suiðe hrædlice bioð gearwe to læranne = 126.24: protinus docent. — Ib. 173.8^{1, 2}: Bioð simle gearwe to læranne & to forgiefanne ælcum etc. = 126.26: Parati semper ad satisfactionem omni poscenti vos rationem etc. — Ib. 203.12: ðonne beoð ða heortan suiðe gearwe wisdomes to anfonne = 152.10: quasi ad suscipiendum ædificium corda paraverunt. — Ib. 423.28: forðæmðe he næfð gearone willan ðæt woh to fulfremmanne = 346.21: nec bonos mala inconsummata condemnant.

Solil. 11.11: Se ic eom gearu to Seowianne = tibi soli servire paratus sum.

Pr. Ps. 7.13: he bende his bogan, se is nu gearo to sceotanne = arcum suum tetendit, et paravit illum.

Chron. 139b, 1009 Ec: eall folc gearu was been on to fonne.

Laws 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 1: Nu hæbbe ic funden mid dæm witum . . . dæt da ealle beon gearwe . . . mid eallum dingum to farenne dider ic wille.

Wærf. 80.27: we syndon gearwe δ æt to done [sic! but MS. H.: to donne] = $205 \,\mathrm{C}^2$: facere parati sumus.

Ælf. Hom. I. 406^b: gif hwa . . . wolde his lac Gode offrian, öæt he on gehendnysse to bicgenne gearu hæfde.

Ælf. L. S. XXXVII. 110: ic . . . gearo eom witu to Frowienne.

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 15.40: We syndon gearwe nu to gewinnanne öæt land = Parati sumus ascendere ad locum.

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 15.104: ic eom geara . . . on drihten to gelefanne = 210.90: ego illum adoro.

L. 22.33: ic eom gearu to farenne mid $\delta e = \text{tecum } paratus \ sum \ . \ . \ ire.$ gemyndig, mindful:

Pr. Ps. 9.12: he is swyde gemyndig heora blod to wrecanne = 9.13: requirens sanguinem eorum recordatus est.

geornfull [giorn-], eager, desirous:

Boeth. 51.9: Sæt Su swide geornfull wære hit to gehyranne = 50.14: te audiendi cupidum.

Greg. 281.5^b: Sie æghwelc mon suiðe hræd & suiðe geornful to gehieranne, & suiðe læt to sprecanne = 212.9^a: Sit omnis homo velox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquendum.

geris(e)ne, suitable, apt:

Bede 274.7: Sa gemette he sume gerisne stowe in H. mynster on to timbrienne = 213.24: inuenit locum in H. . . . aptum monasterio construendo.

gifre, eager:

Boeth. 50.24^{a, b}: ic heora eom swide gifre ægder ge to geheranne ge eac to gehealdenne = 50.8: audiendi auidus (or are the infinitives appositive?).

læt, slow, tardy:

Greg. 281.6: see under geornful.

-listhendig, skillful:

Gifts of Men 96: Sum bið listhendig to awritanne wordgeryno.

lustbære, desirous:

Boeth. 50.10: ic . . . wæs . . . swide lustbære hine to geheranne = 50.1: me audiendi auidum.

Ælf. L. S. 96.117: wæron lustbære . . . wita to Frowienne.

mi(e)htig, mighty, powerful:

Greg. 91.15^{a, b}: se lareow sceolde beon miehtig to tyhtanne on halwende lare, & eac to Freanne & & him [wib]stondan wiellen = 62.3, 4: Ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere.

durhwæccendlic, very vigilant:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 44: mid *Jurhwæccendlican* mode forð heonon to under [fonne] da toweardan mede.

ungearu [-o], unready:

Greg. 173.11: quoted on p. 149.

2. Adjectives Denoting Ease and Difficulty, etc.: —

earfo δ (e) [-e δ (e)], difficult:

Boeth. $81.3^{a. b}$: Swa swa nu eorde . . . 7 wæter sint swide earfode to geseonne odde to ongitonne dysgum monnum = 0. — Ib. 92.24: da stanas . . . biod earfode to tedælenne (sic!) = 79.77: ne facile dissoluantur.

Chron. 218^m, 1086 E^a: unriht . . . , de sindon earfede to areccenne.

Ælf. Hom. II. 542b: Ælc ehtnys bið earfoðe to dolienne.

iede [ede], easy:

Beow. 2416: quoted on p. 150.

Boeth. 16.13b: ding da de nawder ne sint getrewe to habbanne, ne eac iede to forlætanne = 25.38: quam non relicturam nemo umquam poterit esset securus. An uero tu pretiosam aestimas abituram felicitatem? — Ib. 92.27: hi biod swide ede to tedælenne (sic!) = 79.79: facile quidem dividentibus cedunt.

iedelic, easy:

Greg. 419.10: Da cyöde se witga hu ieöelic bið to forgiefenne sio geöohte synn = 340.22: quam sit super hæc facilis venia ostendit.

iedre, easier:

Greg. 239.10, 11: nawuht nis ieðre to [ge]secganne ne eac to [ge]hefanne $\delta onne$ so $\delta = 180.21$: Nil autem est ad defendendum puritate tutius, nil ad dicendum veritate facilius.

langsum ² [-o-], long, tedious:

Ælf. Hom. II. 170^{b 1, 2}: Sing . . ., Se us sind langsume to gereccenne, and eow to gehyrenne.

leoht, light, easy:

Greg. 23.13: dylæs hi hwæm leohte dyncen to underfonne = 2.3: quæ ne quibusdam levia esse videantur.

uniede [uneade], not easy, difficult:

Greg. 385.10, 11: Du gionga, bio de unide to clipianne & to læranne = 300.16: Adolescens loquere in causa tua vix. — Ib. 409.20: sæde dæt he uniede wære to gehealdenne = 330.1: et dum prædicit quia difficile capitur.

Bl. Hom. 59.15: se deada by unea e ælcon men on neaweste to hæbbenne. [Cf. Einenkel, l. c., p. 244.]

¹ Also under 4.

² See also under 5.

3. Adjectives Denoting Goodness, Usefulness, Necessity, etc.: — betere, better:

Greg. 457.7: Dætte hwilum da leohtan scylda biod beteran to forlætenne = 388.21: Quod aliquando leviora vitia relinquenda sunt.

betst, best:

Læce. 44.29: wyrta onne sien betste to wyrcenne.

god, good:

Bened. 127.7^a: cræftas, de synd gode to beganne = 194.13: ut . . . artes diversæ . . . exerceantur.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 3.6: Sæt treow wæs god to etanne = bonum esset lignum ad vescendum.

Læce. 34.10: fifleafe awrungenu 7 wið win gemenged god bið to drincanne. niedbeðearfost, most necessary:

Greg. 7.7: bec, da de niedbedearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne = 0. nieddearflic [ned-], necessary:

Bl. Hom. 225.26: gif ic nugit sie dinum folce neddearflic on worlde to hæbbenne.

nyt(t)wierde [-y-], useful:

Greg. 275.14, 15: ac Jonne he nytwyrdne timan ongiet to sprecame, he forsih da swigean, & spricd eall det he nytwyrdes ongiet to sprecame = 208.8: ut nimirum cum opportunum considerat, postposita censura silentii, loquendo que congruunt, in usum se utilitatis impendat. — Ib. 255.12: se gæsdlica Fæder he us lærd nytwyrdlicu ding to underfonne, det is det we ge(e)arnigen det ece lif = 192.23: Et illi quidem in tempore paucorum dierum secundum voluntatem suam erudiebant nos; hic autem ad id quod utile est in recipiendo sanctificationem ejus.

selra, more excellent:

Beow. 1851: Wen ic talige . . . The the Sæ-Geatas selran næbben to geceosenne cyning ænigne, hordweard hæleda.

S. & S. 406: Swilc bið seo an snæd æghwylcum men selre micle, gif heo gesegnod bið, to ðycgganne.

wierde [-u-, -y-], worthy:

Gen. 622: ne wite ic him da womcwidas, deah he his wyrde ne sie to alætanne dæs fela he me lades spræc.

Ælf. L. S. 138.353^a: biddende mid wope væt hi wurde wæron for criste to rowigenne and becuman (sic!) to his halgum.

Mat. 3.11: Sæs gescy neom ic wyrSe to berenne = cujus non sum dignus calceamenta portare.

wierdelic [-y-], worthy:

Wærf. 230.16: bebodu, de wyrdelice wæron to gehyranne = 281 B: ei per quos potuit quæ fuerat dignus audire mandavit.

wieroost [-y-], most worthy:

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 637: he wurdost was after him to drincenne.

4. Adjectives Denoting Pleasantness and Unpleasantness, etc.:—andrysnlic, terrible:

Bl. Hom. 33.5: Donne dincd dis geleaffullum monnum swide andrysnlicu wise to gehyrenne.

fæger, fair, beautiful:

Oros. 74.13: Seo burg . . . wæs swiðe fæger an to locianne = 75.11: natura loci laetissima.

Bl. Hom. 113.22: der du er gesawe . . . fægre leomu on to seonne. glad, bright, clear:

Boeth. 14.14: Seah heo [= sæ] ær gladu wære on to locienne = 23.12: 0. grimlic, terrible:

Chr. 919b: he bið ðam yflum egeslic and grimlic to geseonne.

leof, dear, desirable:

Bede 450.3^{a, b}: Wæs he . . . ealre his deode leof heora rice to habbanne 7 to healdenne = 322.8, 9: genti ad tenenda seruandaque regni sceptra exoptatissimus.

leofost, dearest, most desirable:

Bl. Hom. 55.18: da word de he wend dæt him leofoste syn to gehyrenne. — Ib. 111.26^{a, b}: eall forlæted dæt him . . . wynsumlic wæs, & leofost to agenne & to hæbbenne.

leofra, dearer, more desirable:

Oros. 286.8^{a, b}: him leofre wæs se cristendom to beganne onne his scira to habbanne = 287.8: omnes officium quam fidem deserere maluerunt.

Bl. Hom. 195.8: him wæron ær his æhta leofran to hæbbenne onne Godes lufu. [Cf. Einenkel, l. c., p. 244.]

lustbære,¹ pleasant, fruitful:

Ælf. Hom. I. 130^m: Das word sind lustbære to gehyrenne.

lustlicre, more pleasant:

Bened. 3.3: Hwæt is lustlicre to gehyrenne Sonne Seos . . . stefn? = 6.7: Quid dulcius nobis hac voce?

onderslic, terrible:

Bede 144.18^b: wære æghwæðer ge arwyrðlic ge onderslic on to seonne = 117.29^b: uenerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu.

swete, sweet:

Boeth. 51.5: he [= se læcecraft] . . . swide swete to bealcetenne = 0.

Bl. Hom. 59.10: geogo'o's lustas . . . o'a o'e . . . him swete wæron to aræfnenne. [Cf. Einenkel, l. c., p. 244.]

unwynsum, unwinsome:

Ælf. Hom. I. 184^t: swa ðæt heo foroft bið swiðe unwynsum on to eardigenne.

werod [-ed], sweet:

Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 15.25^b: het don ðæt treow on ðæt wæter, and hit wearð siððan wered to drincanne = lignum, quod cum misisset in aquas, in dulcedinem versæ sunt.

wynsum [-i-], winsome:

Met. 21.19: væt is wynsum stow æfter vissum yrmvum to aganne.

Bede 346.4: his song 7 his leoð wæron swa wynsumu to gehyranne, ðætte . . . his lareowas æt his muðe wreoton 7 leornodon = 260.32: suauiusque resonando doctores suos uicissim auditores sui faciebant.

Solil. 51.11: deoplicu is see ascung and winsumu to witanne = 0.

Ælf. L. S. XXX. 315: Wæs seo wunung öær . . . wynsum on to wicenne. wynsumre [-i-], more winsome:

Boeth. 52.8: Swa bið eac micle de winsumre sio sode gesæld to habbenne efter dam eormdum disses . . . lifes = 0.

5. Adjectives Denoting Right and Wrong, Suitability and Unsuitability, the Customary and the Strange, etc.:—

getriewe [-trewe], true, safe:

Boeth. 16.13^a: ding da de nawder ne sint getrewe to habbanne, ne eac iede to forlætanne = 25.36: quam non relicturam nemo umquam poterit esset securus. An uero tu pretiosam aestimas abituram felicitatem?

gewuna, accustomed:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 614: ne oferfar ou na iordanen swa swa gewuna synt of eowrum mynstrum to farenne.

rihtlic, just, proper:

Wærf. 345.14: δ ing . . ., δ e heom symle gelyfde wæron genoh rihtlice to habbanne = 421 A¹: cæperunt singuli extrema quæque et vilia, et quæ eis habere regulariter semper licuerat (or does the infinitive modify gelyfde?).

soblic, true:

Ælf. L. S. 182.226: scyppend sodlic to wurdigenne.

ungewunelic, unusual:

Wærf. 17.28: ongan ðencan, ðæt ðyllic wundor wære mannum ungewunelic to wyrcanne = 160 B²: At ille inusitatum habens tale miraculum, expavit petitionis illius juramentum.

unrihtlic, wrong, improper:

Wxf. 209.23°: Seah Se heo [= spræc] si us unwyrSelice (sic!) 7 unrihtlic to sprecane (sic!) = 256 C¹: locutionem quæ nobis indigna est etiam delectabiliter tenemus.

wrætlic, rare, wonderful:

Rid. 40.25: Set [is] wrætlic Sing to gesecganne.

wundorlic, wonderful:

Wulf. 15.14: see menniscnes is wundorlic ymbe to smeagenne.

6. Other Adjectives: —

ana, alone:

Ælf. L. S. 182.225: Eala ou ælmihtiga god ana to gebiddene (sic!).

feald [god and —], suitable (?):

Læce. 87.15, 16: se petraoleum . . . is god and feald to drincanne wið innan tiedernesse 7 utan to smerwanne on wintres dæge.

feorr, far:

And. 424: Mycel is nu gena lad ofer lagustream, land swide feorr to secanne. [Cf. Beow. 1922 in Ch. I, p. 13.]

læne, fleeting, deceptive:

Wulf. 189.4: gecnawan hu læne . . . Sis lif is on to getruwianne.

toweard, toward, coming:

Bede 270. 2: hwonne he . . . toweard sy in . . . wolcnum . . . to demanne cwice and deade = 211.7: uenturus est . . . ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos.

Bl. Hom. 81.35, 36: we eac witon δx he is toweard to demenne, & δx world to geendenne.

¹ See Chapter VII, p. 105.

Ælf. Hom. I. 190b: Godes Sunu, se de wæs toweard to alysenne ealne middangeard fram deofles anwealde.

Chad. 188: Sonne he bis toweard to demenne cwice 7 deade.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

Although twice in the poetry an uninflected infinitive is found with an adjective, we may be reasonably sure that, in the poetry as in the prose, the infinitive with adjectives normally was inflected: of the 26 examples of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon poetry, only two are uninflected; of the 221 examples in the prose, only four are uninflected. The lack of inflection in both poetry and prose appears to be due chiefly to the remoteness of the infinitive from the adjective that it modifies, since in each 1 of the examples the infinitive is appreciably separated from its adjective. As, however, in three of the examples (Ælf. Hom. I. 534b3, II. 130t2; Ælf. L. S. 138.353b) the uninflected infinitive is the second of a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, some may prefer to consider that the force of to is carried over to the second infinitive, or, to state the matter another way, that the presence of to with the first infinitive accounts for its absence with the second infinitive. What seems to me to militate against this latter view and to favor the former, is the fact that in Bede 56.21, where we have only a single infinitive and that separated from its adjective by a number of words, the infinitive is uninflected; and the further fact that in sixteen series we have only the inflected infinitive, while in only three series have we an uninflected infinitive following an inflected. Moreover, we have seen that in some other uses remoteness from a word normally requiring an inflected infinitive, tends to cause the infinitive to lose its inflection.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Of an adjective modified by an infinitive that is passive in form I have found only one example, in Ælf. Hom. II. 316^b ²: we be næron wurde beon his wealas gecigde.

For the infinitive with adjectives (and adverbs) in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xi.

NOTES.

1. The Infinitive in a Series with Adjectives. — In the following passages, of which only the last is cited by Dr. Farrar,² we have a series of infinitives with adjectives in which the first infinitive is inflected, but the succeeding is not: $\mathcal{E}lf$. Hom. I. 534^{b} ² ³, quoted on p. 150; II. 130^{t} ¹ ², quoted on p. 151; $\mathcal{E}lf$. L. S. $138.353^{a,b}$, quoted on p. 151. In the following passages we have a series of infinitives in which each infinitive is inflected: Bede 410.4^{b} , 5^{b} ; $450.3^{a,b}$; — Boeth. $50.24^{a,b}$, $81.3^{a,b}$; — Greg. $91.15^{a,b}$; $173.8^{a,b}$; 239.10, 11; 385.10, 11; $459.9^{a,b}$; — Oros. 80.11, $12^{a,b}$; $286.8^{a,b}$; — Wærf. 27.8, 9; — Bl. Hom. 81.35, 36; $111.26^{a,b}$; — $\mathcal{E}lf$. Hom. II. 170^{b} ¹ ²; — $\mathcal{E}lf$. L. S. XXV. $113^{a,b}$; — Læce. 87.15, 16.

2. An Infinitive with an Adjective That Is to Be Supplied. — We have an inflected infinitive dependent upon an adjective that is to be supplied from the context in the following: Oros. 120.9: Sonne sceoldon ge swa lustlice eowre agnu brocu aræfnan, Seh hie læssan sien, swa ge heora sint to gehieranne [= (as Dr. Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 199, states) swa ge lustlice sint heora to gehieranne.

² L. c., pp. 25 and 34.

¹ Except in Gu. 1051, in which only one word intervenes: see pp. 149 and 150.

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3. An Inflected Infinitive Alternates with a Prepositional Phrase in Ælf. Hom. II. 322^m: Wa dan de strang bid to swidlicum drencum and to gemencgenne da micclan druncennysse.

4. Confusion of Adjective with Adverb. — Occasionally confusion seems to arise between an adjective and an adverb, as in the following: Bede 240.21: Da wæs geworden ymb syx hund wintra 7 feower 7 syxtig æfter Drihtnes menniscnesse eclipsis solis, öæt is sunnan asprungennis, öæt heo sciman ne hæfde: 7 wæs eatolice on to seonne = 191.29: facta erat eclipsis solis; — Wærf. 49.8: ŏohte . . . öæt seo ylce stow mihte beon gecoplice wyrta on to settanne = 184 A: cogitaret, quod saltem ad condimenta olerum nutrienda locus idem aptus potuisset existere; — Alex. 66: ŏy læs öæt eow seo sægen monigfealdlicor bi ŏon öuhte to writanne.

5. The Infinitive with Adverbs. — In the following passages, all quoted in the preceding note, we have an inflected infinitive modifying an adverb, not an adjective: Bede 240.21: eatolice; Wærf. 49.8: gecoplice; Alex. 66: monigfealdlicor. Dr. Shearin, l. c., p. 26, would put here the following, the only examples given by him of the infinitive with adverbs: "In two instances the infinitive depends upon an adverb in the main clause and the purpose idea fades into one of mere reference, e. g. Æ. H. ii. 78.14 [= my Ælf. Hom. II. 78.14]: ge habbað hwonlice to swincenne = 'little time to labor;' Int. Sig. 285 [= my Ælf. Int. 285]: Hwæt is, that God gelogode Cherubim and fyren swurd and awendedlic to gehealdenne (= Quid est: Cherubin vel flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendum viam ligni vitæ posuit)." To me, however, to swincenne seems rather the object of habbad (see p. 43 above, in Chapter II); and to gehealdenne, the adverbial (final) modifier of gelogode. Dr. Kühn, l. c., p. 36, considers that the infinitive depends on an adverb in the following passages in Ælf. L. S.: — 126.150: gearcodon heora mod to dam martyrdome caffice to campienne for cristes geleafan: 182.226: Eala du ælmihtiga god, ana to gebiddenne, ondrædendlic scyppend, sodlic to wurdigenne; 274.186: Hi wurdon da beswungene and swydlice getintregode, swa swa da wæs gewunelic to witnigenne forligr. But to me it seems that, in the first example, the adverb modifies the infinitive, which latter is final; that, in the other two examples, we have, not adverbs, but adjectives; that, in the second example, the infinitive modifies the adjective; and that, in the third example, the infinitive is the subject of the verbal phrase made up of the copula plus the adjective.

CHAPTER XII.

OTHER ADVERBIAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

Besides denoting purpose and specification (with Adjectives), the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is occasionally used to denote other adverbial relationships: (A) Cause; (B) Specification with Verbs; (C) Result; and (D) Absoluteness. Possible examples of an infinitive denoting (E) Condition and (F) Manner, are given at the end of this chapter.

In each of these uses, the infinitive that is active in form seems to me active in sense with the possible exception of the absolute infinitives, to metanne wið and to gesettanne wið: see D below.

A. THE CAUSAL INFINITIVE.

With a few verbs denoting emotion the infinitive is occasionally used to denote the Cause of the emotion. The little that has been written about this use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is referred to under the specific examples. At this place I need to quote only the statement of Mätzner, who, *l. c.*, III, p. 40, in speaking of the inflected infinitive of cause after verbs of emotion in Modern and in Middle English, declares: "Im Ags. trifft man nichts Entsprechendes." While some of my examples are doubtful, I think those with the inflected infinitive (especially after forsceamigan) are less doubtful than those with the simple infinitive. I give all the clearer examples that I have observed:—

(1) The Uninflected Infinitive:

cearian, care:

Gen. 2279: Ne ceara ou feor heonon fleame, dælan somwist incre (or objective?). — Ib. 2733: Ne ceara incit duguða of of osse eðeltyrf ellor secan winas uncuðe, ac wuniað her (or objective?). [Cf. Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 40, who also seems in doubt as to whether to consider the infinitive here as objective or as causal.]

gefeon, rejoice, delight:

Bede 484.15: mynstres, on δ am ic gefeo δ iowian δ ære uplican arfæstnesse = 359.13: in quo supernae pietati deservire gaudeo. — Ib. 478.32: sibbe 7 so δ -fæstnesse mid . . . Godes ciricean gife δ (= gifeh δ) dælnimende beon = 351.7: pacis ac ueritatis cum universali ecclesia particeps existere gaudet. [Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 69, cites this example, and adds: "Gefeon takes the simple infinitive, but it may as well be complementary as causal in conception. I find in Wülfing no cases of the prepositional infinitive that can be distinctly treated as causal."]

gelustfullian, rejoice in:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 535: ic gewilnode væs wines on vam ic ær gelustfullode to oferdruncennysse brucan.

lustfullian, rejoice in:

Bede 432.32: ic lustfullede være stowe swetnesse 7 wlite, ve ic vær geseah, 7 eac somod vara gemænan 7 eadignesse brucan, ve ic on være stowe sceawade

- = 309.11: delectatus nimirum suauitate ac decore loci illius, quem intuebar, simul et consortio eorum quos in illo uidebam.
 - (2) The Inflected Infinitive:

aforhtian, be afraid:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.357: ic earma nu aforhtige to secgenne hwæt me becom (or objective?).

bisorgian, regret:

Chr. 1555: Ne bisorgað he synne to fremman (sic!), wonhydig mon. [On this infinitive, Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 71, speaks as follows: "In a sentence like Christ, 1556, Ne bisorgað he synne to fremman, it is hard to say whether we have a complementary or a true causal infinitive. Such an example in O. F. would be explicable as causal, with a or de + infinitive, on the ground of the original meaning of the preposition itself, but hardly so in O. E. It may be that in many such cases in O. E. the present object of the infinitive (synne) was originally object of the main verb (bisorgað), so that the infinitive could have its natural purpose force, as further explication. But in both O. F. and O. E., constructions like this with verbs of dislike, sorrowing, etc., would easily arise by analogy of words like desire + infinitive."]

forhtian, be afraid, fear:

Ælf. Hom. I. 538^b: Be dam we forhtiad fela to sprecenne (or objective?).—

Ib. II. 554^{t 3}: deah ne forhtiad to wunigenne on heora unrihtwisnyssum (or objective?).

forsc(e)ami(g)an, be ashamed:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. 18.189: ic nu forsceamige to secganne mine ungeleaffulnesse.

Wulf. 275.23: forðam na ðet he naht, forsceame he ðæt riht to secgenne.

geunlustian, loathe:

Bl. Hom. 59.9: se lichoma geunlustað da geogodlustas to fremmenne (or objective?).

B. THE INFINITIVE OF SPECIFICATION WITH VERBS.

Aside from denoting Specification (or Respect Wherein) with Adjectives (already treated in Chapter XI), occasionally the infinitive, always inflected, seems to be used with a verb to denote Specification:—

1. With an Active Finite Verb.

drefan, trouble:

Ælf. \acute{L} . S. XXIII B. 283: To hwy gedrefest \eth u abbot \eth ine ge \eth ohtas to geæswicianne on me (or final?).

efstan, hasten:

Ælf. Hom. II. 364: swa miccle swiðor we efstað to lybbenne swa micclum swa we swiðor on ðissere oncnawennysse ðeonde beoð (or final?).

forlætan, leave:

Bede 82.22: Ses mon is his seolfes dome to forlætenne, osse be cirican ingonge, osse to onfonne sæm geryne = 58.25: iste profecto siue de ingressu ecclesiae, seu de sumendo dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio, suo est iudicio relinquendus. [Cf. Chapter III, p. 78.]

slawian, be or become sluggish:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 224: hwæs wilnast ou fram me to hæbbenne ooo to witenne out ou ne slawedest swa micel geswinc to gefremmanne for minum oingum?

2. With a Passive Finite Verb.

abysgian, occupy, engage:

Wærf. 88.18: Sæt se mæssepreost wæs unwenlice abysgod wingeard to settanne = 212 C¹: Qui videlicet sacerdos inopinate contigit ut ad putandam vineam esset occupatus (or final?).

(ge)læran, teach, instruct:

Wærf. 180.26: Sæt he gelæred wæs wyrta to begangenne = 217 C¹: Quod vir gentilis valde libenter accepit, cum in nutriendis oleribus quia peritus esset audivit.

All of the foregoing examples, with both active and passive verbs, seem doubtful to me except $W \alpha r f$. 180.26.

C. THE CONSECUTIVE INFINITIVE.

I have found very little concerning the Consecutive Use of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. Dr. K. Köhler and Dr. Wülfing do not treat this use apart from that of purpose. In his "The Clause of Result in Old English Prose," Dr. A. R. Benham does not include the infinitive. Professor Einenkel treats the construction in Middle English, but says nothing of it in Anglo-Saxon. Mätzner treats the consecutive infinitive after particles (so, as, such, enough, too, more than), in III, 48–49, and the infinitive of result that is loosely connected with the rest of the sentence, in III, 49–50, but he says nothing of either use in Anglo-Saxon. Koch, too, has a word about the infinitive after particles, in II, 64, but likewise says nothing of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon. Aside from these two statements, the most specific comments are those by Dr. Buchtenkirch, Dr. Höser, and Dr. Kenyon, which are quoted below.

At times the inflected infinitive denotes Tendency or Result, and in such use is found (a) with Adjectives and (b) with Verbs.

1. With Adjectives.

It is difficult to distinguish this use of the inflected infinitive with adjectives to denote tendency or result from its use with adjectives to denote specification (or respect wherein). But in the examples below, those in which the adjective is preceded by an adverb (swa or to) seem to me pretty certainly to denote tendency or result, and thus to be clearly differentiated from the inflected infinitive with adjectives as treated in Chapter XI. Even this use with swa and to has been denied to Anglo-Saxon, as by Dr. Buchtenkirch, l. c., p. 41, who, in speaking of this construction in Occleve, declares: "Im Angelsächsischen scheint der Infinitiv in dieser Verbindung garnicht vorzukommen; wenigstens führen Mätzner und Köhler keine Belege an."

I cite all of what seem to me the clearer examples:—

With several adjectives:

Bl. Hom. 109.29, 30: Ne beo nænig man her on worldrice on his geonte to modig, ne on his lichoman to strang, ne niða to georn, ne bealwes to beald, ne bregda to full, ne inwit (sic!) to leof, ne wrohtas to webgenne, ne searo to renigenne.

Nic. 506.1: Odde hwæt eart du swa mycel 7 eac swa lytel 7 swa nyderlic 7 eft up swa heah 7 swa wunderlic on anes mannes hywe us to oferdryfenne?

Wulf. 253.7^{a, b}, 8^{a, b, c}: ne syn we to gifre ne to frece ne to firenlustgeorne ne to æfestige ne to inwitfulle ne to tælende ne to twigspraece ne morfor to begangenne ne afas to swerianne ne nifas to fremmanne ne leasunga to sæcganne ne feofenda to begangenne.

ælenge, tedious:

Solil. 59.31: ac me \forall inc \forall nu \forall at to lang a all to rimande (sic!) and \forall e to along to gehyranne = 0.

beald, bold:

Wærf. 132.13: he næs naht beald him to to ganne = B. 162.A²: non ausus accedere sese in terram dedit.

carful, careful:

Ælf. Hom. I. 340^b ²: 8æt hi ne beo8 ealles swa carfulle to beganne 8a earfo8lican drohtnunge.

eald, old:

Ælf. L. S. XXV. 94: ic eom eald to hiwigenne (or specification?).

genoh, enough:

Boeth. 135.9: Ac on 5æm hi habba5 genoh to ongitanne 5æt etc. = 114.189: Hoc tantum perspexisse sufficiat.

Greg. 415.35: hwilum him $\delta ync \delta \delta et$ he hæbbe fierst genogne to hreowsianne = 338.2: modo adhuc tempus subsequens ad pænitentiam pollicetur.

Wærf. 49.16: gewearð ðam gebroðrum ðær genoh rum stow wyrta on to settanne = 184 B: invenerunt . . . suoque secessu largum fratribus spatium dedisse.

Hept.: Ex. 16.16: Sæt ælc man gadrie swa micel Sæt he genoh hæbbe to etanne = colligat . . . quantum sufficit ad vescendum. — Ex. 17.6: Sæt wæter gæS ut of him, Sæt Sæt folc hæfS genoh to drincanne = exibit ex ea aqua, ut bibat populus.

geornful, eager:

Solil. 63.11: Acsa δ in agen mod for hwi hyt swa willen si and swa geornful to witanne δ ætte ær wæs = 0.

lang [-o-], long, tedious:

Bede 174.22: wundro . . ., da de nu to long to secgenne syndon = 143.30: sed haec nos ad alia tendentes, suis narrare permittimus.

Solil. 59.30: ac me dinco nu det to lang eall to rimande (sic!), and de to elenge to gehyranne.

Læce. 56.19: læcedomas . . . ne sculon on ane orage to lange beon to donne.

lustsumlic, pleasant:

Oros. 120.3: Ic nat . . . for hwi eow Romanum sindon da ærran gewin swa wel gelicad 7 swa lustsumlice on leodewidum to gehieranne = 0.

mihtig, powerful:

Bl. Hom. 223.22: Toöæs mihtig he . . . wæs . . . untrumnesse to hælenne. — Ib. 235.36, 237.1: ic eom mihtig . . . eal to donne & . . . to æteowenne swa hwæt me licaö.

Ælf. Hom. I. 296^b 1: we beod . . . mihtige to gefremmenne swa hwæt swa us licað.

strang [mihtig and —], strong:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.127^{a, b}: he gedyde hi sona mihtige and strange to wiðstandenne heora feondum.

swið, strong, powerful:

Dan. 285: du eart mihtum swið nidas to nergenne!

Az. 6: du eart meahtum swið nidas to nergenne.

ungeornful, negligent:

Greg. 239.2: oððe eft sio bilewitnes & sio anfealdnes hine to ungeornfulne gedoo to ongietanne, ðylæs he weorðe besolcen = 180.14: quatenus nec seducti per prudentiam calleant, nec ab intellectus studio ex simplicitate torpescant.

unstrang, not strong:

Mart. 146.14: his frowung wæs fe lengre ond fy heardre fy fe hyra handa wæron unstrange hine to acwellane.

Wærf. 63.19: se '5e naht unstrang nis wræce to donne = 193 B³: qui ad inferendam ultionem quam voluerit, invalidus non est (or final?).

unswete, unsweet:

Læce. 16.2: gif du hine nimest 7 gaderast æt fylne donne ne bid he to unswete to gestincanne.

2. With Verbs.

Verbs meaning to incite, to persuade, to compel, to prepare, to suffice, and the like are followed by an inflected infinitive denoting tendency or result. It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a hard-and-fast line between the consecutive use of the infinitive denoting tendency or result and the final use of the infinitive denoting purpose, so imperceptibly does the one use pass into the other. Accordingly, as noted below, a few of my examples for the consecutive use are by others, notably by Dr. Kenyon, put under the final use. deed, Dr. Kenyon's second subdivision of the "The Prepositional Infinitive of Purpose," in which, as he states, l. c., p. 18, "The infinitive often denotes, not so much a consciously conceived, final purpose of the action of the governing verb, as simply the direction, tendency, or destiny of it," is scarcely distinguishable from what he (on p. 59) and I both consider the consecutive use. On the other hand, Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 60, considers that, in Ælf. L. S. 368.78 (ne galdras ne sece, to gremigenne his scyppend), the infinitive is consecutive, but to me it seems final. Once more: unquestionably to some the inflected infinitive after verbs like tilian, 'strive for,' may seem to belong either here under the consecutive use or in Chapter X under the final use; but, as this verb is followed also by the uninflected infinitive, I have considered the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, after it as objective rather than as adverbial. Again, in some of the examples below (especially with verbs of compelling) we may have an inflected predicative instead of a consecutive infinitive: see the note to neadian. Finally, it should be added that Dr. Höser, l. c., p. 38, cites Doomsday, l. 186 (nænig spræc mæg beon, spellum areccan ænegum on eordan earmlice witu), as having an uninflected infinitive of result, and that he is quoted approvingly by Professor Kenyon, l. c., p. 60, but to me areccan seems predicative after mæg.

I. WITH AN ACTIVE FINITE VERB.

The inflected infinitive is found after the active of the following verbs to denote tendency or result:—

aweccan, awake, incite.

bædan, compel.

deah, avail.

gearcian, prepare.

gebiegan, bend, force.

gegearwian, make ready.

gehwierfan, turn.

gelædan, lead.

gemedemian (hine), humble one's self, condescend.

geneah, suffice.

geniedan, force.

genihtsumian, suffice.

gescierpan, sharpen.

geweman, persuade.

hleonian, lean, incline. manian, admonish, urge. neadian, compel.

niedan [-y-], compel.

gremian, provoke.

onælan, incite.

onstyrian, stir.

sellan, give.

teon, draw, induce.

trymman, strengthen, encourage.

deowan, force, threaten.

Treatian, force.

ðywan [-i-], force, threaten.

weaxan, grow.

The clearer examples in full are:—

aweccan, awaken, incite:

Bede 268.31: Sæt he eor bigengan awecce hine to ondrædanne = 211.1: ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet (considered by Wülfing,² l. c., II, p. 217, as final; by Kenyon, l. c., p. 60, as consecutive).

Chad 185: he leoðrað of heofone ðæt he ða eorðlican mod awecceð hine to ondredenne.

bædan, compel:

Læce. 86.27a: bæde to spiwanne.

deah, avail:

Læce. 68.27: Diege væt brov 7 eac deah netle gesoden on wætre 7 geselt to Sicganne 7 eac ellenes leaf etc. — Ib. 72.11: wyrt, seo deah to drincanne. — Ib. 122.12a, b: deos sealf deah wid æghwylcum geswelle to dicganne 7 to smergenne on swa hwylcum lime swa hit on bid.

gearcian, prepare:

Ælf. Hom. II. 84^m: He gearcað urne godan willan to fultumigenne. gebiegan, bend:

Pr. Ps. 34.13: Ic . . . gebigde min mod to fæstenne = humiliabam in jejunio animam meam. [Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 31, seems to consider this an instance of the accusative with predicative inflected infinitive, while Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 19, considers the infinitive to be final in sense; but see neadian.]

gegearwian, make ready:

Wulf. 35.11: Set is, Set he gegearwas his heartan gode on to wunianne.

gehwierfan, turn:

Greg. 255.16: for væm sio medtrymnes væt mod gehwierfv gehwelces monnes hine selfne to ongietanne = 192.26: molestia corporalis, quæ ad cognitionem sui mentem revocat.

gelædan, lead:

Bede 468.7^{a, b}: he hine 7 his deode gelædde to mærsianne 7 to weordianne $\delta a \dots tide = 332.19$: se suosque omnes $ad \dots tempus celebrandum perduxit.$ gemedemian (hine), humble one's self, condescend: see pp. 54-55 above.

geneah, suffice:

Bl. Hom. 165.5: nænig . . . tunge ne geneah dæs . . . engles godcund mægen to gesecgenne.

geniedan [-y-], force, compel:

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 360: miltsa me væt vu me ne genyde to areccenne mine gescyndnysse. — Ib. XXIII B. 381: hu ic to syngigenne genydde ægder ge da earman willendan and da earman syllendan.

Wulf. 200.6: arærað him anlicnesse, and ðærto hi genydað men to gebiddanne. genihtsumian [-y-], suffice:

Mart. 104.12: ne genyhtsumað ænigum men to asecganne ðæs acennedan engles mægen Iohannes.

Ælf. Hom. II. 90^{m 1, 2}: heorte . . ., de ne genihtsumad to underfonne Godes word, ne nænne wæstm to spryttanne.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 788: seo leo . . . scræf geworhte swa micel swa genihtsumode være halgan to byrgenne.

gescierpan [-y-], sharpen:

Wærf. 269.21: buton hit gescyrpe da ding to geseonne seo unlichamlice wise = 329 A¹: nisi hunc res incorporea ad videndum acueret.

geweman, persuade:

Ælf. Int. 504: Sæt is see costnung Se gewemd Sone man to synnigenne = qua [= tentatione] peccato implicamur.

gremian, provoke:

Læce. 55.26: hine mon scel neahtnestigne tyhtan and gremian to spiwanne. hleonian, lean, incline:

Bede 258.21: ealra willa hleonade to geheranne δ a gefean = 205.8: omnium uota ad nuper audita . . . gaudia penderent.

manian [-o-], admonish, urge:

Seafarer 38: monað modes lust mæla gehwylce ferð to feran (sic!), ðæt ic feor heonan elðeodigra eard gesece.

Wærf. 265.20: for hwan wolde he sonne ealle men manegian samod mid him to gehyranne sone ænde sære spræce? = 324 B: cur ad audiendum loquendi finem secum pariter omnes admonebat?

Ælf. Hom. II. 520^b 1. 2: Des apostolica freolsdæg manað us to sprecenne, and sum ðing eow to secgenne be ðam gesæligan heape.

neadian, compel:

Ælf. Hom. I. 114^t: Healdað ðis fæste on eowerum heortum, ðæt se . . . God nænne mann ne neadað to syngigenne. [Cf. Mätzner, l. c., III. p. 31, who seems inclined to consider this an instance of the predicative infinitive with accusative subject.]

Ælf. Hept.: De N. T. 21.31: se de oderne neadad ofer his mihte to drincenne. niedan [-y-], compel:

Greg. 271.16: forðæm hie hie selfe nidað to healdonne ungemetlice swigean, & forðæm beoð suiðe forðrycte = 204.19: ut eo plus cogitationes in mente ferveant, quo illas violenta custodia indiscreti silentii angustat.

Mart. 166.21: Done nydde Decius se casere deofolgeld to begangenne.

Ælf. Hom. II. 376^m: Far nu geond wegas and hegas, and nyd hi inn to farenne. [Cf. L. 14.23: Ga geond das wegas and hegas and nyd hig det hig gan in = Exi in vias et sepes, et compelle intrare.]

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.36^t: Ga geond wegas and hegas, and nyd hi in to farenne.

Læce. 86.24: nede hine to spiwanne.

onælan, incite:

Wærf. 109.30: he tihte and onælde oðre men ðus to aræfnienne = B. 140 A²: qui passionum certamina non solum ipse appetit, sed ad toleranda hæc et alios accendit.

onstyrian, stir:

Wærf. 224.23: ne mihte na onstyrian his fet to ganne = 273 C^1 : gressum movere non potuit.

sellan [-i-], give:

Ælf. Hept.: Num. 11.13: Sile us flæsc to etanne = Da nobis carnes, ut comedamas (or final?).

teon, draw, induce:

Ælf. L. S. 316.148: On hwilcum godum tihst du us to gelyfenne?

trymman, strengthen, encourage:

Bede 124.26: gewrit, mid by he hine trymede to onfonne Cristes leafan = 100.18: exhortatorias ad fidem litteras . . . accepit (or final?).

deowan, force, threaten:

A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. 9.342: Seah Se he mid huxe hine hete gebindan and hine Seowde to ofsleanne mid Sam folce (or objective?).

Treatian, force:

Boeth. 138.2: wyrde de oft dreatad da yflan to witnianne = 117.27: iusto supplicio malos cohercet.

ðywan [-i-], force, threaten:

Ælf. Hom. II. 174^b ²: Benedicte, 5e hi ær for heora stuntum wordum 5iwde to amansumigenne (or objective?). — Ib. II. 308^b: Da 5ywde se casere hine to swingenne (or objective?).

weaxan, grow:

Greg. 263.18: hie sculon uparisan & weaxan a ma & ma to lufigeanne & godcundan weorc = 198.20: sed ad amoris gratiam nutrimento caritatis excrescant (cited also by Dr. Kenyon, p. 60, as consecutive).

II. WITH PASSIVE VERBS.

Occasionally the inflected infinitive is used after the passive of the following verbs to denote tendency or result:—

afysan, impel. ascierpan, sharpen. bærnan, incite. forðgelædan, lead forth. (ge)bædan, compel. (ge)cierran, turn, move. (ge)fysan, incite. (ge)lædan, lead. (ge)manian, admonish.

(ge)neadian, compel. (ge)niedan, compel.

onælan, kindle, incite. onwendan [-wænd-], move. settan, set, appoint. sponan, persuade. underðeodan, subject.

I cite all the clearer examples that I have observed:—

afysan, impel:

Ph. 275: Donne afysed bid agenne eard eft to secan (sic!).

ascierpan, sharpen:

Greg. 69.13: Sonne we mid Sæm læcedome godra weorca gefultumas urum ondgite Sæt hit bis ascirped to ongietenne Sa bierhtu Sæs sosan leohtes = 44.1: cum ad cognoscendam veri luminis claritatem intellectus nostri aciem medicamine operationis adjuvamus (or final, as Dr. Kenyon, $l.\ c.$, p. 19, holds?).

bærnan, incite:

Bede 330.18^{a, b}, 19: men . . . wæron bærnde . . . to gebiddenne ge ælmessan to sellenne ge Gode asægdnesse to beranne = 252.5^{a, b, c}: accensi sunt . . . ad orandum uel ad elimosynas faciendas, uel ad offerendas Deo uictimas sacræ oblationis (or final, as Dr. Shearin, l. c., p. 31, holds?).

forogelædan, lead, induce:

Oros. 290.10: Firmus weard gefangen, 7 fordgelæded to sleanne = 291.9: Firmum coegit ad mortem.

(ge)bædan, compel:

Greg. 251.13: Sonne hio hire unSonces gebædd wierð Sæt yfel to forlætanne = 190.14: cum jam egredi anima urgetur.

(ge)cierran, turn, move:

Greg. 99.19: for mildheortnesse wæs onon gecierred to smeaganne hu flæsclicum mo(n)num gedafenode on hira burcotum & on hiera beddum to donne = 68.17: tamen per condescensionis viscera carnalium cubile perscrutatur.

(ge)fysan, incite:

Beow. 2562: da wæs hringbogan heorte gefysed sæcce to seceanne.

(ge)lædan, lead:

W xrf. 227.26: Sonne Set . . . mod by zrgel xrgel xrgel yrgel xrgel yrgel xrgel xrgel yrgel xrgel xrgel xrgel yrgel xrgel xrgel

(ge)manian, admonish:

Greg. 259.20: Sonne beo we suigende gemanode mid Sære mettrymnesse ura synna to gemunanne = 196.9: ad peccatorum nostrorum memoriam taciti afflictique revocamur.

(ge)neadian, force:

Ælf. Hom. II. 376^b 4: Se bið geneadod to cumenne.

(ge)niedan [-e-], compel:

Bede 368.17: he was oferswided 7 geneded to onfonne da degnunge biscophades = 272.29: ad suscipiendum episcopatus officium collum submittere compellitur.

Greg. 302.19^{a, b}: weorðen geniedde h[i]era unðeawas to herianne & to weorðianne = 230.2: compellantur eorum etiam vitia venerari.

onælan, kindle, incite:

Greg. 383.18, 19: Godes öegn se öe mid öæm andan onæled bið godcundre lufan unöeawas to ofsleanne = 298.16: Si ergo ille Dei dicitur qui ad ferienda vitia zelo divini amoris excitatur.

onwendan [-wænd-], move:

Wærf. 195.10: δa wæs eac se cyning . . . onwænded to begangenne δa biscopes arwyr δa nysse = 237 C¹: Tunc ad ejus reverentiam colendam rex ipse permotus est.

settan, set, appoint:

Wulf. 304.29: eac is geset swide micel dædbot swylcum mannum to donne and to betenne (or final?).

sponan, persuade:

Bede 220.31: he wæs swiðust gesponen to onfonne Cristes geleafan from Oswies suna = 170.7: persuasus maxime ad percipiendam fidem a filio regis Osuiu.

underðeodan, subject:

Ælf. Hom. II. 116^t: forðan ðe we sind eadmodlice, mid lichaman and mid sawle, godcundlicum spræcum underðeodde to gefyllenne his beboda, ðæt he us his behat gelæste.

Note. — Possible but not Probable Examples of the Inflected Infinitive of Result occur after the active of the following verbs, which have been left under the Objective Use: — æteowan, 'show: 'Bl. Hom. 169.9; beotigan, 'boast,' 'threaten:' Chad 193; elcian, 'delay:' Ælf. Hom. II. 282; gedihtan, 'direct:' Wulf. 10.10; higian, 'strive for,' 'be intent on:' Wærf. 178.3^{a, b}; tæcan, 'teach:' Greg. 165.10; Ælf. Hom. II. 216^b.

D. THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.

The Absolute Use of the Infinitive Mätzner, l. c., III, p. 53, characterizes as follows: "Von anderer Art sind präpositionale Infinitive, zum Theil parenthetischer Natur, welche eine Reflexion des Redenden, die Absicht desselben bei der Darstellung ihrem Gehalte oder ihrer Form nach, eine Erklärung, Erinnerung oder Versicherung dem Zuhörer oder Leser gegenüber enthalten." After giving examples like to be short, to say truth, etc., in Modern English and in Middle English, he adds, p. 54: "Im Ags. sind mir dergleichen unabhängige Infinitive nicht aufgestossen." I had discovered the examples of the absolute use of hrædest to seegenne in Wulfstan before I came upon the following from Sohrauer, who, l. c., p. 27, after quoting the foregoing passage from Mätzner, adds: "Einen beleg für das ae. bietet Napier's Wulfstan, 36.6," and quotes one example of hrædest to secganne 1 given below, but not the others. Wülfing, 2 l. c., II, p. 224, calls attention to the absolute use of to metanne wið in Boethius. Professor Einenkel, 1. c., p. 240, speaks of the construction in Middle English and declares that it exists in Anglo-Saxon, but he does not give any examples from the latter. Koch, l. c., II, p. 69, Dr. Scholz, and Dr. Druve treat the idiom in Modern English only; Dr. Zeitlin, in Middle English only. The idiom is not discussed by Dr. Karl Köhler. For the construction in Anglo-Saxon, Dr. Kenyon merely refers to the above passage from Sohrauer. Farrar and Riggert do not mention the idiom.

The infinitive is inflected in all cases except two. The two uninflected infinitives and several of the inflected infinitives are doubtful. I give all the examples that I have observed:—

(1) The Uninflected Infinitive:

Oros. 46.16, 17^b: Heora twa wæron heora cwena, Marsepia 7 Lampida wæron hatene. Hie heora here on tu todældon; oðer æt ham beon heora lond to healdanne, over ut faran to winnanne = 47.16: Harum duae fuere reginae, Marsepia et Lampedo, quae agmine diviso in duas partes, vicissim curam belli et domus custodiam sortiebantur. [The foregoing seems to me to be a possible instance of what I should call an absolute infinitive with an accusative subject, by which I mean an accusative-and-infinitive phrase standing in an absolute or loose relation to the rest of the sentence; and I have put the passage in Chapter VIII, p. 118. It is possible, of course, as claimed by Drs. Einenkel² and Zeitlin, that ofer here is nominative, not accusative; but I prefer to believe with Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 137, that oder is accusative neuter, possibly due to the influence of tu. Dr. Kenyon, however, considers ofer to be, not the subject of the infinitive, but an appositive each to butu; and the infinitives to denote purpose after todældon. Somewhat similar, apparently, is the view of Dr. Wülfing, 2 l. c., II, § 487: "Im Or. [46.16, 17b] steht der Infinitiv einmal ganz unabhängig zur Angabe des Zweckes;" though he clearly considers that the use leans more to the absolute than does Dr. Kenyon. Whether Dr. Wülfing considers these infinitives, also, to be the predicates of o\(\partial er\)-o\(\partial er\) is not clear. And there is the same uncertainty on this point in the statement of Dr. Shearin,⁴

¹ Mohrbutter, l. c., p. 35, considers that the infinitive is, not absolute, but dependent on hrædest, which he takes to be an adjective.

² Einenkel, ³ *l. c.*, p. 1076.

³ Zeitlin, ¹ *l. c.*, p. 145.

⁴ Wülfing,² l. c., II, p. 224.

l. c., p. 15: "Twice we find the simple infinitive following loosely the main verb as a final element." He then cites the *Orosius* passage as one example and *Luke* 1.17 as another. Concerning the latter see Chapter X, p. 148, Note 2.]

(2) The Inflected Infinitive:

Perhaps the clearest example of the absolute use of the inflected infinitive is to be found in the phrase hredest to secganne, 'to speak briefly,' of which I give all the clearer examples observed: Wulf. 27.1: Syder sculon wiccan and wigleras and, hrædest to secganne, ealle da manfullan, de ær yfel worhton and noldan geswican ne wið god ðingian; — ib. 36.7: ðonne wyrð ðæt wæter mid dam halgan gaste durhgoten, and, hrædest to secganne, eal, dæt se sacerd ded durh da halgan denunge gesawenlice, eal hit fulfremed se halga gast gerynelice; — ib. 115.3: Sider sculan Seofas . . . and, hrædest to secganne, ealle Sa manfullan. — With this infinitive phrase compare the following: Boeth. 39.10: Swa hit is nu hraðost to secganne be eallum dam woruldgesældum de seo wyrd brengo, oæt etc. = 42.63: Postremo idem de tota concludere fortuna licet etc.; — ib. 41.3: Det is nu hradost to secganne, [vet ic wilnode] weorvfullice to libbanne = 46.80: 0; — Wulf. 158.16: godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swa forsawene . . . and hrædest is to cwedenne godes laga lade and lara forsewene; — ib. 204.2: Sider scylan wiccan and wigleras, and, radest is to sæcgenne, ealle 🕉a manfullan.

Another phrase used absolutely is to metanne with, 'to compare with,' 'in comparison with,' which, as stated above, is mentioned by Wülfing,¹ and occurs as follows: Boeth. 29.6: forðæm de oder twega odde hit nan god nis for eow selfe, obbe beah forlytel god wib eow to metane = 36.28: quae tametsi conditoris opera suique distinctione postremo aliquid pulchritudinis trahunt, infra uestram tamen excellentiam conlocatae ammirationem uestram nullo modo merebantur; — ib. 36.3: Hu micle mare is onne os monnes lichoma to meterne wið ðæt mod ðonne seo mus wið ðone mon = 41.18: 0; — ib. 41.24: Jonne meaht du ongetan det he is eal wid done heofon to metanne swilce an lytlu price on bradum brede = 44.11: ad caeli spatium puncti constat optinere rationem, id est ut, si ad caelestis globi magnitudinem conferatur, nihil spatii prorsus habere iudicetur; — ib. 44.26: Seah he [= hlisa] hwilum lang sie, 7 fela geara durhwunige, he bid deah swide scort to metanne wid done de næfre ne geendað = 46.58: ita fit, ut quamlibet prolixi temporis fama, si cum inexhausta aeternitate cogitetur, non parua sed plane nulla esse uideatur; — ib. 72.18: Tonne magon ge ongitan Tet he [= heofon] is ealles nauht with his sceppend to metanne 7 wið his wealdend = 65.17: 0; — ib. 89.22: Jonne wile he cweðan væt sio beorhtnes være sunnan sciman sie vesternes to metanne wid va ecan birhtu Godes = 77.17: 0; — ib. 130.29, 31^{a, b}: Swylc is δ æt δ æt we wyrd hatað be ðam godcundan foreðonce, swylce sio smeaung 7 sio gesceadwisnes is to metanne wid done gearowitan, 7 swylce das lænan ding biod to metanne wid da ecan, 7 swilce det hweol bid to metanne wid da eaxe = 110.74, 75, 76: Igitur uti est ad intellectum ratiocinatio, ad id quod est id quod gignitur, ad aeternitatem tempus, ad punctum medium circulus: id est fati series mobilis ad prouidentiae stabilem simplicitatem. — Boeth. 36.3 above, Dr. Wülfing² (II, 213) puts, allowably, under the infinitive with been denoting necessity, as he probably does Boeth. 72.18 and 130.29, 31^{a, b}, none of which are given by him

under the absolute infinitive. I have put these examples here, despite their doubtfulness, primarily to show how the predicative infinitive of necessity passes over to the absolute infinitive. With the examples of to metanne above given, compare those that I have given under the Infinitive of Necessity with beon, Chapter VII. Perhaps Met. 21.42 (Sonne wile he secgan Sæt Sære sunnan sie beorhtnes Siostro beorna gehwylcum to metanne wid Sæt micle leoht godes ælmihtiges) belongs under the absolute use rather than under necessity.

Possibly we have the absolute use of the infinitive in the *Metres of Boethius* 6.7: forðæm hiora birhtu ne bið auht *to gesettanne* wið ðære sunnan leoht; if not, we have an infinitive of necessity on the road to becoming an absolute infinitive.

In the following, the infinitive, though predicative and therefore given in Chapter VII, reminds one of our modern idiom, 'so to speak:' Bede 88.23: δ es δ e swa to cwe δ enne δ enne δ enne δ enne δ es δ es

We have an infinitive loosely connected with the rest of the sentence in the following from the *Laceboc*: 1.26°, b: Lacedomas gif men yrne blod of nebbe; eft blodsetena, ge on to bindanne ge on eare, to donne ge horse ge menn; 57.3: Wið wlættan 7 to hætanne magan. But the idea of purpose is evident, and I put these examples in the present chapter only because of the looseness of the connection with the rest of the sentence, or, better, because of the elliptical nature of the sentence. To the same purport is the following from Dr. Shearin, l. c., p. 23: "The following infinitives are used absolutely, yet implying a purpose relation to a main verb to be supplied, whose grammatical subject will be logically the subject of the phrase; e. g., Lch. ii, 188.19: To rymanne ¹ ŏone cealdan magan . . . (sc. 'genim'); id. 304.9: gealdor on to singanne."

E. THE CONDITIONAL INFINITIVE.

In the *Martyrology* 54.11 (Des biscop is swide *mihtig* on frecum wisum gescyldnesse to biddanne), Dr. Herzfeld, the editor, translates the infinitive as if it were used to denote a condition: "This bishop is very powerful, if asked for protection in dangerous condition." To me, however, the infinitive seems to specify the respect wherein the bishop was powerful, viz., 'in praying for protection,' and to belong in Chapter XI.

F. THE MODAL INFINITIVE.

As stated in Chapter V, some consider that the infinitive in the *com* . . . *fleogan* construction denotes manner. But I have there tried to show why it seems better to me to consider that the infinitive is predicative in use rather than modal.

Possible, but not probable, examples of the inflected infinitive used to denote manner are found in the $Prose\ Psalms$, 34.13 (quoted under gebiegan) and Boeth. 138.2 (quoted under $\mathcal{F}reatian$) in the section on the consecutive use of the infinitive. See gemedemian in the same section.

In Orosius 188.10, 11 (sum his folc sende gind væt lond to bærnanne 7 to hangenne = 189.7: vastatione circumjacentium locorum Flaminium in bellum

¹ To rymanne should read to wyrmanne: see Cockayne, l. c., II, 188.22; and Læce. 57.9. In the former of these two passages, the infinitive is probably absolute; but, in the latter, the infinitive seems to me to modify the noun, gealdor. See Læce. 93.22.

excitavit) and in Bede 66.5^{a, b} (væt heo godum veawum lifgen under ciriclecum regole 7 sealmas to singenne 7 wæccan to bigongene, 7 from . . . unalyfednessum heora heortan . . . clæne healden = 49.10^{a, b}: bonis moribus uiuant et canendis psalmis inuigilent, et ab . . . inlicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conseruent), the infinitives are possibly modal, but are probably final, and have been left in Chapter X.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

In the main, the differentiation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive in the preceding adverbial uses is clear. The infinitive of specification with verbs, the consecutive infinitive, and the absolute infinitive are regularly inflected, as would be expected from the meaning, the infinitive habitually denoting a relationship normally expressed, in nouns, by a case other than the nominative or the accusative. In the only two instances in which we have an uninflected infinitive in the adverbial uses just named, in Oros. 46.16, 17^b (already quoted), we have, as I believe, an accusative and infinitive very loosely connected with the remainder of the sentence, and it is natural that the infinitive is not inflected. In the causal use of the infinitive we have both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected, but in the former the infinitive may possibly, as there indicated, be considered objective (accusative). We naturally expect cause to be expressed by the inflected infinitive, as we know that, with nouns, cause is often expressed by the genitive case in Anglo-Saxon.

For the other adverbial uses of the infinitive in the kindred Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xii.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.1

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

When a Noun is modified by an infinitive, the infinitive normally is inflected, but in a few cases is uninflected. About 242 instances of the former occur to four of the latter.

The infinitive regularly follows the noun that it modifies, sometimes immediately, as in $W \alpha r f$. 198.17 (onfangenre leafe to lifigenne = 241 C⁴: vivendi licentia accepta); sometimes with a few words intervening, as in $W \alpha r f$. 211.20^{a, b} (gif δu hwylce leafe habbe me to sleanne 7 to wundianne = 257 C²: Si licentian accepisti ut ferias, ego non prohibeo).

To me the infinitive with nouns seems prevailingly, if not exclusively, active in sense as in form. Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 71, declares, "Es steht nur der Infinitiv des Aktivs, der jedoch passiven Sinn haben kann," but he does not specifically cite any infinitives as passive in sense. If we have an infinitive that is passive in sense when used with a noun, we probably have it in such sentences as these: And. 23: næs ðær hlafes wist werum on ðam wonge, ne wæteres drync to bruconne; Ælf. Hept.: Ex. 16.12: ic sende Sisum folce flæsc to etanne = Vespere comedetis carnes; Mk. 3.20: δ æt hi næfdon hlaf to etanne = ita ut non possent neque panem manducare. But, as the Latin suggests, there is no necessity for considering the infinitive passive, and, in all probability, to the Anglo-Saxon mind the infinitive was active in his translation as in his Latin original; perhaps it was active to him even when translating a Latin passive, as in L. 24.41: Hæbbe ge her ænig $\Im ing$ to etanne? =Habetis hic aliquid quod manducetur? though, of course, it is possible that in the latter case it seemed to him passive. Dr. K. Köhler and Dr. Farrar say nothing as to the voice of the infinitive with nouns; nor do Dr. Wülfing and Dr. Kenyon. — In the adjectivized infinitive, discussed below (pp. 180 ff.), on the other hand, the inflected infinitive is probably passive in sense.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

Of the four examples of the active uninflected infinitive modifying a noun, three occur in the prose and one in the poetry:—

anweald, power:

L. 12.5: adrædað done de anweald hæfd, seddan he ofslyhd, on helle asendan = timete eum qui, postquam occiderit, habet potestatem mittere in gehennam. myne, purpose, intention:

And. 1538: Weox wæteres örym; weras cwanedon, ealde æscberend; wæs him ut myne fleon fealone stream, woldon feore beorgan, to dunscræfum drohtað secan, eorðan ondwist. [On this passage Dr. Riggert, l. c., p. 67, comments as follows: "Der reine Infinitiv nach einem Substantive erscheint nur An. 1537 [= my 1538], und zwar bezeichnet das Hauptwort eine Absicht, einen Plan."]

neod, need, necessity:

Ælf. Hom. II. 372^m ²: Ic bohte ænne tun, and me is neod to farenne and one geseon (sic!) [Cf. L. 14.18: Ic bohte ænne tun, ic hæbbe neode oæt ic fare and hine geseo = Villam emi, et necesse habeo exire, et videre illam.]

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.35^b 4: me is neod to farenne and Sone sceawian (sic!).

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

The inflected infinitive modifies a large number of nouns. As is shown by the Latin originals, this infinitive often stands in the relation of a genitive modifier of the noun, and translates a Latin gerund or gerundive in the genitive (occasionally a noun in the genitive). This genitival infinitive, like the Latin genitive, has various uses, and denotes the characteristic, the object, the tendency, the purpose, etc. But the infinitive at times stands in a datival relation, and translates a Latin gerundive in the dative or accusative, or ad plus a gerund or gerundive in the accusative, or an infinitive that modifies a noun; and this datival infinitive habitually denotes the tendency or the purpose of the thing indicated by the noun. At other times the infinitive stands in an ablative relation, and translates a supine in -u. This is not a complete list of the Latin correspondents of our infinitive, for that is not called for here; but these correspondents are given merely to help define the use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

The idiom is not common in the poems, less than a dozen examples having been found in a total, in prose and poetry, of about 242 examples. It is relatively frequent in Early West Saxon, Alfred having about 81 examples, not a few suggested by the Latin gerund or gerundive. It is rare in the *Chronicle* and in the *Laws*, neither furnishing more than a half dozen examples. It is not infrequent in Ælfric and in the *Gospels*, but is rare in Wulfstan.

At times it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive modifies a noun and is adjectival, or a verb and is adverbial; and this difficulty accounts for the chief differences between my statistics and those of others. For instance, Dr. Wülfing, 2 l. c., II, pp. 219 ff., puts here Bede 98.18 (502.9 2), 242.7 (558.27), 330.18^{a, b} (592.25^{a, b}), 480.29, 30 (647.26^{a, b}), while to me the infinitive seems rather to modify the verb.

The nouns modified by an infinitive may be roughly subdivided, as by Dr. Wülfing,³ into two big classes: (a) those Denoting Ideas and (b) those Denoting Things.

1. Nouns Denoting Ideas.

Nouns denoting ideas may be subdivided as follows:—

1. Nouns Denoting Permission and Prohibition: —

bewerenis, prohibition. leaf, leave, permission.

leafnes, leave, permission.

2. Nouns Denoting Power, Might, Capacity, and the like:—

andgi(e)t, intelligence, ability. anweald, power, authority. bieldo, boldness.

gelæredness, learning, skill. getydnes, learning, skill. geweald, power, authority.

¹ The complete list of Latin correspondents is given in Chapter XIV, section xiii.

² The numbers in parenthesis refer to the edition of Bede used by Dr. Wülfing, namely, Smith's.

Wülfing,² l. c., II, pp. 219 ff. My minor subdivisions, too, in the main follow Dr. Wülfing's.

giefu, gift, power. gleawnes, wisdom, intelligence. mægen, strength, ability. mæð, power. miht[meaht], might, power. ondefn [an-], capacity. strengo(o), strength.

3. Nouns Denoting Time and Place: —

fæc, interval.
fierst [-y-], period of time.
ielden [y-], delay, respite.
mæl, time.
rum, space, opportunity.

sped [and leafnes], opportunity (?).
stow, place.
tid, time.
tima, time.

4. Nouns Denoting Necessity: —

neod, need, necessity. niedőearf [nyd-], need, necessity. dearf [derf], need, necessity.

5. Nouns Denoting Will, Purpose, Inclination, and the like: —

bliss, bliss, joy.
geornfulnes, eagerness, desire.
gescea(d)wisnes, intelligence.
geŏoht, thought, intention.
geŏyld, patience.
giemen, care, concern.
hyht [-i-], hope.
intinga, cause, sake.

lufu, love.
lustbærnes, desire.
mod, mind, mood.
riht, right, reason.
sorg, sorrow, grief.
wen, hope, expectation.
willa, will, desire.

6. Nouns Denoting Help:—

fultum, help, assistance.

7. Nouns Denoting Office and Work: —

ealdorlicnes, authority, office. degnung [denung], service.

weorc, work.

8. Nouns Denoting Usage, Custom: —

æðelo, habit (?).

deaw, custom, habit.

9. Nouns Denoting Example and Teaching: — bisn [-y-], example. lar, teaching.

2. Nouns Denoting Things.

As I cannot think of any helpful grouping of these nouns, I merely give them in alphabetic sequence:—

æcer, field. æht, property. anweald, power. að, oath. auht, aught. cild, child. cyre, choice. drenc, drink. drinc, drink. eage, eye. eare, ear. fela, much. feoh, money. flæsc, flesh. forebeacen, portent. gast, spirit. gealdor, charm.

genoh [-g], sufficiency. gierd [-y-], rod. god, god, God. gōd, good. gryre, horror. heafod [hæfod], head (metaphorically chief). hlaf, loaf, bread. hol, hole, cave. hwæt, what, something. lac, offering. læcedom, remedy. lacnung, remedy. lamb [-o-], lamb. land [-o-], *land*. mare, more. mete, meat, food. mildheortnes, clemency.

naht, naught.
nanwiht [-wuht], naught.
onlegen, medicinal application.
pening, penny.
petraoleum, petroleum.
rod, rood, cross.
son, sound, music.
spell, story, narrative.

spræc, speech.
stæf, stick.
tol, tool.
ŏearfa, poor man.
ŏing, thing.
wegnest, provisions for a journey.
wela, wealth.
wundor, wonder.

Typical examples are: —

1. Nouns Denoting Ideas.

1. Nouns Denoting Permission and Prohibition: —

beweren(n)is, prohibition:

Bede 86.13^{a, b}: Jonon hafað væt mod hwylcehugu scylde, nales hwæðre oð bewerennisse to onfonne væm halgan geryne, oð væ værsienne mæssesonges = 60.12^{a, b}: non tamen usque ad prohibitionem pecipiendi sancti mysterii uel missarum solemnia celebrandi.

leaf, permission:

Boeth. 120.28: habbað leafe yfel to donne = 102.76: malorum potestas.

Greg. 397.26: æfterðæmðe he hwelcehwugu gerisenlice leafe dyde ðæm gesinhiwon hira willan to fremmanne, he cwæð = 316.8: Quibusdum in magna honestate conjugii aliquid de voluptate largiretur, adjunxit.

Chron. 260t, 1129 E: se kyng hem geaf ealle leue ham to farene.

Laws 483, Wilhelm I, c. 1^b: habbe he fulle leafe swa to donne.

Wærf. 10.2: Hu Æquitius onfeng leafe to bodianne = 0.

Bened. 21.17: leaf geseald sie to sprecenne = 42.17: loquendi concedatur licentia.

Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 384, 385: sealde him leafe to sidigenne ford and det lic to berenne.

Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 42.34: δ æt ge . . . leafe habbon (sic!) to bicgeanne δ æt δ æt ge wylla δ = emendi habeatis licentiam.

leafnes [lef-], permission:

Bede 112.6: heo . . . lefnesse sealdon deofolgyld to bigongenne dam folcum = 91.9: idola colendi . . . dare licentiam. — Ib. 400.8^{a, b}: lefnes . . . to ærnenne 7 to flitenne = 289.29: certandi . . . copia.

2. Nouns Denoting Power, Might, Capacity, etc.: —

andgi(e)t, intelligence, ability:

Ælf. Hom. I. 344^m: men . . . & habbað lytel andgit to understandenne & deopnysse Godes lare.

anweald, power, authority:

Ælf. L. S. XXXIV. 322^{a, b}: me is geseald anweald to ofsleanne and to edcucigenne.

Mk. 3.15^{a, b}: he him anweald sealde untrumnessa to hælanne, and deofolseocnessa ut to adrifanne = dedit illis potestatem curandi infirmitates et ejiciendi dæmonia.

gelæredness and getydness , learning, skill:

Bede 362.28^{a, b}: wæs . . . Cuðbyrhte swa mycel getydnes 7 gelærednes to sprecenne = 269.32: Cudbercto tanta erat dicendi peritia.

geweald, power, authority:

Ermahnung 36: Ceapa de mid æhtum eces leohtes, dy læs du forweorde, dænne du hyra geweald nafast to syllanne.

Gen. 281: ic hæbbe geweald micel to gyrwanne godlecran stol, hearran on heofne.

Pr. Gu. V. 227: Sæt ge min ahton geweald on Sas witu to sendanne = si vestrae potentiae sit istis me tradere poenis.

giefu, gift, power:

Bede 20.22: δ am . . . forgifen wæs seo gyfu to singanne = 258.25: cui $donum\ canendi$. . . sit . . . concessum.

gleawnes, wisdom, intelligence:

Bede 206.10^{a, b}: He hæfde ða gleawnesse Godes bebodu to healdanne 7 to læranne = 161.20^{a, b}: industriam faciendi simul et docendi mandata caelestia.

mægen, strength, ability:

Wærf. 244.1: he sealde me δy dæge mægn to fæstane = 297 C¹: eumque peterem quatenus mihi ut die illo virtus ad jejunandum daretur.

miht [meaht], might, power:

Bede 146.22: hæfde meahte o'derne biscop his stowe to halgianne = 120.20: habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi in loco eius.

Ælf. Hom. I. 560^t 1, 2: Si &e forgyfen miht to gebindenne and to alysenne.

J. 19.10^{a, b} Nast du det ic hæbbe mihte de to honne, and ic hæbbe mihte de to forlætenne? = nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te, et potestatem habeo dimittere te?

3. Nouns Denoting Time and Place: —

mæl, time:

Beow. 316: $M \alpha l$ is me to fer an (sic!). [Cf. K. Köhler, l. c., p. 48, and Kenyon, l. c., p. 31.]

rum, time, opportunity:

Jud. 314: rum wæs to nimanne londbuendum on dam ladestan, hyra ealdfeondum . . . heolfrig herereaf.

stow, place:

Bede 230.17: stowe geceas mynster to getimbrigenne = 175.13: elegit sibi locum monasterii construendi. — Ib. 238.24: vet he . . . forgefe stowe mynster on to timbrenne = 180.1: ut donaret . . . locum monasterio construendo. — Ib. 436.7, 8: vet he stowe hæfde in væm streame to standenne ovve hiene to bisæncenne = 310.23^{a, b}: locum standi siue inmergendi in fluuio.

Wærf. 231.14: sohton maran stowe on to sittanne = 281 C: majora sessionis loca quærentibus dicit.

tid, time:

Bede 262.21^{a. o}: Sætte tid wære stanas to sendenne 7 tid to somnienne = 207.19, 20: tempus mittendi lapides, et tempus colligendi.

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 478^{a, b}: nu is seo tid to gefyllenne and to gefremmane. tima, time:

Ælf. Hom. I. 602^t: nu is tima us of slæpe to arisenne. — Ib. II. 360^b ^{1, 2, 3, 4}: He geceas him timan to acennenne on mennischysse, to Frowigenne, to arisenne of deade, to astigenne up to heofenan.

Ælf. Gr. 135.3: hit ys tima to erigenne = tempus est arandi. — Ib. 151.11: tima hyt ys to tæcenne = tempus est docendi.

4. Nouns Denoting Necessity: —

neod, need, necessity:

Laws 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42: ealswa us neod is gelome to donne.

Bened. 127.7^b: Sæt nan neod ne sy munecum utan to farenne = 194.14: ut non sit necessitas Monachis vagandi foras.

Ælf. Hom. II. 372^{m} : Ic bohte ænne tun, and me is neod to farenne and δ one geseon (sic!).

Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 70: Nis me nan neod fæder de to secgenne hwanon ic come.

Napier's Ad. to Th. $102.35^{\text{b}3}$: me is need to farenne and Sone sceawian (sic!).

Mat. 14.16^a: Nabbað hi neode to farenne = Non habent necesse ire. niedðearf [nyd-], need, necessity:

Pr. Ps. 15.1: for δ am δ u me eall δ a god sealdest δ e ic hæbbe, and δ e heora nan $nyd\delta$ earf nis eft on me to nimenne = 15.2: quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.

dearf, need, necessity:

Gen. 279: Nis me wihtæ dearf hearran to habbanne.

Greg. 67.4^b: angiennað ðonne . . . mare secgean & smeagean suiðor ðonne him $\partial earf$ sie to begonganne = 40.26: sæpe se in quibusdam inquisitionibus plus, quam necesse est, exercentes, ex nimia subtilitate falluntur.

Laws 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42, § 2: öæt mannum is mæst öearf oftost to gemunenne.

Wærf. 79.6: he gebohte δ æt him nan δ earf næs to habbenne = 205 A: emit quod necessarium non habebat.

Bl. Hom. 63.5: us is mycel Fearf to witenne.

Wulf. 308.22: Tet mannum is mæst dearf oftost to gemunanne.

5. Nouns Denoting Will, Purpose, Inclination, etc.: —

geornfulnes, eagerness, desire:

Bede 206.11, 12: he hæfde da geornfulnesse haligu gewritu to rædanne 7 wæccean to beganganne = 161.21^{a, b}: solertiam lectionis et uigiliarum.

gi(e)men, care, concern:

Bede 482.1: Sa dæghwamlican gimene to singanne = 357.13: cotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam.

intinga, cause, occasion:

Bede 120.7: intinga to onfonne Cristes geleafan = 97.21: occasio . . . percipiendae fidei.

lufu, love:

Bede 82.25: Mid $\delta y \delta onne$ seo lufu ne bi $\delta tudres$ to tilienne = 58.29: Cum uero non amor ortandi subolis . . . dominatur.

lustbærnes, desire:

Boeth. 74.7: ne furðum nane lustbærnesse nabbað hi to secanne = 66.16: 0. willa, will, desire:

Boeth. 107.13: habbað emnmicelne willan to to cumenne = 0.

Ælf. Hom. I. 394t: SaSa hi forleton Sone willan to agenne.

6. Nouns Denoting Help:—

fultum, help, assistance:

Solil. 39.15, 16: Ic hi lufige for freendscype and for geferædenne and da

Seah ofer æalle offer be me mæstne fultum dot to ongyttanne and to witanne gesceadwisnesse and wisdom = 0.

7. Nouns Denoting Office and Work: —

ealdorlicnes, authority:

Bede 206.13: he hæfde . . . ealdorlicnesse δ a ofermedan to δ reageanne = 161.22: auctoritatem . . . redarguendi superbos.

degnung [denung], service, office:

Bede 402.30^{a, b}: he næfre . . . &a &enunge to cristienne o&e to fullwienne . . . leornian meahte = 291.18^{a, b}: cathecizandi uel baptizandi ministerium. weorc, work:

Bede 418.27: δ æt willsume weorc . . . godspel to læranne = 301.23: euangelizandi gentibus opus.

8. Nouns Denoting Usage, Custom: —

æðelo, habit (?):

Boeth. 91.20: of δ ere stowe δ e his eard and $\alpha \delta$ elo bi δ on to wexanne = 79.56:0. δ eaw, custom, habit:

Beow. 1941: Ne bið swylc cwenlic ðeaw idese to efnanne ðeah ðe hio ænlicu sy (?).

Bede 258.31: se . . . regollicne $\Im eaw$ to lifgenne Ongolcynnes ciricum sægde 7 lærde = 205.18: catholicum uiuendi morem . . . didicit.

9. Nouns Denoting Example and Teaching: —

bisn [bysn], example:

Greg. 307.9: us salde bisne ur[ne] willan to brecanne = 234.27: ut exemplum nobis frangendæ nostræ voluntatis præbeat.

lar, teaching:

Bede 160.8: betwih offre lare mannum to lyfigeanne = 135.21: inter alia uiuendi documenta.

2. Nouns Denoting Things.

I give only a few examples: —

drenc, drink:

Læce. 42.1: Drenc wið feondseocum men of ciricbellan to drincanne.

drinc, drink:

And. 23: næs vær hlafes wist werum on vam wonge ne wæteres drync to bruconne.

eage, eye:

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 29.4°: drihten eow ne sealde undergitende heortan, ne eagan to geseonne ne earan to gehirenne = non dedit vobis dominus cor intelligens et oculos videntes et aures quæ possunt audire.

eare, ear:

Ælf. Hept.: Deut. 29.4b, quoted under eage.

Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.32^t: Se & hæbbe earan to gehyrenne, gehyre & word. [Cf. the following examples from the Gospels.]

Gosp.: Mat. 11.15: Se & earan hæbbe to gehyrynne (sic!), gehyre = Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat. So: Mat. 13.9, 43; Mk. 4.9, 23; L. 14.35.

fela, much:

Greg. 237.13: Fela ic hæbbe eow to secganne = 178.28: Multa habeo vobis dicere (or objective?).

gast, spirit:

Greg. 263.21: Ne underfengon ge no Sone Gast æt fulluhte to Seowigeanne for ege = 198.22: Non accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore.

gierd [gyrd], rod:

Greg. 127.1: Gif öær önne sie gierd mid to öreageanne, sie öær eac stæf mid to wreöianne = 88.14: Si ergo est districtio virgæ, quæ feriat, sit et consolatio baculi, quæ sustentet.

Wærf. 20.27: he næfde gyrde hine mid to sleanne = 161 C: Et quia virgam qua eum ferire posset.

gryre, horror:

Bede 364.5: Sa Se . . . oSrum on gryre wæron to neosienne = 270.6: qui . . . aliis horrori erant ad uisendum.

mete, meat:

J. 4.32: Ic hæbbe sone mete to etanne se ge nyton = Ego cibum habeo manducare quem vos nescitis.

son, sound:

Bede 258.24: Swylce eac sonas to singenne = 205.11: sonos cantandi.

stæf, stick, staff:

Greg. 127.2: quoted under gierd.

ding, thing:

Ælf. Hom. I. 222t: deos dæd getacnad sum ding to donne on Godes geladunge.

Ælf. Gr. 119.10^{a, b}: verbum ys word . . . getacniende oððe sum ðing to donne oððe sum ðing to ðrowigenne oððe naðor = Verbum est pars orationis . . . aut agere aliquid aut pati aut neutrum significans.

Gosp.: L. 7.40: Symon, ic habbe se to secgenne sum $\Im ing = \text{Simon}$, habeo tibi aliquid dicere (or objective?). — L. 24.41: Hæbbe ge her ænig $\Im ing$ to etenne? = Habetis hic aliquid quod manducetur. — J. 4.11: Leof, ne su næfst nan $\Im ing$ mid to hladanne = Domine, neque in quo haurias habes.

wela, wealth:

And. 1160: welan ne benohton beornas to brucanne. [Dr. Reussner, l. c., p. 27, and Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 19, consider the infinitive to be a final modifier of the verb, not of the noun.]

wundor, wonder:

Bede 164.27: Sæt is wunder to cweSanne = 138.9: quod mirum dictu est.

Aside from the foregoing use of the inflected infinitive with nouns, which may be called the regular use, we have, as remarked by Dr. Wülfing,² l. c., II, p. 225, a use of the inflected infinitive in which it is almost a pure adjective. Or perhaps it would be better to consider that we have, as it were, an elliptical gerundial periphrastic; in these examples, as usually in the predicative infinitive with beon (wesan), the infinitive is passive in sense, and translates a Latin gerundive. I note all of what seem to me the clearer cases:—

Bened. 134.4: Syx synt muneca cynerena, δ ara synt δ reo δ a selestan, δ a o δ ere δ reo δ a forcu δ estan and eallum gemete to forbugenne = 0.

Bede 100.2: disses geleafa 7 wyrcnis seo lefed Gode onfenge 7 allum to fylgenne = 82.2: huius fides et operatio Deo deuota atque omnibus sequenda credatur.

Ælf. L. S. XXXIV. 67: hwæt bið æfre soðliere oððe to gelyfenne ænigum lifigendum menn?

Pr. Ps. 47.1: Mycel ys se Dryhten ure God, and swyde to herianne on dære byrig ures Drihtnes = Magnus Dominus et laudabile nimis in civitate Dei nostri.

Werf. 240.5: Petrus cwæð: 'is ðæt forwundorlic wise and in urum tidum to wafienne' = 293 A²: Res mira, et nostris stupenda temporibus. — Ib. 252.25: wundorlic wise ðæt wæs 7 in ðære bysne ðæs drihtenlican weorces swiðe to wafienne = 309 A¹: Mira res, atque in exemplum Dominici operis vehementer omnibus stupenda.

Bede 448.8: wæs he ge on wordum hluttor 7 scinende ge eac on gelærednesse gewrito (sic!) ge freora ge cyriclicra to wundrienne = 321.10: nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus.

In the foregoing examples the adjectivized infinitive is in the predicate nominative; ¹ in the following example it is used attributively:

Bede 472.3: Sa com . . . se leofa fæder 7 sacerd 7 mid ealle are to nemnenne Ecgbyrht se halga = 346.23: cum uenisset . . . Deo amabilis, et cum omni honorificentia nominandus pater ac sacerdos, Ecgberct.

In the following passage it is difficult to decide whether the infinitive is adjectivized or substantivized: Bede 24.1: Dæt sum on Norðanhymbra mægðe of deaðe arisende sume swiðe ondryslicu 7 eac to gewilnienne, ða ðe he geseah, secgende wæs = 303.25: Ut quidam in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum a mortuis resurgens multa et tremenda et desideranda, quae uiderat, narrauerit. Dr. Wülfing, l. c., II, p. 225, considers the infinitive adjectivized.

Differentiation of the Two Infinitives.

As already stated, out of a total of about 246 infinitives with nouns, only four are uninflected. The solitary example of the uninflected infinitive in the poems $(And.\ 1538)$ may be due, as suggested by Dr. Riggert, to the peculiar sense of the noun modified, myne; or, as privately suggested by Professor J. W. Bright, it may be due to the exigencies of the meter. In the three examples from the prose, the lack of inflection is probably due to the remoteness of the infinitive from the noun that it modifies, for twice the uninflected infinitive is the second in a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, while in the third instance $(L.\ 12.5)$ the single infinitive is appreciably removed from its noun. All four examples have been quoted in full at the beginning of this chapter.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

I have not found an example of the compound passive infinitive modifying a noun.

For the Infinitive with Nouns in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xiii.

NOTES.

1. The Infinitive in a Series with Nouns. — In the following passages we have a series of two infinitives the first of which is inflected, but the second is not: Ælf. Hom. II. $372^{\text{m } 1.2}$ and Napier's Ad. to Th. 102.35^{b 3.4}, both quoted on p. 174 above. Dr. Farrar, l. c., pp. 28

¹ For the infinitive as the substantival predicate nominative, see Chapter III, pp. 73 ff.

and 34, declares that the inflected infinitive is used parallel with the simple infinitive as the complement of a noun in L. 1.72, 79, but the infinitives are, in my judgment, final, and modify the verb. In the following passages we have a series of inflected infinitives: Bede 62.8^{a, b}, 9; 86.13^{a, b}; 206.10^{a, b}; 206.11, 12; 400. 8^{a, b}; 402.30^{a, b}; 436.7, 8; — Solil. 39.15, 16; — Wærf. 211.20^{a, b}; — Mart. 86.5^{a, b}; — Ælf. Hom. I. 560^{t 1, 2}; II. 360^{b 1, 2, 3, 4}; — Ælf. L. S. XXIII B. 478^{a, b}; XXXI. 384, 385; XXXIV. 322^{a, b}; XXXIV. 328, 329; — Mk. 3.15^{a, b}; — Wulf. 52.3^{a, b}; 202.1^{a, b}; — Læce. 52.30, 31; 54.36^b, 37; — Chad 71, 72.

2. The Inflected Infinitive Used as a Latin Gerundive. — In sentences like the following, the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive closely approximates a Latin gerundive: Bede 82.19: seo gemengnes des flæsces seo for intingan bearna (sic!) to cennenne = 58.22: carnis commixtio creandorum liberorum sit gratia. Clearly the genitive bearna is due to the too close following of the Latin idiom, for I do not find in Bosworth-Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary any example of cennan's governing a genitive. This same influence of the Latin gerundive is seen in this passage: Wærf. 114.1: det der næs eallunga nan wen des geloman ofer det to secanne

= B. 144 C²: ut spes requirendi ferramenti nulla jam esset.

CHAPTER XIV.

ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

I. THE SUBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.1

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With an Active Finite Verb.

The active infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, as the subject of active verbs was probably an idiom native to Anglo-Saxon. For we find:—

- 1. That about 34 examples occur of the subjective infinitive in the poems, of which 8 are uninflected and 26 are inflected. Of this total, several examples are found in *Beowulf*, all with *beon* plus an adjective except in one instance.
- 2. That while, in the prose translations, the Anglo-Saxon subjective infinitive corresponds nearly a fourth of the time to a Latin infinitive that is the subject of a finite verb, about half the time it corresponds to various other idioms; and in numerous cases the subjective infinitive is found without any Latin correspondent. It should be added, however, that, in the case of no Latin correspondents, the Anglo-Saxon subjective infinitive occasionally is identical with an infinitive that elsewhere has a Latin infinitive as its original; and that, in the case of some of the Latin correspondents other than a subjective infinitive (as, for example, with the other uses of the infinitive indicated below and with the uses of the gerund and the gerundive), some, though not, perhaps, a determining, influence is exercised by the Latin original. It is noteworthy, too, that the Latin expressions containing an adjective are usually rendered by an inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. In a word, the Latin influence is probably stronger than a first glance at my statistics would lead one to suppose.

The Latin chief correspondents are: an infinitive that is the subject of a finite verb (U.2: 24, I.: 7) or of a finite verb + an adjective (U.: 1, I.: 13). About half the time it corresponds to various other idioms, as follows: an objective infinitive, U.: 4, I.: 2; an infinitive as predicate nominative, U.: 0, I.: 2; a predicative infinitive with an auxiliary verb, U.: 0, I.: 1; an accusative and infinitive as subject to a finite verb, U.: 9, I.: 5; an accusative and infinitive as subject to a finite verb + an adjective, U.: 0, I.: 5; an accusative and infinitive as object, U.: 8, I.: 3; a gerundial periphrastic, U.: 0, I.: 4; a gerund in the genitive, U.: 1, I.: 0; a gerund in the ablative, U.: 1, I.: 0; a gerund in the accusative, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + an infinitive, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + ad + a gerund in the accusative, U.: 0, I.: 1; an adjective + est + a supine in -u, U.: 0, I.: 3; an adjective + a noun in the ablative, U.: 0, I.: 2; an adjective + a supine in -u, U:0, I:1; an adjective + est without an infinitive, U:0, I.: 4; an indicative + the adverb facile, U.: 0, I.: 1; opus est + an ut-clause, U.: 0, I.: 1; a relative clause with est + an adjective, U.: 0, I.: 1; a passive indicative with an ablative phrase, U.: 0, I.: 1; an indicative active, U.: 2, I.: 1; an adhortative subjunctive, U.: 0, I.: 2; a noun in -io, U. 7, I.: 0; a noun in the genitive, U.: 1, I.: 1; a noun in the accusative, U.: 1, I.: 0; a noun in the ablative, U.: 2; I.: 1; a substantivized past participle + an indicative, U.: 0, I.: 1; a prepositional phrase + a verb, U.: 1, I.: 1; a loose paraphrase, U.: 0, I.: 5; no Latin, U.: 17, I.: 43.

¹ Cf. Chapter I, pp. 7 ff.

3. That the construction occurs, though not frequently, in the more original prose: the *Chronicle*, the *Laws*, and Wulfstan.

2. With a Passive Finite Verb.

On the other hand, the active infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, as the subject of a passive verb in Anglo-Saxon is probably due to Latin influence; or, at any rate, the influence of the Latin is stronger here than with the active infinitive as the subject of an active verb, for we find:—

- 1. That only one example, that inflected, occurs in the poetry, in *Guthlac*, and that as the subject of *aliefan*. *Guthlac*, it is well known, is based on a Latin original; moreover, as we shall see below, *aliefan* with a subject infinitive, in the prose translations, is usually due to Latin influence.
- 2. That, in the prose translations, the Anglo-Saxon subjective infinitive usually occurs in translation of a Latin infinitive that is the subject of a finite verb (active, U.: 6, I.: 9; passive, U.: 1, I.: 2), though occasionally in translation of other idioms (an accusative and infinitive as the object of an active verb, U.: 0, I.: 1; ut + a passive subjunctive as the object of an active verb, U.: 0, I.: 1), and very rarely without any Latin correspondent (U.: 0, I.: 2). It is noteworthy that the active infinitive occurs most frequently as the subject of the passive of aliefan, and that, in the prose translations, the Anglo-Saxon aliefan with a subject infinitive corresponds to the Latin licere with a subject infinitive.
- 3. That in only one of the more original prose monuments, Wulfstan, is the idiom found, then only a few times and only as the subject of the one verb, aliefan, which idiom, as we have above seen, is an imitation of the Latin in the Early West Saxon translations.

It should be added that, as subject to both active and passive verbs, the active infinitive is more frequently inflected than not, both in prose and in poetry,—a fact discussed in Chapter I; and that both infinitives are found as subjects from the outset, the differentiation resting upon the principles discussed in the conclusion of Chapter I.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

In all probability, the Anglo-Saxon passive infinitive as the subject of active verbs (of which only a few examples occur, all quoted above, Chapter I, pp. 26-27) is due to Latin influence. No example has been found in the poems. In the prose translations the idiom is found very rarely, and always in translations of a Latin passive infinitive, though the infinitive in Latin is occasionally used objectively, as in Wærferth, and occasionally predicatively with a subject accusative, as in *Bede* and in *Luke* 17.25. The idiom is not found in the more original prose, and is very rare even in Ælfric.

The situation is much the same in the other Germanic languages with reference both to the active and to the passive infinitive: see Chapter XVI, section i.

II. THE OBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

- A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.
- 1. With an Active Finite Verb.
- I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED ONLY.

1. Verbs of Commanding.¹

The objective infinitive after hatan is undoubtedly of native origin in Anglo-Saxon. (1) It occurs over a hundred times in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and nearly twenty times in Beowulf. (2) In the Early West Saxon translations, though it occasionally answers to a Latin objective infinitive (active or passive), it usually answers to some other idiom, most commonly to a Latin co-ordinated finite verb. (3) It is common in the Chronicle. (4) It is very common with Ælfric, who has nearly 500 examples. (5) The idiom is, we know, characteristic of the Germanic languages as a whole. — As to abiddan we cannot decide, as only one example occurs, in Ælfric.

The Latin correspondents are: a co-ordinated finite verb (usually active (63), but occasionally passive (13)) or a Latin accusative and infinitive (usually passive (58), but occasionally active (5)). Other correspondents are: the infinitive as retained object (active, 1; passive, 5); a subordinated finite verb (active, 15; passive, 1); an absolute participle (active, 2; passive, 7); an appositive participle (active, 2; passive, 8); ad + a gerund, 4; a gerundive in the accusative, 1; an indicative with an accusative +ad + a gerundive in the accusative, 1; an accusative and a gerundial infinitive passive, 2; an indicative with ad + a gerund, 1; an indicative with ad + a gerund, 2; an adhortative subjunctive, 1; a loose paraphrase, 4; no Latin, 35.

2. Verbs of Causing and Permitting.²

The objective infinitive after *lætan* is probably of native origin. (1) It occurs in the poems, though rarely. (2) In the Early West Saxon translations, it corresponds once to a Latin objective infinitive (active), but usually to a co-ordinated finite verb (active, 3; passive, 1) or to an accusative and infinitive (active, 1; passive, 2), but occasionally to other idioms (a passive final infinitive, 1; a passive subordinated finite verb, 1; a supine in *-um*, 1; no Latin, 3). (3) It is very common in the *Chronicle*, occurring over fifty times, though usually in the later years. (4) The idiom is common in the other Germanic languages. — As only two examples occur after *don* and one after *forgiefan* (the text of the former is in doubt), we cannot decide as to them, though the Anglo-Saxon infinitive after *forgiefan* corresponds to a Latin objective infinitive after *donare*.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception.³

The objective infinitive with each of the verbs of sense perception (gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon, and seon) is doubtless of native origin in Anglo-Saxon. Seon is found only in the poetry; ofseon only once, in Ælfric. As to the objective infinitive with the remaining three verbs: (1) it is found in the poems; (2) in the Early West Saxon translations it corresponds to various Latin idioms; and (3) it is found in the Chronicle except with geseon.

<sup>Given in Chapter II, p. 31.
Given in Chapter II, p. 31.</sup>

² Given in Chapter II, p. 31.

The Latin correspondents are: — for gehieran: objective active infinitive, 1; predicative passive infinitive with an auxiliary verb, 1; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 5; passive, 1); subordinated finite verb, active, 3; appositive participle (active, 5; passive, 1); no Latin, 6; - for geseon: objective active infinitive, 5; predicative accusative of the participle (active, 1; passive, 1); accusative and passive infinitive, 2; no Latin, 1; — for hieran: objective passive infinitive, 2; subordinated finite verb (active, 1; passive, 1); predicative accusative of the past participle, 1; accusative and infinitive (active), 1; no Latin, 2.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception.¹

The objective infinitive occurs so seldom with verbs of mental perception that it is difficult to arrive at a positive conclusion concerning its origin in Anglo-Saxon. But what evidence we have seems to indicate that the idiom is, in the main, native. With two of the verbs concerned (gefrignan and gehogian), the objective infinitive is found only in the poetry, two out of three times in Beowulf. With geteon, on the other hand, the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon corresponds to a Latin objective infinitive active, and may have been suggested by the Latin. With hogian, the infinitive is found four times in the poetry and twice in the prose (in the Soliloquies and in Ælfric), in the former translating a Latin accusative and gerundial infinitive. With tweogan [tweon], the infinitive translates a Latin accusative and future active infinitive.

5. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing.²

With each of the three verbs of beginning, delaying, and ceasing (blinnan, forieldan, and ginnan) the objective infinitive translates, in Bede, in which alone it occurs, a Latin objective infinitive active. Probably, therefore, the objective infinitive with these verbs is due to the Latin.

6. Verbs of Inclination and of Will.³

Of the verbs of inclination and of will, two (behealdan and onmedan) are found with the objective infinitive only in the poetry; two (cunnian and gegiernian) are found only in Ælfric; while with five (forefon, ge-ea \Im modi(g)an, $ge \partial yrsti(g)an$, lystan, and wunian) the Anglo-Saxon infinitive invariably translates a Latin objective infinitive active. Possibly the infinitive in the last group is due to the Latin.

To sum up the matter thus far: the uninflected infinitive as object is doubtless a native idiom with the first four classes of verbs enumerated above ((1) of Commanding, (2) of Causing and Permitting, (3) of Sense Perception, (4) of Mental Perception (except with geteon); it is possibly due to Latin influence in the fifth class (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing); and it is partly of native origin and partly of foreign origin in the sixth class (verbs of Inclination and of Will).

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED ONLY.

1. Verbs of Commanding.4

With only one verb of commanding (gedittan) do we find the inflected objective infinitive, once, in Wulfstan. The infinitive seems to be a dative object, and the idiom here seems of native origin.

¹ Given in Chapter II, p. 31.

² Given in Chapter II, p. 31. ³ Given in Chapter II, p. 31 4 Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

2. Verbs of Permitting.¹

With this group, only two verbs (liefan and lofian in the sense of 'allow') are found with the objective infinitive. Liefan is not found in the poetry; in the translations it corresponds once (Mat. 19.8) to a Latin objective infinitive active, once (Ælf. Hept.: Num. 21.22) to a subjective infinitive, and once (Greg. 451.29) it has no Latin correspondent; the other example is found in Wulfstan. Lofian is found once, in the Chronicle. The infinitive with these verbs is probably of native origin.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception.²

Of this group, only three verbs (aðencan, mynnan, and witan [nytan]) are found with the inflected objective infinitive in the poems. The following fifteen are found in the Anglo-Saxon translations: behatan, gehyhtan, geliefan, geswutelian, geteohhian, geðencan, læran, sirwan, smeagan [smean], tæcan, teohhian [tioh-], ðeahti(g)an, understandan, weddian, and witan; and have various Latin correspondents, as indicated below. The following occur in texts other than the poems or the translations: æteowan, anbidian, bodian, cyðan, geceosan, tacan, and tellan. In all probability, therefore, the inflected infinitive as object with the verbs of mental perception as a whole is a native idiom.

The Latin correspondents for the words above specified are:—for behatan: objective active infinitive, 1; accusative and future active infinitive as object, 1; ut + the subjunctive in an object clause, 1;—for gehyhtan: objective active infinitive, 1;—for geliefan: accusative and gerundial infinitive as object, 1;—for geswutelian: objective active infinitive, 1;—for geteohhian: objective active infinitive, 1; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; substantivized past participle, 1; no Latin, 3;—for gedencan: objective active infinitive, 1;—for læran: gerundive in the genitive, 1; gerundive in the accusative, 1; no Latin, 1;—for sirwan: final active infinitive, 1;—for smeagan [smean]: accusative and future active infinitive, 1; no Latin, 1;—for tæcan: co-ordinated finite verb, passive, 1;—for techhian: objective active infinitive, 1; complementary infinitive to an auxiliary verb, 1; ut + a subjunctive, 2; gerundive in the predicate nominative, 1; no Latin, 3;—for deahti(g)an: accusative and future active infinitive, 1;—for understandan: no Latin, 1;—for weddian: objective active infinitive, 1;—for witan: no Latin, 1.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing.3

The inflected infinitive as object with this group of verbs is not found in the poems. Except with three verbs found in this idiom only in Ælfric (elcian, forwiernan, and gefon), it is represented in the Anglo-Saxon translations; in which, as my statistics below show, it answers most frequently to a Latin objective infinitive active or to various locutions made up of the Latin gerund or gerundive, and occasionally to other idioms. As the simplex, wiernan, and other compounds of fon occur in the translations, it is probable that, in the main, the infinitive in this group of verbs was due to the influence of the Latin originals.

The Latin correspondents are: — for an forlætan: objective active infinitive, 1; — for gælan: co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for ieldan [eldan, yldan]: objective active infinitive, 3; appositive participle, deponent, 1; — for onfon: gerundive in the accusative, 3; gerund in the genitive, 1; — for underfon: gerundive in the accusative, 2; ad + a gerund, 1; ut + a subjunctive of purpose, 1; no Latin, 2; — for wiernan: objective active infinitive, 1.

¹ Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

³ Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will.1

Of the verbs belonging to this group, none is found with an inflected objective infinitive in the poems. In the translations, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds oftenest to a Latin objective infinitive active, but occasionally to other idioms. A number of the verbs do not occur in the translations (andracian, forsacan, murnan, oferhogian, reccan, swerian, teon, wandian), but with the exception of the first two (in Ælfric) they are found in the Chronicle or in the Laws, and with them all the infinitive is probably native. The verbs followed by an objective infinitive in the translations are so sparingly represented as to preclude confident conclusions, but to me the infinitive with these, as with the verbs above mentioned, seems in the main of native origin.

The Latin correspondents are: — for adrædan: objective active infinitive, 1; — for beotigan: ad + a gerund in the accusative, 1; — for fleon: objective active infinitive, 1; — for fleon: objective active infinitive, 1; — for fleon: objective active infinitive, 5; adhortative subjunctive, 2; — for fleon: accusative and fleon gerundial infinitive, 1; — for fleon: objective active infinitive, 2; absolute passive participle, 1; — for fleon: objective active infinitive (or final?), 1; fleon: fleon:

6. "Habban," 'have.'

An inflected infinitive is not found with habban in the poems; in the translations, the infinitive corresponds to several Latin idioms (ad + an accusative, a gerundial periphrastic, a co-ordinated indicative active; and a periphrastic future indicative active). It is possible, perhaps probable, that the Latin exercised a slight influence in these instances.

In a word, the inflected infinitive as object seems of native origin in the first three groups of verbs above given ((1) of Commanding, (2) of Permitting, (3) of Mental Perception), also in group 5 (verbs of Inclination and of Will) in the main; but the idiom is more or less due to Latin influence in group 4 (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing) and in group 6 (habban).

III. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED AND INFLECTED.

1. Verbs of Commanding.²

Of this group of verbs, bebeodan, beodan, and biddan are found with an objective infinitive in the poems. In the translations the Anglo-Saxon objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, corresponds to several different Latin idioms, and in all probability the idiom is native to Anglo-Saxon with this whole group of verbs.

The correspondents in Latin are: — for bebeodan: U.: accusative and passive infinitive as object, 3; — I.: gerundive in the accusative, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for beodan: U.: 0; — I.: subjective active infinitive, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for bewerigan: U.: subjective passive infinitive, 1; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for biddan: U.: objective active infinitive, 1; accusative and passive infinitive as object, 2; appositive participle active, 1; no Latin, 1; — for forbeodan: U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: noun in the accusative, 1; no Latin, 1; — for gehatan: U.: absolute participle passive, 1; accusative and passive infinitive as object, 1; — I.: accusative and a future active infinitive, 1.

¹ Given in Chapter II, p. 37.

² Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

2. Verbs of Permitting.¹

Of the three verbs in this group (aliefan, geðafian, and sellan), sellan is found with an objective infinitive (U.: 1, I.: 1) only in the poems. In the translations, aliefan is found with an infinitive, uninflected and inflected, that corresponds now to an objective infinitive, now to a predicative infinitive with accusative subject, now to a finite verb in the Latin original; and geðafian is found once with an inflected infinitive as object translating a Latin objective infinitive active. Aliefan and geðafian are each found, also, in works not known to be translations. The infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, with this whole group of verbs is probably of native origin.

3. Verbs of Mental Perception.²

Of this group of verbs, findan, gemyntan, myntan, Sencan, and wenan are found with the objective infinitive in the poems, findan and Sencan with the infinitive both uninflected and inflected, the other verbs named with the uninflected only. In the translations, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, has various Latin correspondents. In all probability, therefore, the objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, is of native origin with this group of verbs, though no doubt the Latin original occasionally accounts (as in geleornian) for the infinitive's being inflected.

The Latin correspondents are: — for geleornian: U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: gerundive in the accusative, 1; — for gemyntan: U.: 0; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for gestihhian: U.: objective active infinitive, 1; — I.: no Latin, 1; — for leornian: U.: 0; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; gerundive in the accusative, 1; — for myntan: U.: objective active infinitive, 1; no Latin, 2; — I.: 0; — for δ encan: U.: objective active infinitive, 11; ad + a gerundive in the accusative, 2; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; accusative and passive infinitive as object, 1; noun in the accusative, 1; loose paraphrase, 1; no Latin, 9; — I.: objective active infinitive, 7; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; subordinated finite verb, active, 1; ad + a gerundive in the accusative, 1; noun in the ablative modified by a genitive, 1; indicative passive with a prepositional phrase, 1; no Latin, 5.

4. Verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing.3

Of this group of verbs, only the following have the objective infinitive in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and that uninflected: forlætan, and beginnan and onginnan, the two most frequently recurring of the whole class. In the Chronicle, this idiom with these two last verbs occurs, though not frequently: in the translations, the Anglo-Saxon objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, has various Latin originals, though the most frequent is an objective infinitive. That the objective infinitive, when uninflected, was a native idiom in Anglo-Saxon with these two verbs seems highly probable, therefore, though the frequency of the construction in the translations must be in no small part due to the frequency of coepit (and kindred verbs of beginning) followed by an objective infinitive in the Latin original. As to the inflected infinitive as object after these two verbs, I have spoken above, in Chapter II, pp. 67 ff.; where I have tried to show that the use of the inflected form was not due to foreign in-

¹ Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

³ Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

fluence. The objective infinitive after the other verb of beginning (aginnan), when uninflected, is doubtless original, and on substantially the same grounds given for beginnan and onginnan. The inflected infinitive as object with aginnan is found only in the later Chronicle (1006 E^b) or in the early years in the late and imperfect MS. F.

The objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, after fon is doubtless of native origin. The uninflected infinitive occurs only twice, in Wulfstan; the inflected is found in Wærferth, in Ælfric, and in Wulfstan, though the example in Wærferth, corresponding to a Latin gerundive in the accusative, may be considered final in sense.

As to the verbs of Ceasing (ablinnan and geswican), as the objective infinitive occurs only in Late West Saxon (Ælfric and the Gospels), we cannot decide as to its origin. Forlætan, as stated above, is found once in the poems uninflected (in And.), and once in the prose inflected (in Greg.), translating here an objective active infinitive; and the idiom with this verb may be partly due to Latin influence.

The Latin correspondents are:—for aginnan: U.: objective active infinitive, 13; coordinated finite verb, active, 2; appositive participle, active, 2;—I.: 0;—for beginnan: U.:
objective active infinitive, 1; no Latin, 2;—I.: objective infinitive (active, 5; passive, 1);
co-ordinated finite verb, active, 4; ad + a gerundive in the accusative, 1; appositive participle,
active, 1; no Latin, 7;—for fon: U.: 0;— I.: gerundive in the accusative, 1; co-ordinative
finite verb, active, 1; no Latin, 1;—for forlatan: U.: 0;— I.: objective active infinitive, 1;—
for geswican: U.: objective active infinitive, 1;—I.: 0;—for onginnan: U.: objective infinitive
(active, 333; passive, 5); subjective active infinitive, 1; active infinitive as retained object,
2; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; complementary infinitive (active, 2; passive,
1); causal active infinitive + a predicate nominative, 1; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 31;
passive, 2); subordinated finite verb, active, 20; gerund in the ablative, 2; a + a gerund in
the ablative, 1; absolute participle (active, 4; passive, 6); appositive participle (active, 25;
passive, 6); noun in the ablative, 5; loose paraphrase, 6; no Latin, 87;—I.: objective active
infinitive, 4; subordinated finite verb, active, 1; appositive participle, active, 1; inchoative
indicative, 3; loose paraphrase, 1.

5. Verbs of Inclination and of Will.¹

Of this group, the following are found in this idiom in the poetry: forhogian (I.: 1), gieman (I.: 1), secan (U.: 2), tilian (U.: 2), wil(l)nian (U.: 1, I.: 1). Two of these (tilian and wil(l)nian) are the most frequently used of the whole group, the next most frequent being gewil(l)nian. Although only the first of the following verbs is found in either the Chronicle or the Laws, the objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, with these three verbs (gewil(l)nian, tilian, wil(l)nian) is probably of native origin: as we have seen, two of the three are found in the poems; and in the translations, the objective infinitive, though often translating a Latin objective infinitive, often has other correspondents in the original. For substantially the same reasons, the objective infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, is probably of native origin after forhogian, gieman, and secan.

With forhycgan, the objective infinitive occurs twice uninflected in Bede in translation of a Latin objective infinitive, and once inflected in the Blickling Homilies, but, as with the kindred forhogian, the infinitive with forhycgan may be native.

¹ Given in Chapter II, p. 44.

Twice the uninflected infinitive is found as object to ge-earnian, in Bede, each time answering to a Latin objective infinitive, and thrice in Ælfric; and once inflected in Ælfric. The examples are too few for a confident decision; but the sentences in Bede sound stiff and unnatural to me.

Similarly with the objective infinitive after gemedemian, occurring twice uninflected in the Laws, and once inflected in Ælfric, in each translating a Latin objective infinitive, decision is impossible, but my feeling is against the native origin.

The objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, after gedristlecan, occurring as it does in the Laws, is probably of native origin, although in Wærferth it translates a Latin objective infinitive.

The objective infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, after gewunian, is probably due to Latin influence: the infinitive is not found in the poems; in the prose occurs chiefly in the translations, and usually renders a Latin objective infinitive with consuescere or with solere.

The objective infinitive after *ondrædan*, whether uninflected or inflected, is probably of native origin, for, while we find in the translations the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponding usually to a Latin objective infinitive, it at times (as in *Greg.* 49.18) corresponds to a Latin finite verb without an infinitive.

The Latin correspondents are: — for forhogian: U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 1; — for for hycgan: U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: 0; — for ge-earnian: U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: 0; — for gemedemian: objective active infinitive, 2;—I.: objective active infinitive, 1;—for georistlecan: U.: objective active infinitive, 1;—I.: 0;—for gewilnian: U.: objective active infinitive, 4;—I.: objective active infinitive, 2;—for gewunian: U.: objective active infinitive, 25;—I.: objective active infinitive, 3; loose paraphrase, 1; no Latin, 1; — for gieman: U.: objective active infinitive, 3; no Latin, 1; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; — for ondrædan: U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 2; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — for secan: U.: objective active infinitive, 2; — I.: objective active infinitive, 10; appositive participle, active, 1; — for tilian: U.: objective active infinitive, 1; gerund in the ablative, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; — I.: objective active infinitive, 11; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 3; passive, 2); subordinated finite verb, active, 1; loose paraphrase, 2; appositive participle, active, 1; no Latin, 3; — for wil(l)nian: U.: objective active infinitive, 22; accusative and active infinitive as object, 1; co-ordinated finite verb (active, 6; passive, 1); subordinated finite verb, active, 1; no Latin, 9; — I.: objective active infinitive, 19; complementary infinitive, active, 1; co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; subordinated finite verb (active, 2; passive, 1); gerundial periphrastic, passive, 2; gerundive in the genitive, 2; de + a gerundive in the ablative, 1; noun in the accusative with a gerund in the genitive, 1; noun in the accusative, 1; noun in the accusative modified by an infinitive, 1; absolute participle, passive, 1; loose paraphrase, 2; no Latin, 30.

In brief, the objective infinitive, uninflected and inflected, is probably of native origin with group 1 (verbs of Commanding); group 2 (verbs of Permitting); group 3 (verbs of Mental Perception), though, no doubt, the Latin original occasionally accounts for the infinitive's being inflected (as with geleornian); with fon of group 4 (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing); and with all the verbs of group 5 (verbs of Inclination and of Will) except possibly ge-earnian, gemedemian, and gewunian. The infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, as the object of aginnan, beginnan, and onginnan, in group 4 (verbs of Beginning, Delaying, and Ceasing), is doubtless of native origin, though the frequency of the idiom is partly due to the Latin original. With the verbs of Ceasing (ablinnan and geswican) in group 4, the origin of the

objective infinitive, uninflected and inflected, is indeterminable, so few are the examples; with *forlætan*, the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, is partly due to Latin influence.

2. With a Passive Finite Verb.1

The active infinitive as "the retained object" of passive verbs is most probably of Latin ² origin. The idiom is found only once, if at all, in Anglo-Saxon poetry (Exod. 44), and then in a poem based on a Latin original. In the Anglo-Saxon translations it is rare, and usually corresponds to the same construction in the Latin originals (8), though occasionally to other Latin idioms (an indicative active, 1; a gerundial periphrastic passive, 1; ad+a gerund in the accusative after a passive verb, 1). It is almost unknown in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (the *Chronicle* and the *Laws*) and, strange to say, in Ælfric. The foregoing statement is substantially true whether the objective infinitive is uninflected or inflected, concerning which see Chapter II, p. 69 above.

As stated in Note 2 to Chapter II, owing to the Anglo-Saxon translator's mistaking a deponent verb for a passive verb, he occasionally gives an active infinitive (uninflected and inflected) after an Anglo-Saxon finite verb that is passive in form but active in sense.

Despite the statement of Dr. Kenyon, $l.\ c.$, p. 100, that "In O. E. [= A. S.] the simple infinitive seems to have been the original construction, but the prepositional came in early," it seems probable that, from the outset, both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive could be used as the object of active verbs, the differentiation between the two forms resting on the principles laid down in Chapter II, pp. 60–69.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.3

1. With an Active Finite Verb.

The passive infinitive as the object of active verbs is of Latin origin. The idiom is not found in the poetry. In the Anglo-Saxon translations it is rare, and almost invariably corresponds to the same construction in the Latin, though occasionally it corresponds to a Latin objective infinitive active ($W \alpha r f$. 206.14, 24), occasionally to a Latin passive subjunctive ($Bede\ 402.24$), and once it has no Latin correspondent ($Mat.\ 20.28$). It is unknown in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (the Chronicle, the Laws, and Wulfstan) and, strange to say, in Ælfric.

2. With a Passive Finite Verb.

The passive infinitive as "the retained object" after passive verbs, found four times in *Bede*, each time translates the same idiom in the Latin original, as it does also in the one example in Wærferth.

In the other Germanic Languages we find matters surprisingly similar as regards the objective infinitive, both active and passive: see Chapter XVI, section ii.

³ See Chapter II, pp. 71 ff.

See Chapter II, p. 59.
 Cf. Erckmann, l. c., p. 11: "This personal construction [= infinitive as retained object of a passive verb] is very rarely to be found in the former stages of the language, in Anglo-Saxon and Semi-Saxon. We may therefore ascribe the modern usage principally to the influence of the classic languages."

III. OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.1

A. AS A PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

As to the origin of the infinitive as a predicate nominative, it is difficult to speak with any confidence. Only two examples occur in the poetry (Beow. 473: Sorh is me to secganne, and ib. 1724: Wundor is to secganne), both of which are doubtful, and only one in Early West Saxon (Bede 202.29: Đæt eac swilce his deaw was on odrum cyninges tune to donne = 160.1: quod ipsum et in aliis uillis regiis facere solebat), which is also doubtful. One example each occurs in the Gosp. (J. 19.40) and in the A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. (10.521); three, in Wulf. (214.22, 279.5^{a, b}); and the remainder, constituting the majority, in Ælfric. It is possible that the infinitive as a predicate nominative is an extension of the inflected infinitive as subject of a verb + a noun or pronoun, or as the modifier of a noun, but the fact that the predicate infinitive does not occur, save sporadically, until Late West Saxon times, and that, in the example from the Gospels, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds to a Latin infinitive as predicate nominative, makes it probable that Latin influence contributed somewhat to the result. What is here written applies primarily to the inflected infinitive, which, as we have seen above, Chapter III, p. 74, is the normal form in this idiom. For the explanation of the few uninflected infinitives in this construction, see above, Chapter III, p. 75.

In the other Germanic languages the infinitive as predicate nominative is rare: see Chapter XVI, section iii.

B. AS AN APPOSITIVE.

The appositive infinitive, normally uninflected, is rare in Early West Saxon and in Late West Saxon, and only three examples, all uninflected, occur in the poetry (Beow. 76, Maldon 208^{a, b}). In the translations it corresponds to an appositive infinitive (Gosp.: Mk. 2.9^{a, b}; L. 5.23^{a, b}; Mat. 9.5^{a, b}); to a subjective infinitive (Bede 78.22a, b, c, d, e; Greg. 355.22a, b; Oros. 50.16; Solil. 16.16, 17; Mk. 12.33 (?)); to a subjunctive (Greg. 273.3 (?)); to an objective infinitive (Boeth. 53.20^{a, b}; Pr. Gu. IV. 58, XVI. 14^{a, b}); to an attributive adjective (Bede 458.24); to a prepositional phrase (Bede 56.24); and occasionally has no Latin correspondent (Boeth. 84.32; Pr. Ps. 39. Intr.; Solil. 2.16, 17; Oros. 44.9, 10^{a, b}; 120.31^{a, b}; 138.32^{a, b}; 178.10,11). The construction is found occasionally, too, in the Chronicle and in the Laws. The idiom may be native, but it is probable that in a number of instances the construction is due to Latin influence: probably but not necessarily, in those in which the appositive infinitive occurs both in the Latin original and in the Anglo-Saxon translation, but also in a number of other instances in which there is no such correspondence in the specific sentences, but in which the Latin pattern (of other sentences) The occasional inflection of the appositive infinitive is due to its proximity to some word requiring a case other than the accusative, as explained in Chapter III.

In the other Germanic languages this use, also, is rare: see Chapter XVI, section iii.

¹ See Chapter III, p. 73.

IV. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH AUXILIARY VERBS.1

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The predicative use of the active uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs is of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, for it is found innumerable times in poetry and in prose of all periods and authors in the Anglo-Saxon epoch. It has seemed unnecessary to gather statistics on this construction. The predicative use of the inflected infinitive active with auxiliaries occurs only sporadically except with agan, concerning which see Chapter IV, pp. 80-81, 82-83.

The construction with the uninflected infinitive active is likewise native in the other Germanic languages; with the inflected infinitive, only sporadic: concerning both see Chapter XVI, section iv.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Contrary to my expectation, the passive infinitive as complement to the auxiliary verb is due to Latin influence. This use is almost unknown in the poetry, only 25 examples being found (1 with the infinitive made up of the past participle and beon; 7 with the infinitive made up of the past participle and wesan; and 17 with the infinitive made up of the past participle and weorðan), and all of these in poems known to be based on Latin originals (Gen., Dan., Chr., Gu., Ju., El., And., Ph., and Met.). In the prose translations, the passive infinitive regularly corresponds to a complementary passive infinitive in the Latin, though occasionally it has other correspondents.

The other correspondents in Latin are: the passive subjunctive, 45; the passive indicative, 32; the accusative and passive infinitive (as subject, 1; as object, 19); the passive infinitive as retained object, 1; the objective passive infinitive, 5; the appositive participle, passive, 8; the attributive participle, passive, 1; the complementary infinitive, active, 5; the objective active infinitive, 1; the accusative and active infinitive as object, 4; the active indicative, 4; the active subjunctive, 15; a noun, 3; a gerundive, 1; a gerund, 2; a loose paraphrase, 1; no Latin, 14.

V. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION AND OF REST.²

Of the nature and the origin of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest in Anglo-Saxon, I have seen no thoroughly satisfactory explanation. But several helpful suggestions have been offered, and in the following pages I attempt a synthesis of these suggestions.

The more modern view seems to be that the infinitive in this construction at times denotes the manner of motion indicated by the chief verb, and at times expresses an action co-ordinate with that of the chief verb, which uses may be designated as modal and co-ordinate respectively.

C. F. Koch's ³ statement, in his *Englische Grammatik* (1865), II, p. 61, is brief and explicit. Speaking of the simple infinitive after verbs of motion, he says: "Hier erscheint der Infinitiv in doppelter Bedeutung. Er nennt aa) die Weise der Bewegung oder eine sie begleitende Handlung: Fleon gewat (er

<sup>See Chapter IV, p. 79.
See Chapter V, p. 89.
Koch's first ed. of Vol. II appeared in 1865; my quotation is from the second ed. (1878).</sup>

gieng fliehen = floh), C. 136.23; . . . bb) den Zweck der Bewegung: Gewat se wilda fugel earce secan," etc. Clearly our idiom is referred to in Koch's first subdivision, which takes account of both the modal and the co-ordinate uses.

Since in his discussion of the infinitive after verbs of motion, especially in his paragraph on this construction in Anglo-Saxon, Mätzner 1 clumps together examples in which the infinitive is purely final (as in Beow. 396: Nu ge moton gangan . . . Hrodgar geseon) with examples of the dubious sort now under discussion (as in Beow. 234: Gewat him &a to warobe wiege ridan begn Hrobgares), it is impossible for me to be sure of his view as to the ultimate nature of the infinitive in question. I quote, however, his introductory comment (p. 16): "Bei intransitiven Verben der Bewegung war in älterer Zeit der reine Infinitiv geläufig; gegenwärtig trifft man ihn noch bei go, früher auch bei come. In diesem Falle bezeichnet der Infinitiv theils eine zweite Thätigkeit, welche mit der Bewegung verbunden ist, theils eine solche, welche ihren Zweck ausmacht." Then follow examples of the sort indicated from Modern English and from Middle English. The paragraph on this infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is thus introduced (p. 17): "Wie im Französischen bei aller, venir, courir und bei denselben Begriffen in altgermanischen Mundarten, steht auch im Ags. bei gangan, gewitan, cuman, faran, feran häufig der reine Infinitiv." Then follow examples from Anglo-Saxon, specimens of which I have already quoted. comes this concluding paragraph concerning the infinitive after verbs of motion in English of the three epochs: "Dass in den angeführten Beispielen theils eine mit der Bewegung zeitlich zusammenfallende Bethätigung, theils eine der Bewegung folgende und durch sie erzielte Handlung dargestellt wird, ergiebt sich leicht; wie aber beide Verhältnisse oft thatsächlich nahe an einander grenzen und selbst in einander übergehen, so ist beiden syntaktisch dieselbe Form zu Theil geworden, worin die Bewegung gleichmässig als die Voraussetzung einer anderen Handlung erscheint. Wo der begriff des Zweckes hervorgehoben wird, tritt auch in frühester Zeit schon to zum Infinitiv, worüber beim präpositionalen Infinitiv gehandelt wird." (Cf. ibidem, p. 38.) He seems, also, to attribute to our infinitive both the modal and the co-ordinate uses.

Professor March, in his A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language (1869), § 448 (4), under "Direct Object," speaks of this use of the infinitive as follows: "General motion defined by specific motion: fleon gewat, 'he went to fly '= 'he flew away' (C. 136, 23); com fleogan, 'came flying' (89, 10); com gongan (B. 710); com drifan, 'came driving'= 'fell (on a rock)' (Bed., 5, 6); so with faran, feran, glidan, ridan, scriðan, siðian, tredan, etc. See further under Participles, § 458, 2." This section on the participle deserves quoting, as throwing some light on the statement just quoted concerning the infinitive. In § 458, under the heading "Objective," we read in (2): "Definitive after verbs of motion: com ridende, 'came riding' (Hom., 2, 134); com gangende (Matt., XIV, 25, and often); cwom gefered (Sal., 178; perhaps never exactly the Germ. kam gegangen); wind wedende færeð (El., 1274); ðurhwunedon acsiende, 'they continued asking' (John, VIII, 7)." It may be, however, that Professor March, by his translation of fleon gewat as "he went to fly"

¹ Englische Grammatik (1865), Vol. III, pp. 16-17; my quotation is from the third ed. (1880).

² Of these examples only the first two seem to me strictly analogous in use with the infinitive under discussion. Gefered is excluded as being a past participle; wedende is more a participial adverb than an adverbial participle, as I have tried to show in my The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon, p. 275; while acsiende is in sense utterly different from the infinitives like gangan, fleogan, etc.

intends to imply that ultimately *fleon* denotes purpose, though the probability of such an implication is somewhat weakened by his adding immediately "= he flew away," as also by his translation of the other infinitives above. In a word, he seems to consider the infinitive modal in use.

Quite similar to the statement of C. F. Koch is that of Theodor Müller, in his Angelsächsische Grammatik (1883), p. 247: "Der reine Inf. steht . . . c) nach Verben der Bewegung, um den Zweck der Bewegung auszudrücken; zuweilen auch um die Art und Weise der Bewegung näher zu bezeichnen, im letzteren Falle das Part. Praes. vertretend: Gewat an neosian . . . hean huses, Beow. 115; he com gangan, Beow. 710 (cf. Koch, II, 55)."

The view of Dr. Steig is given in his discussion of kuman, in his article "Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altniederdeutschen" (1884): "Bei kuman scheint die Infinitiv-Construction besonders beliebt gewesen zu sein. Indess ist eine doppelte Gebrauchsweise wohl zu unterscheiden: Erstens wird nämlich dem Verbum kuman pleonastisch der Infinitiv eines Verbs der Bewegung beigefügt; ähnlich bei Homer, z. B. ἔβη ἴμεν, ἔβη θέειν u. dgl. m." He then cites examples, of which I quote only one, Heliand 503: tho quam en uuif gangan. The second use of the infinitive after kuman is, as Steig indicates, purely final.

Quite similar is the view of Dr. Pratje, in his "Syntax des Heliand" (1885), § 142, which is headed "Einfacher Infinitiv, abhänging von Verben der Bewegung:" "Man kann zwischen dem phraseologischen, oder, wie Steig es ausdrückt, pleonastischen und dem finalen Gebrauch des Infinitiv unterscheiden." He then gives illustrations of these two uses of the infinitive with various verbs of motion. But neither he nor Steig expresses a definite opinion as to the origin of the phraseological (or pleonastic) infinitive.

Of the same import is the statement of Dr. Karl Köhler, who, in his dissertation, Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im "Beowulf" (1886), p. 29, declares that the infinitive expresses "entweder die Weise der Bewegung oder eine sie begleitende Handlung."

Dr. B. Schrader, in his Studien zur Ælfricshen Syntax (1887), p. 70, attributes to the infinitive the modal use: "Um bei Verben der Bewegung die Art derselben zu bezeichnen, wird im älteren ae. [= A. S.] stets der einfache Inf. gebraucht (he com gangan)."

Dr. Sweet's statement, in his Anglo-Saxon Reader (1894), p. lxxxiv, is brief, and non-committal as to the origin of the idiom: "The infinitive is often used in poetry after a verb of motion where we should use the present participle: $\Im a \ com \ inn \ gan \ ealdor \ \Im egna$, 'the prince of thanes came walking in '(20.394)."

Professor C. A. Smith seems to think that the infinitive is primarily modal in sense. In his Anglo-Saxon Grammar (1898), p. 138, in commenting on Beowulf, 1. 651 ($scaduhelma\ gesceapu\ scriðan\ cwoman$), he expresses himself as follows: "The student will note that the infinitive (scriðan) is here employed as a present participle after a verb of motion (cwoman). This construction with cuman is frequent in prose and poetry. The infinitive expresses the kind of motion: $ic\ com\ drifan =$ 'I came driving.'"

Dr. Wülfing's statement, in his *Syntax* (1900), II, p. 194, is as follows: "Der Infinitiv bezeichnet die Art und Weise der Bewegung oder eine gleichzeitige Handlung, als Vertreter eines Partizips. Diese in der Poesie so überaus häufige Redewendung habe ich bei Ælfred nur zweimal bei *cuman* gefunden."

He then quotes Bede 619.23 and Boethius 6.9, and refers to Mätzner, to Schrader, and to an article by himself in Englische Studien, Vol. XIX, 1894, pp. 118–119. In this last article, in reviewing A. Müller's Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Verbums in dem Angelsächsischen Gedichte von der Judith (a Leipzig dissertation of 1892), Dr. Wülfing discusses the origin of the infinitive with gehen in such expressions as essen gehen, sitzen gehen, stehen gehen, schlafen gehen, liegen gehen, particularly in modern Niederdeutsch (liggen gan = 'sich legen; 'lopen gan = 'weglaufen; 'stan gan = 'sich stellen'), and concludes: "Sicher ist die Beziehung des Zweckes in diesen Infinitiven bei gan das ursprüngliche, später aber verwischte sich die Bezeichnung des Zweckes mit der der Gleichzeitigkeit, und das Ganze wurde zu einer pleonastischen Umschreibung; ob dies aber schon in ags. Zeit der Fall war, lässt sich bezweifeln."

In his The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose (1903), p. 13, Professor Shearin thus comments on the idiom: "There is met four times, in the prose of the early period, the infinitive of a verb of motion after another verb of like kind, used pleonastically to express manner of motion."

Professor Strunk, in his Juliana (1904), thus comments on cwom blican, ll. 563-564: "A common idiom in O. E. poetry: a verb of motion followed by a complementary infinitive," a definition which seems to hark back to the statement of Grimm given below.

The most recent expressions of opinion as to the nature of the idiom that I have seen are by Dr. Kenyon, in his The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer (1909), and by Dr. Riggert, in his Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie (1909). Says the former, l. c., p. 6: "As in O. E., so sometimes in Chaucer, the simple infinitive with verbs of motion represents a simultaneous action, denoting the manner or specifying the nature of the governing verb. Cf. Beow. 711: \delta a com of more under misthleodum Grendel gongan (K[\delta hler], p. 31)." Dr. Riggert, l. c., pp. 38 ff., lists the examples of our idiom under this heading: "Der Infinitiv bezeichnet die Art und Weise der Bewegung oder eine gleichzeitige Handlung." He adds: "Der Infinitiv, der die Art und Weise der Bewegung ausdrückt, enthält ein Verbum, das mit dem Verbum Finitum sinn-verwandt ist; in Ausdrücken wie gewat him \delta a Andreas gangan steht der Infinitiv rein pleonastisch."

But, while helpful, none of these more modern statements are so helpful as this brief statement by Grimm: "Ferner stehn die Verba gehen, fahren, kommen auxiliarisch mit dem blossen Inf." Grimm then cites numerous examples of the uninflected infinitive after these and similar verbs of motion in the various Germanic languages, among the rest (p. 108) in Anglo-Saxon. In the last, as in the other Germanic languages illustrated by Grimm, sometimes the infinitive is clearly final (as in Beow. 1601 (Grimm's reading): gewat him secan) and sometimes predicative (as in Gen. 1471: gewat fleogan).

Personally I believe that the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion was originally final in sense in Anglo-Saxon, a use of the uninflected infinitive very common in the poems and not unknown in the prose. Later the principal verb of motion paled down to a mere auxiliary (whence Grimm speaks of the use of the finite verb of motion as auxiliary, as already stated), and the infinitive after this verb of motion came to complete the sense of this verb of incomplete sense when used as an auxiliary: thus, to take again the example cited by

Professor March, fleon gewat first meant "he went (in order) to fly," or "he tended to fly," and finally merely "he flew." How close the border line is between the final infinitive and the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion in Anglo-Saxon, and how easily the former may pass into the latter, may be made clear by a few illustrations, I believe. Take this sentence from the Læceboc, edited by Dr. Leonhardi, 68.29: Sume alwan leaf sellat, Jonne mon wile slapan gan; or this from Beowulf, 239: Sus brontne ceol ofer lagustræte lædan cwomon? or these from Genesis: — 1774: Da com leof gode on da edelturf idesa lædan; 1746: Gewit &u nu feran 7 &ine fare lædan, ceapas to cnosle; 1767: Him &a Abraham gewat white ladan on Egipta exelmence. The infinitive in each of these sentences may be considered either as final or as predicative, though it now seems to me to lean slightly more to the former use in the passages in question. But, in most of the examples cited as predicative in Anglo-Saxon, the final sense has well nigh completely faded away from the infinitive; the infinitive seems to carry the chief idea in the verb phrase; and the principal verb seems to have become a mere auxiliary; for which reason it has seemed to me best to call this the predicative use of the uninflected infinitive after a verb of motion which has paled into an auxiliary, as has long been the habit in characterizing the infinitive after (w)uton. This seems more nearly in accord with the facts than to consider that the infinitive has paled, and that the finite verb carries the sense of the verbal phrase, as do those who call the infinitive pleonastic; or than to consider that neither finite verb nor infinitive has paled, as apparently do those who call the infinitive either modal or co-ordinate.

This development of the verb of motion into an auxiliary and of the final infinitive into a predicative infinitive, here postulated as a fact for the Anglo-Saxon, is supported by what we learn of similar constructions in the kindred languages, especially in the Germanic languages. Thus, the infinitives $\theta \epsilon \omega \omega$ and $\delta \mu \epsilon \nu$, cited from Homer by Dr. Steig and by Dr. Shearin, are considered final by Goodwin, in his Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb, § 772. Grimm's numerous examples prove that such may have been the evolution in High German with verbs of rest; and Dr. Wülfing holds that such has been the case in Low German as a whole after verbs of motion, a fact already illustrated in this section for Old Saxon. Again, this explanation is in line with Grimm's explanation of the High Germanic kam gelaufen. For further details as to the idiom in the Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section v.

More than this: as we have tried to show, this theory comes nearest to explaining the numerous infinitives after verbs of motion in Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose, whether final or predicative. It corresponds to the well nigh universally accepted belief that the infinitive after (w)uton in Anglo-Saxon was originally final in sense, but early in Anglo-Saxon times became predicative, as will be seen in the chapter on this idiom. It tallies with the development of the infinitive with to in Modern English after verbs of motion, as in I went to sleep = I slept, etc.

Finally, that the Latin had no influence in the development of this use, is evident from the fact that, in the very few examples of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion in the Anglo-Saxon translations, no such infinitive occurs in the Latin original.

¹ See Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 9.

This theory as to the origin of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion seems applicable likewise to the predicative infinitive after verbs of rest,—a construction very rare in Anglo-Saxon (only four examples occur), but not uncommon in the High Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section v.

VI. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "(W)UTON."1

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

As stated incidentally in the preceding section, the predicative infinitive after (w)uton was probably originally final in sense, as in the case of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion in general. The purpose idea paled away, and the infinitive came to be complementary instead of final in sense. This view is generally accepted, and has been several times expressed by others, as by Professor C. A. Smith ² and by Professor Shearin.³ Not quite so definite is the statement of Professor Einenkel: "gon mit reinem Infinitiv ist entweder auxiliar und periphrastisch und zwar in den Fällen, in denen es dem AE. wutan, utan entspricht, also in der 1. Person Pluralis steht: go we then soupe, quod he, III, 16; . . . oder es ist Begriffsverbum und der abhängige Infinitiv hat, wie oben bei gon to, nur eine etwas schwächere, finale Bedeutung: Go brynge hir forth and put hir in hir warde, III, 81." ⁴

The idea of motion pales away in (w)uton, and it becomes equal to the modern let as an exhortation.

The infrequency of the construction in Anglo-Saxon poetry, where less than fifty examples are found, and in Alfred, where about twenty-five examples are found, was noted above, Chapter VI, p. 93. No example occurs in the *Chronicle*, but the construction is frequent in Ælfric, and very frequent in Wulfstan.

In the Anglo-Saxon translations, (w) uton plus an infinitive usually 5 renders a Latin adhortative subjunctive corresponding in sense to the Anglo-Saxon In a few instances, however, the Latin has an adhortative verb of motion in addition, as in Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 37.20b: Uton hine ofslean and don hine on Sone . . . pytt and secgan = Venite, occidanus eum et mittanus in cisternam veterem! dicamusque. All examples observed of this use of veni and of venite are given in a note to Chapter VI, p. 95; as are, also, the Anglo-Saxon imitations of the same. While, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs, I believe the (w)uton construction to be of native English origin, it is impossible to resist the belief that its great vogue in Anglo-Saxon is in no small measure due to Latin influence. This belief rests not only on the statement just given as to the Latin correspondents in the Anglo-Saxon prose translations, but on the further fact that only four examples of the infinitive with wuton have been found in Beowulf, and that most of the remaining examples in Anglo-Saxon poetry occur in poems known to be based on Latin originals (Gen., 3; Chr., 4; And., 1; Ps., 14; Minor Poems, 16).

Concerning the predicative infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section vi.

¹ See Chapter VI, p. 93. ² In his

² In his explanation of uton in his An Old English Grammar, p. 184. ⁴ Einenkel, ¹ l. c., p. 238.

³ Shearin, ¹ l. c., p. 12.

⁴ Einenkel, ¹ l. c., p. 238.

⁵ About 76 times out of a total of 94 examples. The other correspondents are: an appositive participle, 1; an imperative, 1; no Latin, 15.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

As to the origin of the passive infinitive as complement to (w)uton, I cannot speak with certainty, as only three examples occur, all in Ælfric.

VII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "BEON" ("WESAN").1

A. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES NECESSITY.

As to the inflected infinitive with beon (wesan) denoting necessity and passive in sense, it seems to me highly probable that, in Anglo-Saxon, the construction was first suggested by the Latin, because:—

- 1. Only ten examples in all have been found in the poems (S. & S. 54: to begonganne; Seizure and Death of Alfred 13: to gelyfenne; Rid. 42.8: to gedencanne; Rid. 29.12 and 32.23: to hycganne; Met. 21.42: to metanne; Gu. 502 and 510: to secganne; And. 1481: to secganne; and Ps. 77.10: to wenanne); of which examples the majority come from poems known to be based on Latin originals (Met., And., Gu., and Ps.). Three examples come from a poem (the Riddles) believed 2 to be by an author, Cynewulf, some of whose works are known to be based on Latin originals. As to the other two poems concerned, Salomo and Saturnus and the Seizure and Death of Alfred, although the direct source of the former has not been discovered, the poem is believed to be based on Latin originals; and the second poem occurs in the later part of the Chron-Again, in three of the ten examples the same infinitive, to secganne, occurs, while two others show to hycganne; and all of the words so used in the poems occur also in the prose, most of them in direct translation of the Latin periphrastic conjugation. In the face of these facts, no one, I think, will claim that this construction is organic in Anglo-Saxon poetry.
- 2. Although, as we have seen already, the construction is very common in Early West Saxon, still, in Alfred and in Wærferth, out of a total of about 552 examples, 478 correspond to the Latin periphrastic conjugation (either complete, 445; or elliptical, 33) made up of sum and the gerundive; while 29 others correspond to Latin locutions of similar form or meaning (ad + a gerund(1), ad + a gerundive(3), an adjective in <math>-bilis (2), debeo + an infinitive(5), a gerundive in the genitive (1), dignum + an ablative (2), possum + a passive infinitive (1), sum + an infinitive (2); licet + an infinitive (1); and less closely akin: an accusative and a passive infinitive (1), a passive indicative (8), or a passive subjunctive (2)). I believe, therefore, that the inflected infinitive of necessity or obligation in Anglo-Saxon was first suggested by, and was used normally in translation of, the Latin passive periphrastic conjugation, though it was occasionally suggested by the other Latin locutions of kindred signification above named.
- 3. Nor is the induction of 2 invalidated, I think, by the fact that we have about forty-five infinitives in Early West Saxon not yet accounted for by the Latin originals. Of these forty-five, seven (Bede 88.23: cweðan; 128.13: don;

¹ See Chapter VII, p. 97.

² The claims of Cynewulf to the authorship of the *Riddles* has been much strengthened by Dr. F. Tupper. Jr.'s recent article, "The Cynewulfian Runes of the First Riddle," in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1910.

³ See Vincenti, l. c., pp. 122 ff.

234.13: geliefan; 334.30: secgan; Boeth. 16.19: Sencan; Greg. 249.7: habban; 377.22: ongietan) correspond to an active subjunctive, which may suggest obligation or necessity. While four (Bede 230.21: ongietan; Boeth. 64.18: tælan; Boeth. 64.19: herian; Greg. 455.28: gieman) correspond to a present indicative, each infinitive except tælan is one that has elsewhere occurred in translation of a Latin periphrastic conjugation; besides, such differences naturally arise owing to the difference in point of view of translator and of author. Two (Boeth. 113.14: luftan; 127.25 (?): læran) are loose periphrases of the Latin text. Of the 32 infinitives occurring without any Latin correspondent (arian: Boeth. 72.25, 27°; — biddan: Solil. 30.8; — cyðan: Greg. 287.3, 311.14; — don: Bede 72.26; — gedencan: Boeth. 52.2, 76.1; Greg. 29.6; — girnan: Boeth. 90.13; — herian: Boeth. 69.3; — lexan: Greg. 341.15; — lufian: Boeth. 108.21; — manian: Greg. 265.14; — metan: Boeth. 72.12; — ondrædan: Greg. 383.26; — ongietan: Wærf. 66.26, 245.21, 295.22, 322.25^b; onscunian: Boeth. 41.9; — secgan: Boeth. 41.3; — sprecan: Wærf. 263.6; — Boeth. 111.2; — wenan: Boeth. 37.30, 148.27; — weorðian: Boeth. 72.27°, 75.14; Oros. 126.32; — wundrian: Boeth. 72.27°; Oros. 34.31, 134.24), all, except biddan, girnan, and onscunian, occur in Alfred and in Wærferth, in other places, in translations of the regular Latin correspondent, the periphrastic passive.

4. The construction is relatively rare in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (Chron., 4; Laws, 20; Wulf., 34).

5. Save in this use with been (wesan), the inflected infinitive is habitually active in sense.

6. The Latin gerundial periphrastic is often rendered otherwise than by the infinitive with beon (wesan).

7. Originally, no doubt, the inflected infinitive with the verb been (wesan) denoted purpose, and the purpose idea passed into that of necessity, as has several times been conjectured. The most detailed statement of this view is that by Dr. Tanger, in his interesting article, "Englisch to be to im Vergleich mit I shall:" "Was bedeutet nun to be mit folgendem Infinitiv eigentlich? An eine Ergänzung von obliged (to be obliged to do a thing), wie sie früher öfters (so noch in Rauchs Rep. Gr., § 148) angenommen wurde, ist nicht zu denken, denn to be obliged heisst müssen und nicht sollen, und ferner schliessen ja auch die ae. Beispiele, die schon vorhanden waren, ehe oblige ins Englische aufgenommen wurde, eine solche Erklärung aus. Wir haben es hier vielmehr wohl mit der grundbegrifflichen Bedeutung von to be = ' da sein, existieren' zu thun. Die darauf folgende Präposition to deutet für die Verbindung auf einen Grundbegriff des Zweckes hin (vgl. Koch-Zup. II, § 78bb), wie wenn wir sagen: wir sind da oder existieren zum Arbeiten und zum Kämpfen. Aus diesem Zweckbegriff ergeben sich unschwer die anderen Schattierungen des Geeignetseins (es ist zum Lachen, zum Weinen, est ist zu bedauern, zu bewundern) und des Bestimmtseins (das ist zum Aufbewahren, zum Wegwerfen). Von hier gelangen wir leicht zu den weiteren Bedeutungen der Obliegenheit, Verpflichtung, Nötigung, d. h. zur Notwendigkeit, zum Sollen: I am to stay at home. Unsere Konstruktion bedeutet also ursprünglich: jemand oder etwas ist vorhanden (geeignet, bestimmt) zur Ausführung einer Thätigkeit (resp. zum Befinden in einem Zustande)."² This view of Dr. Tanger's is substantially the one held

¹ See Hale and Buck, l. c., pp. 270-271; and Hale, l. c., pp. 424-425.

² Tanger, *l. c.*, pp. 312-313.

by Dr. Shearin,¹ l. c., p. 26, and by Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 133. No opinion as to the origin of the idiom is expressed by Dr. Farrar, Dr. K. Köhler, Dr. Jost, or Dr. Riggert.

In the kindred Germanic languages the origin was probably the same as in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter XVI, section vii.

The inflected infinitive with been (wesan) denoting necessity or obligation and active in sense is, likewise, in all probability due to the Latin periphrastic passive conjugation, and for substantially the same reasons as those given in the discussion of the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive passive in sense. No example of this infinitive used in an active sense occurs in the poems; with one exception (Boeth. 44.20: Forom hit nis no to metanne of geendodlice wid of the exception) ungeendodlice = 46.57: infiniti uero atque finiti nulla umquam poterit esse collatio) the infinitive in Alfred 1 corresponds each time to the Latin passive periphrastic (complete or elliptical), while the single example in Wærferth (340.29: warnian) corresponds to ad + a gerundive. If it should seem odd that the Latin passive periphrastic should suggest the active as well as the passive use of the inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, the explanation seems to be this: in one instance (Bede 224.19, quoted in Chapter VII, p. 103) the active use comes from a too close following of the Latin accusative and periphrastic infinitive (Deum potius intellegendum); in some instances (as in Greg. 125.13, 187.15; Pr. Gu. III. 63), the fact that the Latin gerundive precedes the verb sum in the periphrastic conjugation has led the Anglo-Saxon translator to put the inflected infinitive first in his translation, to consider it active in sense, and consequently to put what is the subject nominative in Latin into the objective case (accusative, genitive, or dative) in Anglo-Saxon; in a word, in these latter cases the precedence of the infinitive (or occasionally of the finite verb, as in Lace. 68.30) seems to lead to the objectifying of the noun. same principle of precedence may in part account for the active use in the examples from Ælfric, from the prose Guthlac, and from the Læceboc. occasionally (as in Mart. 72.25 and Lace. 76.33 — with which latter, however, compare Lece. 63.37, in which the infinitive has precedence —) the infinitive is active in sense though it follows its object. — That ad + a gerundive should be translated actively (as in Wærf. 340.29) is what we should expect; but this is the only instance in which it is so translated: normally it is rendered by an inflected infinitive passive in sense. — The fact that the same form, -ndus, in Latin could be used actively or passively in all probability contributed to the double use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon; as may, also, the fact that in other uses than with been (wesan) the inflected infinitive is habitually active in sense in Anglo-Saxon.

B. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES FUTURITY.

The inflected infinitive with beon (wesan) denoting futurity corresponds regularly to the Latin periphrastic conjugation made up of sum + the future active participle in all the examples from the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin given in Chapter VII, pp. 104 ff. above. The construction occurs but once in Alfred (Bede 224.26), and translates the Latin active periphrastic; is unknown in the poems, in the Chronicle, in the Laws, and in Wulfstan; is relatively frequent in the Gospels, where every occurrence corresponds to the

¹ The same is true of Pr. Gu. III, 63, but not of Pr. Gu. V, 58; for both of which, see Chapter VII, pp. 104 and 102 above.

Latin active periphrastic; and is very rare in Ælfric. I think, therefore, that we are justified in concluding that in Anglo-Saxon the inflected infinitive denoting futurity is due to Latin influence. I wish to add, however, that, as said earlier, there is at times room for difference of opinion as to whether an infinitive with beon (wesan) is present or future in sense; but that, in Chapter VII, pp. 104 f. above, I have given all the instances in which the infinitive seemed to me clearly to denote futurity.

The inflected infinitive of futurity in the other Germanic languages, likewise, is probably due to Latin influence: see Chapter XVI, section vii.

C. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES PURPOSE.

The inflected infinitive with beon (wesan) denoting purpose, in all of the few examples occurring in the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin (given in Chapter VII, pp. 105 f.), corresponds to ad + a gerundive (or occasionally ad + a gerund) except in Greg. 131.21, in which it corresponds to a Latin complementary infinitive. One example only is found in the poems (Gen. 703), which is doubtful because of a defective text. It seems probable, therefore, that these inflected infinitives of purpose are here due to the Latin.

Concerning the infinitive of purpose with be in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section vii.

VIII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.¹

AS OBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

I. UNINFLECTED.

It is not my purpose to give a survey of the various theories concerning the ultimate origin of the predicative infinitive with accusative subject in the Indo-Germanic languages; for an excellent survey has recently been given by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin in his dissertation, The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English (1908), pp. 1–12. I merely wish to state that, with Dr. Zeitlin, I have long thought that the theory first suggested by Curtius and later amplified by Professors Brugmann and Delbrück comes nearest to solving the problem. Professor Brugmann, l. c., § 807, thus states the theory:—

"Ein bestimmtes Subjekt der Inf.-Handlung brauchte nicht vorhanden zu sein, ihr Subjekt konnte aber das Subjekt des regierenden Verbums sein oder ein zu diesem gehöriger Dat. oder Akk.

"Der letzte Fall, z. B. ai. tvám indra srávitavá apás kah, 'du, I., hast die Wasser fliessen machen,' gr. θωρῆξαὶ ἐ κέλευε . . 'Αχαιούς, 'heiss ihn wappnen die A.,' gab die Grundlage für die Konstruktion des Acc. c. Inf. ab, wie sie das Griech., Ital., und teilweise das Germ. aufweisen. Der ursprünglich zu dem transit. Verbum gehörige Akk. wurde als Subjekt zum Inf. gezogen, eine Verschiebung der syntaktischen Gliederung, die zumteil sicher durch die Analogie zu abhängigen Sätzen mit selbständigem Subjekt hervorgerufen worden ist (vgl. etwa ich sah ihn fliehen = ich sah, [dass] er floh). Alsdann eigneten sich auch Verba, die einen Objektsakk. nicht zu sich nahmen, diese Konstruktion an, z. B. hom. οὔ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὤς δειδίσσεσθαι, 'nicht ziemt es sich, dass du verzagst,' lat. gaudeo te valere, got. jah warþ afslauþnan allans, 'καὶ ἐγένετο θάμβος ἐπὶ πάντας.' Vgl. § 815 über die absoluten Partizipial-konstruktionen."

If, for the moment, we assume that the Anglo-Saxon developed the predicative infinitive with accusative subject for itself instead of merely inheriting it or borrowing it, it is easy to see a development parallel to that indicated by Professor Brugmann in the older Indo-Germanic languages going on in Anglo-Saxon itself, or, rather, to see what appear to be traces of such a development. For instance, despite the frequency of the infinitive with accusative subject in Anglo-Saxon after verbs of commanding (hatan, etc.) and of causing and permitting (lætan, etc.), the infinitive without a subject accusative was far more frequent after hatan than the infinitive with a subject accusative, and was quite frequent with letan. Moreover, when the infinitives following these two groups of verbs have an accusative with them in the Germanic languages, the relation between accusative and infinitive, to many Germanic grammarians (among them the great Grimm 1), seems so loose that they hold that the accusative is to be considered, not as the subject of the infinitive, but solely as the object of the finite verb, — a view that, though in my opinion not tenable, is enlightening in calling attention as it does to the looser 2 union between infinitive and accusative after these two groups of verbs than after other groups, as after verbs of mental perception. Moreover, in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive without subject accusative is more common after hieran, 'hear,' than with subject. a word, it seems to me that a careful study of the two constructions after these three groups of verbs in Anglo-Saxon lends considerable strength to the Brugmann theory as to the origin of the infinitive with accusative subject; and that we may consider that this theory likewise applies to Anglo-Saxon as a whole unless it can be shown that this idiom is merely an importation, say, from the Latin.

Is the infinitive with accusative subject in Anglo-Saxon borrowed from the Latin, either in part or in whole? In attempting to answer this question, first purely from a consideration of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon, it will be best to consider group by group the verbs followed by an infinitive with accusative subject.

1. Verbs of Commanding.³

To begin with the most frequently used group, verbs of commanding (bebeodan, biddan, forbeodan, and hatan), it seems to me that, with the exception of forbeodan (of which we have only one example 4 followed by the infinitive with accusative subject, that in direct translation of the Latin), we are precluded from assuming that the predicative infinitive is due to the influence of the Latin originals, and for the following reasons:—

- 1. With each of the three remaining verbs the infinitive with accusative subject is found freely in the poetical as well as in the prose texts, with two of the verbs (bebeodan and biddan) more freely in the poetry than in the prose, though not in Beowulf.
- 2. That, while a goodly number of the examples in the Anglo-Saxon prose translations are in direct translation of the accusative and infinitive in the Latin originals, a not inconsiderable number are not, but correspond to various other constructions in the Latin.

¹ L. c., IV, pp. 129 ff. Among those that have adopted this view of Grimm's I may mention T. Müller and Dr. Riggert.

² Cf. Zeitlin, ¹ l. c., pp. 36-37.
⁴ Cited in Chapter VIII, p. 109.

³ Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 107.

The Latin correspondents are: — for bebeodan: a noun in the accusative, 2; — for biddan: an accusative and active infinitive, 1; — for hatan: an accusative and infinitive (active, 30; passive, 5); a dative and infinitive, 3; an active infinitive as retained object, 3; a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 15; a subordinated finite verb, active, 4; an appositive participle (active present, in the nominative, 3; passive in the accusative, 1); an absolute participle, passive, 1; a gerund in the ablative, 1; ad + a gerund, 1; a noun in the accusative, 1; two nouns, 1; an adverb, 1; no Latin, 16.

2. Verbs of Causing and of Permitting.1

In verbs of causing and of permitting (alætan, biegan [began], don, forlætan, gedon, geðafian, geðolian, geunnan, lætan, and niedan), all, except lætan and its compound, forlætan, occur with a predicative infinitive so seldom as to make trustworthy conclusions concerning any of the words except lætan and forlætan difficult, if not impossible.

The probability seems to be, however, that alætan, occurring only twice, in the poems, is in no wise due to Latin influence.

Began [biegan] is followed by the accusative and infinitive only once (Ps. 143.14), and there the infinitive corresponds to a Latin appositive participle. See the statements concerning don and niedan.

The only instance in Early West Saxon ($Bede\ 98.27^{b}$) of don followed by the accusative and infinitive is in translation of the same idiom in Latin, as is also true of the one example in the Laws; the only example in poetry is from the metrical Psalms; while the remaining examples are from Late West Saxon (Ælfric and Wulfstan). Latin influence is, therefore, highly probable in the case of don.

Gedon occurs only twice (once each in Bl. Hom. and in Ælf. L. S.), and, like don, is doubtless ultimately due to Latin influence.

Gedafian, occurring only four times (Bl. Hom., 1 doubtful example; Ælfric, 3), is possibly indirectly due to Latin influence.

Gedolian is clearly due to Latin influence in the only example found (in the Laws), the Latin occurring by the side of the Anglo-Saxon.

Geunnan occurs only once (Ælf. Æthelw.), and is followed by what may indifferently be considered an accusative with predicative infinitive or a dative with objective infinitive. In either case, Latin influence is probable, the Latin having concedes followed by a dative and objective infinitive.

In the one example found of niedan (Mk. 6.45), the Anglo-Saxon accusative and infinitive translate the same idiom of the Latin.

As to both *lætan* and its compound, *forlætan*, Latin influence is out of the question; for, as our examples given above (pp. 110 ff.) show, the accusative-and-infinitive construction with each occurs frequently in the poetry, and in the prose translations often occurs when the accusative with infinitive is not found in the Latin original.

The correspondents in Latin are: — for forlætan: an accusative and infinitive (active, 2; passive, 1); an active infinitive as retained object, 1; a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 2; a predicative participle, passive, accusative, 1; no Latin, 1; — for lætan: an accusative and active infinitive, 38; a dative and active infinitive, 1; a complementary infinitive, active, to an auxiliary verb, 1; an active infinitive as retained object, 1; a subjective infinitive, active, 1; an active infinitive as predicate nominative, 1; a co-ordinated finite verb (active, 23;

passive, 1); a subordinated finite verb (active, 9; passive, 1); a gerundive in the accusative, 1; an appositive participle, passive, nominative, 1; a loose paraphrase, 1; doubtful, 1; no Latin, 16.

To sum up this group, the predicative infinitive with *lætan* and its compounds, *alætan* and *forlætan*, shows no trace of Latin influence; with all the other verbs of the group it shows appreciable traces of such influence.

3. Verbs of Sense Perception.¹

As to the verbs of sense perception (behealdan, gefelan, gehawian, gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon, sceawian, and seon), with the exception of hieran and seon and their compounds, we have too few examples of them followed by the accusative-with-infinitive construction to draw confident conclusions.

Behealdan is found but once, in Ælfric, followed by an accusative and infinitive.

Gefelan is in each of its two occurrences (Bede, 1; Wærf., 1) due to Latin influence.

Gehavian, occurring once, in W x r f., is due to the Latin original.

Sceawian, occurring twice, in Wærf., is likewise due to Latin influence.

On the contrary, hieran and its compound (gehieran) and seon and its compound ² (geseon) show little or no trace of Latin influence, occurring with the accusative and infinitive frequently in poetry, and in the prose translations often not having the accusative and infinitive in the Latin originals.

The Latin correspondents are: — for gehieran: an accusative and infinitive (active, 11; passive, 1); a predicative present participle, accusative, 3; a loose paraphrase, 1; — for geseon: an accusative and infinitive (active, 51; passive, 2); an active infinitive as retained object, 6; a subjective infinitive, active, 1; a predicative participle (nominative: active, 3; accusative: active, 29; passive, 4); an appositive participle, passive, nominative, 1; an absolute participle (active, 1; passive, 1); a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 3; a subordinated finite verb, active, 4; a predicate noun in the accusative, 1; a prepositional phrase, 1; a gerundive in the nominative, 1; no Latin, 8; — for hieran: an accusative and active infinitive, 1; — for ofseon: 0; — for seon: 0.

In all probability, therefore, the accusative with infinitive after *hieran* and seon and their compounds is not due to Latin influence; but this idiom after all other verbs of sense perception in Anglo-Saxon (except behealdan) is probably due to Latin influence.

4. Verbs of Mental Perception.3

In the verbs of mental perception (æteawan, afindan, eowan, findan, geacsian, gecyðan, gefrignan, gehatan, gehyhtan, geliefan, gemetan, gemittan, gemunan, getriewan, gewitan, læran, onfindan, ongietan, tali(g)an, tellan, wenan, and witan), again, a number of words occur so seldom with the predicative infinitive as to make deductions difficult concerning them.

Æteawan, found only once, in Bede, has an accusative and an infinitive that are clearly due to the Latin original.

Of afindan all we can say with certainty is that the idiom occurs with it once only, in A. S. Hom. & L. S. In all probability, what is said below of the simplex, findan, is true of the compound, afindan.

¹ Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 108.

² Of seon occurs only once in this construction (in Ælf. Hom.).

³ Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 108.

Eowan, occurring once, in Wærf., is due to the Latin original.

The predicative infinitive with *findan* is not due to Latin influence, for in the translations it corresponds to another idiom of the original (a predicative past participle, accusative, once), and is more frequent in poetry (7 examples, 5 in *Beowulf*) than in prose (3 examples).

Geacsian with accusative and infinitive is found twice each in the Blickling Homilies and in Wulfstan. Whether or not the idiom is due to Latin influence, cannot be decided.

In the single example of $gecy \delta an$, in Warf, the accusative and infinitive translate the same idiom of the Latin original.

The idiom with *gefrignan* is undoubtedly native, occurring only in poetry, there forty-one times, and being widely distributed.

With gehatan the idiom is probably due to Latin influence, two examples occurring in direct translation of the Latin, and a third example, though itself corresponding to a Latin ablative absolute, is perhaps suggested by a neighboring accusative and infinitive of the Latin.

As to gehyhtan, occurring only once, in Ælf. L. S., there is no need of supposing direct Latin influence, as by Ælfric's time the idiom had become common.

With geliefan, occurring only once, in W x r f, the accusative and infinitive correspond to the same idiom in the Latin.

With gemetan and gemittan the idiom is doubtless native: both are found in poetry, the latter in poetry only; and the former has, in the Anglo-Saxon translations, various Latin correspondents (an accusative and infinitive (active, 3; passive, 1); a predicative present participle, accusative, 6; a predicative adjective, accusative, 1; an appositive participle, passive, accusative, 1).

With gemunan the idiom is doubtless due to Latin influence: the verb is not found with this construction in the poetry; and in Bede and in Wærferth the accusative and infinitive correspond to the same idiom in Latin.

With getriewan, the idiom occurs only once, in Bede, and in direct translation of the Latin.

With gewitan, found only once, in Andreas, the construction is doubtless native, as with the simplex, witan, which see below.

As to *læran*, the examples (only four in all, in prose, given in Chapter VIII, p. 116) are too few to be decisive, but Latin influence is clear in two of the examples (*Bede* ² and *Gospels*), in each of which we have the accusative and infinitive in the original. The other two examples occur in A. S. Hom. & L. S. II.

With onfindan, found only once (in Beow.), the idiom is doubtless of native origin, as with the simplex, findan, which see.

With ongietan, found once in poetry (Beow.) and 6 times in prose, the idiom is probably due to Latin influence, translating, as it does, a Latin accusative and infinitive in each of the examples in Bede and in Wærferth.³

As to tali(g)an, found twice with this construction, in Alexander, I dare not venture an opinion.

With tellan, the sole example of the idiom, in Bede, is in direct translation of the Latin.

With wenan, the idiom is doubtless due to Latin influence, the single ex-

¹ Cf. Gorrell, l. c., pp. 369, 475.

³ Except that once in the latter (Warf. 285.1) it translates a noun in the accusative modified by a substantivized present participle in the genitive.

ample each in Bede and in Wærferth corresponding to the Latin accusative and infinitive.

With witan, the idiom is possibly native, as with the compound, gewitan: the accusative with infinitive after witan is more common in poetry (7 examples) than in prose (3 examples). It should be observed, however, that, in the two examples from Bede, the accusative with infinitive translates the same idiom in Latin; and that several of the poetic examples occur in poems based on Latin originals (Ju., 1; Gu., 1; And., 1).

To sum up the matter: the predicative infinitive is probably native after these verbs: afindan, findan, gefrignan, gehyhtan, gemetan, gemittan, gewitan, onfindan, and witan; but the idiom is probably due to Latin influence after these verbs: ateawan, eowan, gecy an, gehatan, geliefan, gemunan, getriewan, laran, tellan, and wenan. The data are insufficient to decide about the idiom after these verbs: geacsian and tali(g)an.

5. Verbs of Declaring.1

With verbs of declaring (cweðan, foresecgan, ondettan, and secgan) the accusative with infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is clearly due to Latin influence, translating, as it does, in each of the few examples the same construction in the Latin.

6. Other Verbs: "habban" and "todælan."

The origin of the idiom is indeterminable with *habban*, found only once, in Ælf. Hom., and with todælan, found only twice, in Oros. Concerning the latter, see Chapter VIII, p. 118, and Chapter XII, p. 169.

To sum up the matter as a whole, the predicative infinitive with accusative subject is probably native with: (1) certain verbs of Commanding (bebeodan, biddan, and hatan); (2) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (lætan and its compounds, alætan and forlætan); (3) certain verbs of Sense Perception (hieran and seon, and their compounds); (4) certain verbs of Mental Perception (afindan, findan, gefrignan, gehyhtan, gemetan, gemittan, gewitan, onfindan, and witan).

It is probably due more or less to foreign (Latin) influence with: (1) this verb of Commanding, forbeodan; (2) certain verbs of Causing and Permitting (biegan [began], don, gedon, geðafian, geðolian, geunnan, and niedan); (3) certain verbs of Sense Perception (gefelan, gehawian, sceawian); (4) certain verbs of Mental Perception (æteawan, eowan, gecyðan, gehatan, geliefan, gemunan, getriewan, læran, ongietan, tellan, and wenan); (5) all the verbs of Declaring represented (cweðan, foresecgan, ondettan, and secgan).

Its origin is indeterminable with: (1) this verb of Sense Perception, behealdan; (2) certain verbs of Mental Perception (geacsian and tali(g)an); (3) with certain Other Verbs (habban and todælan).

In the large, the foregoing result tallies with the conclusion reached by previous students of the construction. No investigation of the idiom covering the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature has hitherto been made so far as I am aware; and, in the limited investigations that have been published, for the most part little direct consideration of the question as to the origin of the con-

struction has been given. Still, a few noteworthy deliverances have been made.

One of the earliest statements is that by Dr. Ludwig Erckmann, in his Infinitive and Gerund as a Means of Abbreviating Substantive Sentences in the English Language (1875), p. 21: "The Gothic followed upon the whole the Greek use of the accusative c. inf., whilst the Anglo-Saxon seems to prefer the substantive sentence."

Dr. Carl Krickau, whose work deals primarily with the construction in Elizabethan times, in 1877 declared (p. 4) "dass diejenigen Anwendungen, welche beiden verwandten Sprachgruppen gemeinsam sind, als die ältesten und ursprünglichsten zu betrachten sind. Als solche ergeben sich sein Gebrauch nach den Verben, welche 1) ein Bewirken, eine Bitte oder einen Befehl, 2) eine sinnliche Wahrnehmung ausdrücken. Das Angelsächsische, Altsächsische und Althochdeutsche zeigen nämlich, soweit ihre Quellen nicht durch das Lateinische beeinflusst sind, unsere Construction nur nach jenen beiden Classen von Verben. Was das Angelsächsische betrifft, so kommt sie nach folgenden Verben vor: lætan, don, biddan, beodan, bebeodan, hatan; seon, geseon, heran, hyran, gehyran, findan, gemetan, gemittan, fandian, afandian."

In Theodor Müller's Angelsächsische Grammatik (1883), p. 248, we read: "Es wird der reine Inf. auch in der Konstruktion des Acc. mit dem Inf. angewandt. Dieselbe findet sich aber im guten Ags. nur selten, eigentlich nur nach den Verben, gefrignan und gehyran, wahrnehmen, erfahren . . . Wenn nach den Verben hatan, heissen, letan, lassen, und Verben des Wahrnehmens ein Acc. mit dem Inf. folgt (ic hate hine cuman) so ist das nicht die eigentliche Konstruktion des Acc. mit dem Inf., worin ja der Acc. und der Inf. zu einer Begriffseinheit verschmolzen sind, sondern es hängt der Acc. und der Inf. und zwar jeder besonders vom Verbum ab, jener als persönliches, dieser als sächliches Objekt. In ags. Uebersetzungen lat. Werke findet sich der eigentliche Acc. mit dem Inf. in ausgedehnterem Masse in folge willkürlicher Uebertragung lat. Konstruktionen auf das Ags."

Less definite is Dr. Karl Köhler, who, in his Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im "Beowulf" (1886), p. 52, declares: "Für das Ags. ist bislang auch die Untersuchung über die mehr oder weniger geringe Abhängigkeit der Acc. c. Inf.-Konstruktion vom Lateinischen noch nicht geführt worden.² Denn dass ein solcher Einfluss sich geltend gemacht hat, darf man von vornherein annehmen; hat doch wohl kein Volk des frühen Mittelalters sich so eifrig mit der Uebersetzung lateinischer Schriften befasst wie die Angelsachsen."

In his Streifzüge durch die Mittelenglische Syntax (1887), p. 252, Professor Eugen Einenkel thus delimits the construction in Anglo-Saxon: "Im AE. hält sich der Accusativ-mit-Infinitiv im wesentlichen innerhalb der bei uns im NHD. beobachteten Grenzen. Er steht vornehmlich nach den Verben des Veranlassens und Zulassens, sowie nach denen der geistigen Wahrnehmung. Doch finden sich schon im AE. nicht selten Belege freierer Verwendung," which statement is repeated in substance in his treatment of English Syntax in Paul's Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie, 2nd ed., 1899, p. 1076.

¹ That is, the Classical and the Germanic.
² "Die einzige mir bekannte Specialschrift über den Acc. c. Inf. im Englischen von Karl Krickau (Gött. Dis., 1877) behandelt besonders die Elisabethanische Periode und giebt nur einen Gesammtüberblick über die vorhergehende Zeit."

Brief is the statement of Dr. Leon Kellner, in his *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (1892), p. 253: "The accusative + inf. as object of verbs like biddan (ask), hatan (bid), seon (see), gehyran (hear), findan (find), is quite common in Old English."

In his "Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon" (1895), p. 485, Professor J. H. Gorrell reaches this conclusion: "The infinitive clause is mostly used after hatan, with less frequency after other verbs of command. The subject-accusative construction is in general use only after verbs of perception in the picturesque language of poetry; its occurrence after verbs of saying or thinking is very rare, and is mostly confined to direct copyings of the corresponding Latin construction; this method of rendering the Latin prevails, however, to no great extent even in the closest translations." On pp. 476-477 we read: "There are in Bede 331 Latin infinitives following verbs which act as introductions to indirect discourse; in 263 instances the Latin infinitive is rendered by the regular Anglo-Saxon construction with the subordinate clause; in 68 cases only does the Anglo-Saxon agree in construction with the Latin: 28 of these are found after hatan (its usual native sequence), 8 follow geseon, 6 occur after gehatan, 4 after gehyran; witan, twygean, gelyfan, gelimpan, and secgan are each followed twice by the infinitive; while bebeodan, biddan, bewerian, ætiewan, gemunan, geleornian, læran, oncnawan, ongytan, tellan, ðyncan, and wenan are followed once by this construction. Since the infinitive clause is quite frequent after hatan and verbs of perception, we may conclude from the above statistics that the influence of the Latin infinitive construction upon the Anglo-Saxon is very slight even in the closest translations." For reasons given below, in the discussion of the view of Dr. Zeitlin, it seems to me that Dr. Gorrell somewhat underestimates the influence of the Latin.

Dr. Wülfing, in his Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen (1900), II, p. 182, merely quotes with approbation the statement of T. Müller, given above.

In his Studies in the Language of Pecock (1900), p. 119, Dr. Fredrik Schmidt incidentally expresses his view concerning the construction in Anglo-Saxon: "Pecock's extensive use of the accusative and infinitive after this third group of verbs is characteristic of his style. Krickau (Acc. mit dem Inf., p. 17) calls him the writer 'welcher mit der Einführung des Acc. mit dem Inf. nach den Verben des Sagens und Denkens in Originalwerken begonnen hat.' And thus much is certain that before Pecock this construction is very sporadically to be found. Einenkel (Anglia XIII, 94 sqq.) gives a few examples from Chaucer (after conferme, deeme, holde, wite) and two from O. E. (after weene)." In substantial agreement with Dr. Schmidt are the views expressed by the following investigators of the idiom in Middle English and in Modern English, the title of whose works are given in my bibliography: Rohs, 1889; Zickner, 1900; De Reul, 1901; Ortmann, 1902; and Gärtner, 1904.

General but pronounced is the statement of Professor Otto Jespersen, in his Growth and Structure of the English Language (1905), p. 127: "The extensive use of the accusative with the infinitive is another permanent feature of English syntax which is largely due to Latin influence." ²

¹ See, further, Schmidt, F., l. c., p. 112.

² As this statement is omitted in the second edition (1912) of this work, Professor Jespersen has probably changed his opinion with reference thereto.

One of the most recent as well as one of the most stimulating discussions of our idiom is that by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, in his above mentioned dissertation (1908). On p. 108 we read: "From the very earliest times English, in common with other Indo-Germanic languages, employed, after certain verbs of express or implied causation (letan, forletan, hatan, biddan), an accusative with an infinitive. . . Verbs like beodan, don, macian, tæcan, and læran, though found very rarely with an accusative and infinitive in late Old English, began to employ the construction more and more frequently in early Middle English, and by the opening of the fourteenth century that was the prevailing locution and practically the only one employed." Concerning the idiom after verbs of sense perception, on p. 109 we are told: "This construction is regular in all periods of the English language with verbs expressing an immediate sense perception, and therefore requires no extensive comment." Of the idiom after verbs of mental perception, we read on p. 78: "The dividing line between verbs of sense and mental perception is not one which can be precisely marked. It will be noted that in a number of the citations grouped under sense perception the verbs have a derivative force which tends to place them in the other The fact that the same verbs assume the two significations naturally involves the extension of the construction in vogue after the primary class to the derivative class. But, further than this, there are in Old English a number of verbs which are not associated with any idea of sensation and which admit after them an accusative with infinitive of a more developed type than any thus far noticed." Finally, concerning the idiom after verbs of declaring, this statement is given, p. 99: "The accusative with infinitive after verbs of declaration is found in Old English only in translated documents in imitation of the Latin original." My own view of the construction with this last class of verbs could not be better expressed than by the sentence just quoted; and I was delighted to find my own view confirmed by the investigation of Dr. Zeitlin, for, although his study was published four years ago, my own statistics had been gathered and tabulated before the publication of his work. But Dr. Zeitlin's statement on page 99 seems to me to be considerably modified by that on page 110: "After verbs of declaration the early language, in its original literature, shows only the faintest beginnings of the construction in the form of an accusative followed by a predicate noun, adjective, or participle. The importance of the use of the latter forms as predicates is fundamental in the development of the accusative with infinitive. The frequency with which these predicate forms occur in Old English after verbs of mental perception, and their employment after verbs of declaration previous to any similar use of the infinitive, may be treated as a confirmation of the view that they preceded the accusative with infinitive in time, and, in fact, afforded the model 1 by analogy to which the latter construction was more fully developed. The relation between the accusative and the predicate, whatever form that predicate may take, — whether infinitive, substantive, adjective, or participle, — is the same. The practical identity of the two locutions is illustrated by the fact that it is possible to convert every non-infinitive predicate into an infinitive by the introduction of the copula to be."

¹ More guarded is the statement of Professor Gorrell, $l.\ c.$, p. 475: "After verbs of saying there is a near approach to this construction [infinitive-with-accusative] by the use of the accusative of the substantive and the predicate adjective, as Gu., 90, δ as eor δ an ealle sægde l and l under lyfte; similarly l and l and l are too, Einenkel, l and l are l and l are too. See too, Einenkel, l and l are too.

To this last statement there seem to me to be at least two cogent objections. First, the theory of the priority of the participle predicate (at least of the present participle) to the infinitive predicate, credited by Dr. Zeitlin on page 66 to Grimberg 1 and here indorsed by himself, is contrary to the facts in Anglo-Saxon, as I believe and try to show in Chapter XVI. As to the predicative accusative of nouns, of adjectives, and of past participles after verbs of perception and of declaring, which Dr. Zeitlin thinks has, also, contributed to the development of the accusative-with-infinitive construction, I do not know of any extensive collection 2 of data as to these uses. But, should the predicative use of nouns, of adjectives, and of the past participle be found frequent in Anglo-Saxon and in the Germanic languages as a whole, this fact would not substantiate the theory advocated by Drs. Becker, Primer, Grimberg, and Zeitlin, I think. It is in no small degree the fact that the present participle is more verbal and less adjectival in nature than a past participle (and, of course, than a predicate adjective or noun in the accusative) that in Anglo-Saxon and in High German precluded the use of the present participle in the predicative accusative except in translation of Latin participles with full verbal power, precisely as the more verbal present participle could not be used appositively except in imitation of the same idiom in Latin.3

Secondly, the statement unduly minimizes the influence of the Latin in the development of the accusative with an infinitive after verbs of declaring in Anglo-Saxon, so patly stated by Dr. Zeitlin on p. 99. That I am not misinterpreting the force intended to be conveyed in the passage just quoted, appears clear, I think, from the paragraph immediately following it: "The question of Latin influence in this period can be disposed of without difficulty. As is manifest from the Bede citations, the translator on a number of occasions imitates the Latin construction in rendering an accusative with infinitive after verbs of mental perception and declaration. But very seldom does he do violence to the English idiom in so translating. He refrains from imitating the construction after neuter and impersonal verbs, confining his translation within the same limitations that bound the native locution. That it should be found more frequently in translations than in original works is to be expected from the extensive use of this construction in Latin; and it is not surprising to find sporadical examples bearing the distinct stamp of foreign importation. But in expanding the great mass of Latin accusatives and infinitives into English clauses the translator has shown that his feeling for the native idiom has not been corrupted by the foreign language. Since Latin exerted so slight an influence on Old English translations, it may readily be inferred that it had no effect at all on original literature or spoken language." In support of my claim that these two statements unduly minimize the Latin influence upon the accusative-with-infinitive construction in Anglo-Saxon, I call attention to these additional facts: (1) Though rarely, the accusative with infinitive is found after impersonal verbs in Anglo-Saxon, — a matter treated below under the accusative with infinitive in subject clauses. (2) In imitation of the Latin

¹ Grimberg's article appeared in 1905, but this theory was proposed long before that time, as early as 1836, by K. F. Becker in his Ausführliche Deutsche Grammatik, Vol. I, pp. 193-194. See, further, Chapter XV and Chapter XVI, section viii.

² The fullest known to me is that by Grimm, l. c., IV, pp. 732 ff., but in this collection very few examples are given from Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Wülfing's Syntax has not as yet reached the predicative use of the accusative.

³ See the writer's The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon, pp. 142, 307 ff.

original, Alfred and other Anglo-Saxon writers not a few times use the accusative with passive infinitive, — a construction thoroughly un-English. (3) The history of this construction in the other Germanic languages tends to show that Dr. Zeitlin unduly minimizes the influence of the Latin upon the Anglo-Saxon. It is only fair to add, however, that what he says as to the influence of the Latin upon the Anglo-Saxon is more or less bound up with what he says as to the influence of the classical languages upon the Germanic languages, — a topic discussed by me in Chapter XVI, section viii.

Perhaps I should add that Dr. Kenyon does not discuss the origin of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon in his *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer* (1909); and that Dr. Riggert, in his *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitive in der Altenglischen Poesie* (1909), p. 52, adopts the view of T. Müller, which was given above.

II. INFLECTED.

As we saw in Chapter VIII, the inflected infinitive with accusative subject occurs only sporadically in Anglo-Saxon, the less doubtful cases only in the later *Chronicle* and in Ælfric, after the differentiation between the two infinitives had been appreciably weakened. A few of the remaining examples are due to the presence of a Latin gerund, gerundive, or future participle in the original; while in a few other instances the infinitive hovers between an adverbial (final or consecutive) use on the one hand and a predicative on the other. In a word, in Early West Saxon, most of the examples are doubtful, and are due partly to the Latin influences specified and partly to the natural tendency of the inflected infinitive after certain verbs of tendency (tæcan, etc.) to pass over from a final-consecutive to a predicative use.

For the accusative with an infinitive in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section viii.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.1

That the passive infinitive with accusative subject, when the object of a transitive verb, is due to Latin influence, is highly probable, as was long ago declared by Dr. Kellner.² As we have seen above, only two examples of the construction have been found in Anglo-Saxon poetry, one each in *Genesis* and in *Guthlac*, each a poem based on Latin originals. In the prose translations, in each of the groups of verbs, the construction in question is in most cases in direct translation of the same idiom in Latin, though occasionally it corresponds to other constructions in Latin (an objective passive infinitive, 1; a predicative active infinitive, 3; a predicative past participle ³ in the accusative, 8; no Latin, 1; all of which have been illustrated above, pp. 120 ff.). Moreover, we find the Latin passive infinitive with accusative subject often rendered by an active infinitive (with or without an accusative subject). The passive construction is very rare in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (no example is found in the *Chronicle* or the *Laws*, and only one example occurs in Wulfstan) and in Ælfric (only three examples) despite his known proclivities for Latin

¹ Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 120.
² See Kellner, l. c., p. 306.
³ Most of these may be considered passive infinitives with esse understood.

idioms. It is evident, therefore, not only that the idiom was not native to Anglo-Saxon, but also that it was never naturalized therein.

The situation is substantially the same in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section viii.

AS SUBJECT.

Whether containing an active or a passive infinitive as predicate to an accusative, the infinitive phrase as subject is manifestly of Latin origin, occurring only in the Anglo-Saxon translations and each time corresponding to the same idiom in the Latin originals (except in one instance, *Bede* 70.32, where it corresponds to a complementary passive infinitive after a passive verb), as will appear from an examination of the examples, already quoted on pp. 124 f. above.

In the other Germanic languages, the accusative with infinitive, as subject, is rare in subject clauses, and is an importation: see Chapter XVI, section viii.

IX. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH DATIVE SUBJECT.3

In Chapter IX, I have tried to give grounds for the belief there stated that in Anglo-Saxon we have no genuine predicative infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, with dative subject; that the infinitives sometimes cited as predicative are either subjective or objective; and that the dative noun or pronoun depends on the finite verb instead of being subject to the infinitive. The origin of these so-called predicative infinitives with dative subject has been discussed in sections i and ii of the present chapter.

In Chapter IX, however, were given several sporadic examples of an apparent, if not a real, predicative use of an uninflected infinitive with a subject dative in form after don and lætan, but these occur almost exclusively in the later Chronicle, by which time the dative and accusative forms of the personal pronoun of the third person may have become interchangeable. The solitary example cited of an inflected infinitive used predicatively with a dative subject (after hieran) occurs in a doubtful passage, but the inflection of the infinitive is probably due to the presence of a gerundive in the Latin original. In a word, the following statement of Professor Einenkel 4 as to the interrelation of the infinitive-with-dative to the predicative infinitive-with-accusative construction is correct, but, as implied by him, the assumption of predicative force by the former did not occur until Middle English times: "Die gesamte altenglische so beliebte Konstruktion, Subjekts-Inf. + Dat. com. ist in diese Acc. mit Inf.-Bewegung hineingezogen worden [ae. Micele swidor gedafenað dam mædenum to dencanne, Ags. Pr.]."

For the so-called predicative infinitive with dative subject in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section ix.

¹ De Reul, l. c., p. 135, says of this idiom in Middle English: "The construction is a Latinism which was introduced either directly or through the French."

² Except that once we have an inflected infinitive with accusative subject as subject of a passive verb in the late *Chronicle*: see p. 124 above.

³ See Chapter IX, p. 127.

⁴ Einenkel, ³ l. c., p. 1076. See, too, De Reul, l. c., pp. 136 ff.

X. THE FINAL INFINITIVE. 1

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Verbs.

In all probability, the uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion was a native idiom in Anglo-Saxon, for it is habitual in the poems, occurs several times in Early West Saxon prose, and is not infrequent in Late West Saxon prose, especially in the Gospels. The relative frequency of the idiom in the Gospels is due in part to the frequent presence of the final infinitive in the Latin vulgate. In Ælfric's Grammar, it may be added, the uninflected final infinitive several times translates the Latin supine in -um.

The infrequency of the uninflected final infinitive after verbs of rest makes it difficult to draw confident conclusions; but the idiom is probably of native origin, occurring as it does chiefly in the poems. In the one instance in the prose translations (Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.18b), the Latin has no infinitive. This probability of native origin is further enhanced by the fact that we have the uninflected predicative infinitive after verbs of rest.

The uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of commanding and requesting is probably due to Latin influence, as no example occurs in the poetry, and in the three examples from the prose (Bede 392.32, Ælf. Hept.: Judges 4.19, and J. 4.9) the infinitive translates a Latin final infinitive (petamus bibere, dedit . . . bibere, bibere . . . poscis).

Probably, too, the uninflected final infinitive after verbs of giving was first suggested by the Latin da bibere and similar locutions. The idiom is very rare in the poetry: of the three examples, one occurs in the metrical Psalms, and two in the Riddles. When found in the translations, it is about two-thirds of the time in direct translation of a Latin final infinitive. The Latin correspondents are: a final infinitive, 18; a gerundive in the accusative, 2; a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 1; a subordinated finite verb, active, 1; a prepositional phrase, 1; a noun (dative, 1; accusative, 5); no Latin, 2.

The uninflected infinitive of purpose after "other verbs" occurs twice in the poetry (Gifts 66: gewyrceð... gefegan; Gnomic Sayings 129: scop... healdan), each doubtful, and once in prose (L. 1.72^b: alysde... to wyrcenne... and gemunan), in which last the uninflected infinitive is preceded by a co-ordinate inflected infinitive, and is appreciably separated from its principal verb. But the inflected infinitive and the uninflected infinitive in this verse may each be due to the Latin original: see p. 143 above.

The inflected infinitive of purpose, after verbs of whatever kind, was probably first suggested by the Latin; for we find:—

- 1. That, of the fifteen examples occurring in Anglo-Saxon poetry, all but two (Beow. 1731 and Wids. 134) occur in poems known to be based on Latin originals, and in the two exceptional examples the infinitive may modify the noun rather than the verb.
- 2. That while, in the Early West Saxon translations, the inflected infinitive of purpose occasionally 2 translates a Latin final infinitive, it usually translates

¹ Cf. Chapter X, p. 132.

² In the Late West Saxon Gospels, the Latin final infinitive after verbs of motion is often translated by an inflected infinitive instead of an uninflected, there being 18 inflected to 24 uninflected infinitives in that text corresponding to a Latin final infinitive.

a Latin gerund or gerundive, each with and without a preposition, which Latin idioms doubtless first led to the use of the inflected infinitive to denote purpose in Anglo-Saxon, although the Latin prepositional phrase made up of a preposition and a noun instead of a gerund or a gerundive, and the Latin subordinated verb introduced by *ut* may have contributed somewhat thereto.

The Latin correspondents are approximately as follows: ad + a gerundive in the accusative, 38; ad + a gerund in the accusative, 31; pro + a gerundive in the ablative, 2; a gerund in the accusative, 4; a gerundive (nominative, 1; dative, 2; accusative, 13); an infinitive (final, 24 (18 in Gosp.); as predicate nominative, 1); a subordinated finite verb (active, 5; passive, 2); a co-ordinated finite verb, active, 3; an appositive participle, active, 6; an absolute participle, passive, 1; a prepositional phrase, 3; a noun (nominative, 1; accusative, 3; ablative, 2); a loose paraphrase, 2; no Latin, 13. Of the thirteen examples without a Latin correspondent, eleven occur in Alfred, but, in six of these examples, the inflected infinitive occurs elsewhere in Alfred corresponding to a Latin gerund or gerundive; while, in five examples (Bede 16.9: onfindan; Boeth. 19.22, 23: onlænan; and Oros. 292.28a: betæcan, 64.26: geunnan), no such equivalent is found. Finally, it should be stated that it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon prepositional phrase of purpose, made up of a preposition + a noun or a pronoun, may have contributed somewhat to the development of the inflected infinitive of purpose.

3. That, according to Ælfric's Grammar, the Latin gerund and the Latin future active participle are properly rendered by the Anglo-Saxon inflected infinitive; for on p. 134 he has "amandi = to lufigenne;" on p. 135, "amandum = to lufigenne;" and on p. 167, "ruiturus = to hreosenne."

It seems likely that, because of its superior clarity, the inflected infinitive became, in prose, the normal form of the final infinitive, though not to the total exclusion of the uninflected infinitive.

2. With Passive Verbs.

The preceding applies to the active infinitive of purpose with active verbs. As to the active infinitive with passive verbs, it is habitually inflected; has substantially the same Latin correspondents as with the active infinitive except that the final infinitive is not found; and was probably suggested by the Latin substantially as when used with active verbs.

The correspondents in Latin are: ad + a gerundive in the accusative, 10; ad + a gerund in the accusative, 6; a gerundive (nominative, 4; accusative, 1); an infinitive (subjective, 3; as a retained objective, 1; predicative with an auxiliary, 1); a co-ordinated finite verb, passive, 4; a predicative participle, accusative, passive, 1; a prepositional phrase, 2; a noun in the accusative, 1; no Latin, 3. Of these last three examples, all except one (*Greg.* 347.6: gadrina) are elsewhere found in Alfred corresponding to a Latin gerund or gerundive.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

As already stated, I have not found in Anglo-Saxon a clear example of the passive infinitive denoting purpose.

I have found few suggestions as to the origin of the final infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. The most direct and the most helpful single statement is that of Professor Shearin, who, in discussing "the Prepositional Infinitive after Sellan," declares: "The prepositional infinitive seems to be preferred in translating the Latin gerund or gerundive constructions of purpose. As already seen (v. p. 13), the simple form is usual in translating the Latin infinitive and supine." ²

He then quotes a few examples of the inflected infinitive translating a Latin gerund or gerundive after sellan, and adds this note: "The presence or absence of ad may have been to some extent a determinant of the use or omission of to." These statements by Professor Shearin, however, are, as is evident from our statistics just given, far too restricted, being made solely with reference to the inflected infinitive after sellan, whereas the former statement is true of all verbs. As to the second statement, the absence of ad, in gerund or gerundive constructions, has next to no weight in bringing about the omission of to, as an inspection of our statistics will show. Dr. Shearin does not express any opinion as to the origin of the final infinitive in Anglo-Saxon after the other groups of verbs further than to cite (p. 17) with approbation Grimm's statement as to the origin of the inflected infinitive in general: "Anfangs verstärkte die präp. in gewissen fällen den infinitivischen ausdruck: iddja du saian sagt etwas mehr als das blosse iddja saian." 1 Dr. T. J. Farrar, in his The Gerund in Old English, p. 36, explicitly declines to discuss the origin of the construction in Anglo-Saxon; nor have I found any helpful comment in any of the other treatises on Anglo-Saxon syntax accessible to me.

In the other Germanic languages the origin of the final infinitive was probably the same as in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter XVI, section x.

XI. THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.2

The inflected infinitive with adjectives seems to be a construction of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, because:—

- 1. It is found not infrequently in the poetry, occurring in *Beowulf* (4 times) as well as in the poems known to be based on Latin originals.
- 2. In the translations it corresponds to various Latin idioms, and not a few times occurs without any Latin correspondents.

The Latin correspondents are: an adjective with a preposition + a gerund in the accusative (11) or + a gerundive in the accusative (15); an adjective with a gerund (genitive, 4; dative, 1); an adjective with a preposition + a gerund in the ablative, 1; a verb + a gerund in the dative, 2; an adverb + a gerund in the ablative, 1; an adjective with a prepositional phrase (6), or a supine in -u (2), or a noun in the ablative (3), or an infinitive (8); an infinitive (subjective, 1; objective, 4; predicative with an auxiliary, 3; as a predicate nominative, 1); an accusative and passive infinitive as subject, 3; an indicative (active, 3; passive, 3); a subjunctive (active, 1; passive, 2); an imperative, 2; a noun in the nominative, 1; an adjective (attributive, 1; predicative, 8); a participle (attributive, passive, 1; appositive, active, 4); a gerundial periphrastic, passive, 1; a loose paraphrase, 3; no Latin, 21.

3. It occurs, though not frequently, in the *Chronicle*, in the *Laws*, and in Wulfstan.

But, while the construction is doubtless of native origin, and is analogous to the modification of an adjective by any other prepositional-adverbial phrase, the use of the idiom has doubtless been somewhat increased by the Latin original, especially by the frequency of the construction made up of gerund and gerundive just mentioned. And it is possible that, in the few examples in which the inflected infinitive is clearly genitival in function (as in *Boeth*. 50.10, 24^a, b; 51.9), the idiom is an imitation of the Latin gerund in the genitive.

¹ Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 121.

sporadically, and is probably due to the distance of the infinitive from the governing adjective: see Chapter XI, p. 158 above.

The passive infinitive with adjectives is probably, like the passive infinitive in other uses, due to Latin influence, though this cannot be demonstrated in the solitary example found, in Ælfric.

For the infinitive with adjectives in the other Germanic languages, see Chapter XVI, section xi.

XII. OTHER ADVERBIAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

A. THE CAUSAL INFINITIVE.1

So few examples of the causal infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, occur in Anglo-Saxon (only about a dozen in all) that a confident conclusion as to its origin is impossible. Still the fact that only three examples occur in the poetry (Gen. 2279 and 2733, after cearian; Chr. 1555, after bisorgian), each of which is doubtful; that, of the three examples in Early West Saxon, two (Bede 478.32, 484.15, after gefeon) are in translation of Latin infinitives of cause; and that most of the remaining examples occur in Ælfric or in Wulfstan, renders it probable that the construction in Anglo-Saxon was due in part to Latin influence. This seems the more probable to me in view of the fact that cause in Anglo-Saxon was from the beginning usually expressed by an oblique case of ∂x (with or without a preposition) plus a finite verb or plus a dependent clause in apposition to the oblique (adverbial) case of ∂x . It is possible, however, that the causal use in Anglo-Saxon may be in part merely an extension of the objective use of the infinitive.

The causal infinitive is rare in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

B. THE INFINITIVE OF SPECIFICATION WITH VERBS.²

In this use the infinitive is always inflected. No example has been found in the poetry. In the two examples from Wærferth (88.18 and 180.26), each after a passive verb, and in the solitary example from Bede (82.22), the infinitive corresponds in the Latin to a phrase made up of a preposition plus gerundive and noun. Only three other examples occur, in Ælfric. All of the examples are doubtful except Wærf. 180.26. It seems probable, therefore, that this use of the infinitive was first suggested by the Latin.

In the other Germanic languages, likewise, this use is of foreign importation: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

C. THE CONSECUTIVE INFINITIVE.3

The consecutive use of the infinitive, always inflected, with adjectives is probably a native extension of the infinitive of specification with adjectives: this consecutive use is occasionally found in the Anglo-Saxon poems; though more frequent in the translations from the Latin, yet in only two of these examples (Wxf. 63.19 and Elf. Hept.: Ex. 16.16, in each of which the Anglo-Saxon infinitive corresponds to a Latin phrase made up of ad + a gerund or a gerundive) does the Latin seem to have had any appreciable effect, for in the other examples the Latin equivalent is varied.

¹ See Chapter XII, p. 160.

² See Chapter XII, p. 161.

³ See Chapter XII, p. 162.

The consecutive infinitive with active verbs is found in the poetry only once (Seafarer 38). In the Anglo-Saxon translations it corresponds most frequently to a Latin prepositional phrase made up of ad plus a gerund or gerundive, though occasionally to other idioms (an imperative; no Latin; a noun in the accusative; a noun in the dative; in + a noun in the ablative; a noun in the nominative; a noun in the accusative; ut + a subjunctive). It occurs a few times in the Martyrology and in the Latin influence, if appreciable, was very slight and indirect; more probably we have the native development of the idiom from the inflected infinitive after verbs naturally calling for an inflected infinitive or for a prepositional phrase (to plus a noun).

In the other Germanic languages the situation concerning the consecutive infinitive, both with adjectives and with verbs, is much the same as in Anglo-Saxon: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

The Latin influence is somewhat stronger in the consecutive use of the infinitive after passive verbs, the Anglo-Saxon infinitive oftener corresponding to a Latin gerund or gerundive here than with active verbs. But, on the other hand, two examples are found in the poems. On the whole, therefore, the situation is substantially the same as with the consecutive infinitive after active verbs: the construction is chiefly a native extension of the idiom with verbs calling for an inflected infinitive or for a prepositional phrase, somewhat influenced by the Latin idiom in gerund and gerundive constructions.

D. THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.1

As was intimated in the citing of the examples of the absolute use of the infinitive above, pp. 169 ff., it is probable that, in the two examples of such use with the uninflected infinitive (Oros. 46.16, 17^b), we have merely an accusative and infinitive loosely connected with the remainder of the sentence. the examples of the absolute inflected infinitive, in the clearer cases (hrædest to secganne, hrædest to cwedenne, and to metanne wid), the absolute use has arisen from the shortening of fuller expressions (such as Boeth. 39.10: Swa hit is nu hraðost to secganne be eallum etc.; Wulf. 158.16: godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swide forsawene . . . and hrædest is to cwedenne etc.; see further examples in Chapter VII), in which we have the inflected infinitive of necessity after beon, in which latter idiom, as we have seen, the infinitive was originally final in sense. In the less clear cases, quoted in Chapter XII, section D, we seem to have the abridgment of a final clause into a phrase. I think, therefore, that the absolute infinitive is of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, sparing though its use This statement of the origin of the absolute use of the infinitive is, I think, in substantial accord with that of Professor Einenkel, who, in discussing the prepositional infinitive of purpose, writes "Hierher gehören auch die Fälle, wo ein Verbum (don so, sayn so) unterdrückt ist; und wo in Folge dessen die präpositionalen Infinitive elliptisch verwendet werden;" 2 and with that of Dr. Kenyon, l. c., p. 79: "The purpose infinitive becomes stereotyped, sometimes by an ellipsis that can be more or less definitely supplied." Each of these scholars is writing of Middle English only.

The absolute infinitive probably arose in the same way in the other Germanic languages: see Chapter XVI, section xii.

¹ See Chapter XII, p. 169.

To sum up these adverbial uses: the causal is partly due to Latin influence, and is partly of native origin; the specificatory use with verbs is certainly due to the Latin original; the consecutive use, with adjectives is of native origin, and with verbs is largely native but partly foreign; and the absolute use is wholly native.

XIII. THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.1

The inflected infinitive with nouns is probably, in the main, of native origin in Anglo-Saxon, because:—

- 1. Though rare in the poems, eight clear examples occur, one of which is in Beowulf (316; Beow. 1941 is doubtful).
- 2. It is frequent in Alfred; and while, in the majority of instances (in about 48 examples out of a total of 81), it corresponds to a gerund or gerundive, which may partly have suggested the inflected infinitive in the Anglo-Saxon translation, in twelve of the examples there is no Latin, and in the remaining cases the Latin correspondents are too varied for the Latin to have had a determining influence in the choice of the Anglo-Saxon method of translation.

The Latin correspondents to this idiom in the Anglo-Saxon translations as a whole are: a noun (or a pronoun) with a gerund in the genitive (63); or with a gerundive in the genitive (9) or in the dative (1); or with ad + a gerund in the accusative (6) or with ad + a gerundive in the accusative (3); or with an infinitive modifying it (14); or with a noun in the genitive (5); an adjective with a supine in -u (1) or with a prepositional phrase (1); an infinitive (objective, 1; predicative with an auxiliary (4) or with an accusative subject (1)); a subjunctive (active, 5; passive, 2); an indicative, active (3); an attributive participle, active (1); a loose paraphrase (13); no Latin (15).

3. Though rare in the *Chronicle* and in the *Laws*, six clear examples occur in the former, and four in the latter.

I believe, therefore, that the idiom in Anglo-Saxon is probably in the main of native origin, and that the infinitive phrase modifying the noun is analogous to other prepositional adjectival phrases modifying a noun. I think, however, that it is highly probable that the frequency of the idiom in the Anglo-Saxon translations (especially in Alfred and in the Gospels) is partly due to the frequency of the constructions with gerund or gerundive in the Latin originals. Moreover, it seems likely that the use of the inflected infinitive as a genitive modifier of the noun is in no small measure due to the influence of the Latin genitive of gerund or of gerundive of the original, since (1) the clear cases of the genitive function of the inflected infinitive are restricted largely to those passages translating such Latin constructions; and since (2) we have next to no prepositional adjectival phrases of genitive function in Early West Saxon aside from those in which the inflected infinitive occurs.

As stated in Chapter XIII, p. 181, in the four instances of a noun modified by an uninflected infinitive, the lack of inflection is probably due to the remoteness of the infinitive from the noun in all cases except one (And. 1538), and in this instance it may be due to the peculiar significance of the noun modified (myne) or to the exigencies of the meter.

In the other Germanic languages the situation is much the same: see Chapter XVI, section xiii.

CHAPTER XV.

SOME SUBSTITUTES FOR THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

I. THE PREDICATE NOMINATIVE OF THE PRESENT PARTI-CIPLE FOR THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE AFTER VERBS OF MOTION.

Though not correct in saying that in Late West Saxon the present participle had completely supplanted the present infinitive after verbs of motion, Dr. Schrader 1 was undoubtedly pointing out, though by no means for the first time, a tendency of Anglo-Saxon that made large headway in Late West Saxon, and became the law in succeeding epochs. What led to this partial supplanting of the predicative infinitive of motion after verbs of motion by the present 2 participle in Anglo-Saxon? What led, for example, He com fleogan, He com gangan, He com iernan, and He com ridan to become He com fleogende, He com gangende, He com iernende, and He com ridende? If any adequate explanation of the fact has been offered either for Anglo-Saxon or for the Germanic languages as a whole, it has escaped me. Personally I think the chief causes of the substitution to be these:—

First, the relative rareness of the predicative infinitive of motion ³ even in Anglo-Saxon poetry and its still greater infrequency in Anglo-Saxon prose, would tend to bring about the disuse of the idiom, especially in prose.

Secondly, I doubt not that the well established, perhaps native, Anglo-Saxon use of an appositive participle to denote manner 4 with other verbs than those signifying motion (as in Boeth. 8.15: Da ic da dis leed, cwed B., geomriende asungen hæfde, da com etc.; Gen. 1582: ac he hlihende brodrum sægde) and its occasional use to denote what looks like manner with verbs of motion (as in Ælf. Hom. I. 566^t: com see sæ færlice swegende; Az. 144: heefonfuglas, da de lacende geond lyft farað; Met. 20.216: hwilum eft smeað ymb done ecan god sceppend hire, scriðende færð hweole gelicost, hwærfð ymb hi selfe) tended to the gradual extension of the use of the participle.

Potent, too, was the influence of the periphrastic tenses made up of the verb to be plus a present participle, an idiom common in all stages of Anglo-Saxon, as shown by Dr. Constance Pessels, in his The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon. Slight, if not inappreciable at first, this influence would become the stronger as the principal verb of motion paled more and more into a mere auxiliary.

Noteworthy, also, was the influence of the appositive participle of words not denoting motion used in connection with verbs of motion, as in L.3.3: he com into eall Iordanes rice, bodiende dædbote fulluht on synna forgyfenesse = venit in omnem regionem Jordanis, prædicans baptismum poenitentiæ in remissionem peccatorum.

¹ L. c., p. 70: see Chapter V, p. 89 above.

² Though Professor Einenkel, l. c., p. 238, considers that the past participle is similarly used in Salomon and Saturn, l. 178 (hwæðre wæs on sælum, se de of side cwom feorran gefered), and that cwom . . . gefered = the German kam gegangen, I must hold with Professor March, l. c., p. 201, that the Anglo-Saxon phrase is not the equivalent of the German: gefered is used appositively, not predicatively, I think.

Strong, too, was the influence of the appositive participle of words denoting motion used with verbs of motion, as in L. 2.16: And hig efstende comon = Et venerunt festinantes; Mat. 14.25: Da com se Hælend embe done feordan hancred to him, ofer da sæ gangende = venit ad eos ambulans super mare; Chron. 204^m, 1069 D^b: 7 heom com dær togenes Eadgar cild . . . 7 ealle da landleoden ridende 7 gangende mid unmætan here swide fægengende. How easily these appositive participles of motion may become predicative in function is easily seen by comparing with the sentence just quoted from the Chronicle such sentences as the following, in which the participle is clearly predicative: Ælf. L. S. 396.206: Da com him gangende to se godes witega helias; ibid. 408.412: him com gangende to godes witega isaias; — Ælf. Hom. II. 134^b: him com da ridende to sum arwurde ridda; Ælf. Hom. I. 466^t: dær com da fleogende Godes engel scinende swa swa sunne; — Ælf. L. S. XXXII. 1043: Heo com da yrnende mid egeslicum eagum, with which compare Ælf. L. S. XXXII. 1039: da com dær færlice yrnan an dearle wod cu.

Of no small weight, finally, was the predicative use of present participles not denoting motion after verbs of motion, as in $Mat. 11.18^{a, b}$: Soblice Iohannes com ne etende ne drincende = Venit enim Joannes neque manducans neque bibens, — a locution almost invariably borrowed from the Latin of the Gospels; — J. 9.7: He for and δ woh hine, and $com\ geseonde$ = Abiit ergo, et lavit, et $venit\ videns$.

Substantially the same evolution from infinitive to participle has taken place in the other Germanic languages. Examples of the predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest will be given in Chapter XVI. Here I merely give a few examples of the predicative participle in the nominative after verbs of motion:—

Gothic: I have found no examples in Gering or in Grimm; and Dr. A. Köhler declares that the idiom is not found in Gothic.

Scandinavian: Messrs. Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 218, write as follows: "Til koma og fara føies i oldnorsk præsens particip for at betegne bevægelsens art: ba komu bar fljugandi hrafnar tveir. Ligedan i det senere sprog ved 'komme': kommæ løbendiss (Mand.); komme ridende, roende. Ogsaa perfektum participium synes i ældre tid — vistnok efter tysk mønster (er kam gegangen) — at kunne anvendes saaledes: tha kom the in gongen (K. Magn.); oc Roland kom standen paa iorden (ib.)." — See, too, Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 9.

Old High German: Notker, I. 75.22: Tanne cham der uictor fone uige ritende in curru; Rol. 7129: Ther kuninc Marsilie kom fliehende etc.¹

Middle High German: Eneide 4219: Vliende skiet he dannen met den bloden mannen; Engelhard 5345: Der brunne luter und kalt gienc ruschende unde klingende.²

Old Saxon: Hel. 4965: huarbondi geng forth. — Ib. 5962: thuo quam im thar thie belago tuo gangandi godes suno (or appositive?).3

Be the cause of this substitution of the predicative participle of motion after verbs of motion for the predicative infinitive of motion after verbs of motion what it may, that such an evolution actually took place in Anglo-Saxon is conclusively proved by a brief survey of the statistics of the construction of the predicative participle of motion with verbs of motion.

¹ From Crenshaw, l. c., p. 36. Cf. Göcking, l. c., p. 8; Rick, l. c., pp. 28-31; K. Meyer, l. c., pp. 29, 43. From Crenshaw, l. c., p. 37.

In Anglo-Saxon poetry clear examples are seldom if ever found. In the following I give all the apparent examples that I have observed in the poems; but, as is evident, in most instances the participle hovers between the predicative use on the one hand and the attributive or the appositive on the other:—

Maldon 65: com flowende flod æfter ebban (or attributive?).

Az. 144: heofonfuglas, da de lacende geond lyft farad (or appositive?).

Met. XX. 216: Swa deð monnes saul hweole gelicost; hwærfeð ymbe hy selfe, . . . hwilum eft smeað ymb ðone ecan God sceppend hire, scriðende færð hweole gelicost, hwærfð ymb hi selfe = no exact Latin equivalent, but the corresponding passage of the Latin Boethius (III, metre 9) has numerous appositive participles (or appositive?).

Met. XXXI. 11: sume fotum twam foldan pe $\delta\delta$ a δ , sume fierfete; sume fleogende winda δ under wolcnum = 138.5: Et liquido longi spatia aetheris enatet uolatu (or appositive?).

Wids. 127: Ful oft of Sam heape hwinende fleag giellende gar on grome Seode (or attributive?).

Wids. 135: Swa scriðende gesceapum hweorfað gleomen gumena geond grunda fela, ðearfe secgað, ðoncword sprecað, etc. (or appositive?).

Ps. 103.24: His is mycel sæ 7 on gemærum wid: ðær is unrim on ealra cwycra mycelra 7 mætra, ofer ðæne mægene oft scipu scriðende scrinde fleotað = 103.26: Illic naves pertranseunt (or appositive?).

Gen. 2557: Strudende fyr steapes 7 geapes swogende forswealh eall eador, that on Sodoma byrig secgas alton 7 on Gomorra (or appositive?).

Beow. 2832: Sæt se widfloga wundum stille hreas on hrusan, hordærne neah, nalles æfter lyfte lacende hwearf middelnihtum, masm-æhta wlonc ansyn ywde: ac he eorsan gefeoll for Sæs hildefruman hondgeweorce (or appositive?). [Dr. K. Köhler, l. c., p. 70, considers the participle predicative.]

In Early West Saxon, likewise, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find clear examples. A few examples occur in the Chronicle (265t, 1137 Ed: Gif twa men oder dreo coman ridend (sic!) to an tun; — 47t, 744 E: steorran foran swyde scotienda; — 244^m, 1143^{b. c}: on dis ylcan geare wæs swa mycel ebba . . . swa The transferde ridende 7 gangende of Transe, but only in the late MS. E (written from 1121 to 11541) and, with one exception, in the later entries (years) of that manuscript. Only one example have I found in Alfred, viz., in Greg. 415.21: Donne gæð Dine ut sceawian ða elðiodigan wif, donne hwelces monnes mod forlæt his ægne tilunga, & sorgað ymb oðerra monna wisan, ðe [him] nauht to ne limpo, & færð swa wandriende from his hade & of his endebyrdnesse = 336.21: Dina quippe ut mulieres videat extraneæ regionis egreditur, quando unaquæque mens sua studia negligens, actiones alienas curans, extra habitum atque extra ordinem proprium vagatur. Here the complementary participle translates a finite verb, but the participle in Anglo-Saxon is doubtless due to the influence of the two Latin appositive participles immediately preceding vagatur. In Wærferth's translation of Gregory's Dialogues, also, one example occurs, 98.18: Sa se halga man ferde Sider fleonde, hine gemette sum munuc = B. 128 C: Quo dum fugiens pergeret, monachus quidam Romanus nomine, hunc euntem reperit, quo tenderet requisivit.

¹ Plummer, l. c., II, p. xxxv.

But in Late West Saxon the predicative participle is quite frequent, as may be seen from this list ¹ of the clearer examples observed by me, arranged according to the words, not the authors:—

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becuman, 'come' (3):—
   — iernende [y-], 'running' (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 196.
   — rowende, 'rowing' (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXII. 36.
   — swymmende, 'swimming' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 162<sup>m</sup>.
   cuman, 'come' (20):—
   — creopende, 'creeping' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 488b.
   — fleogende, 'flying' (6): Ælf. Hom. (6): I. 466t; II. 14t, 144b, 342m, 504b,
510^{\rm m}.
   — gangende, 'going,' 'walking '(7): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 388b. — Ælf. L. S.
(4): 206.199; 302.263; 396.206; 408.412. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Judges 13.3. —
Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.37^{m-1} (but may be appositive).
   — iernende [y-], 'running' (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 1043 (cf. xxxi.
1039: com . . . yrnan).
   — ridende, 'riding' (4): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 134<sup>b</sup> · . — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXV.
491, 773; XXVII. 84.
   — stæppende, 'stepping' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 452<sup>m</sup>.
   faran, 'go,' 'travel' (1):—
   - worigende, 'wandering' (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 4.11.
   feran, 'go,' 'travel' (8):—
   —forðsiðigende, 'journeying' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 140<sup>t</sup>.
   — ridende, 'riding' (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 22.21 (or appositive?).
   — sidigende, 'journeying' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 136b.
   — worigende, 'wandering' (5): Ælf. Hom. (4): I. 148<sup>t</sup>, 168<sup>t</sup>; II. 30<sup>b</sup>, 188<sup>m</sup>.
— Ælf. Int. (1): 154.
   gan [gangan], 'go,' 'move' (1):—
   — worigende, 'wandering' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 160<sup>m</sup>.
   iernan [y-], 'run' (1):—
   — dwoligende, 'straying' (1): Chad. (1): 224.
   To the foregoing verbs of motion followed by a predicative participle of
motion, I add a few examples of the predicative present participle after verbs
of rest:—
   licgan, 'lie,' 'recline' (2):—
   — anbidiende, 'awaiting' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 260<sup>b</sup>.
   — bemænende, 'lamenting' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 312b.
   sittan, 'sit' (4):—
   - eteowiende, 'showing' (1): Wulf. (1): 198.3 (or appositive?).
   — biddende, 'begging' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 156<sup>t</sup>.
   - hleowinde, 'warming' (1): Neot (1): 161.
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- wepende, 'weeping' (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 21.16.

standan, 'stand' (5):

⁻ byuigende, 'trembling' (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 206.176.

[—] cwacigende, 'trembling' (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 32^b 3. — geanbidiende, 'awaiting' (1): Gosp. (1): L. 23.35.

[—] starigende, 'gazing' (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 296^t 1, 2.

¹ I do not here repeat the examples, above given, from the later Chronicle.

II. THE PREDICATE ACCUSATIVE OF THE PRESENT PARTI-CIPLE FOR THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.

It is interesting to trace the gradual springing up of the predicate accusative of the present participle as a partial substitute for the predicative infinitive with accusative subject. True, Dr. Zeitlin, as stated in Chapter XIV, section viii, p. 212, claims that in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive was substituted for the participle, a claim earlier made for the Germanic languages as a whole by Becker and after him by other scholars, as is shown below. But the claim is untenable, I believe, either for Anglo-Saxon alone or for the Germanic languages as a whole.

To begin with Anglo-Saxon: as our statistics show, the predicate accusative of the present participle is practically unknown in Anglo-Saxon poetry, only four examples being found therein, each in a poem believed to have a Latin original, as follows:—

Chr. 536: Gewitan him va gongan to Hierusalem hælev hygerofe in va halgan burg geomormode, vonan hy God nyhst up stigende eagum segun, hyra Wilgifan.

Chr. 891: Dær mon mæg sorgende folc gehyran, hygegeomor, hearde gefysed, cearum cwiðende cwicra gewyrhtu forhte afærde.

Gu. 1120: Ongon da snottor hæle ar onbehtdegn ædeles neosan to dam halgan hofe, fond da hlingendne fusne on fordsid frean unwenne gæsthaligne godes temple, soden sarwylmum.

Charms IV. 55 (really prose): Ic ana wat ea rinnende ond da nygon nædran behealdad.

In Early West Saxon, the predicate participle is rare, and, in the translations, usually is traceable either directly or indirectly to a Latin predicate participle, though occasionally the Anglo-Saxon participle, especially if of slight verbal power, has other correspondents in the Latin (an accusative and infinitive, 2; a gerund in the ablative, 1; a predicate adjective, 3; an appositive adjective, 1; a noun in the accusative, 1; an ablative absolute (passive), 1; no Latin, 1). The examples in full are:—

ALFRED (20): —

Bede (8):—

gefelan, 'feel,' 'perceive' (2):

— batiende, 'convalescing' (1): 404.1°: Sa sona instepe gefelde ic mec batiende 7 werpende = confestim me melius habere sentirem.

— werpende [-ie-], 'recovering from illness' (1): 404.1^b: quoted in preceding. gemetan, 'find' (2):—

— sittende, 'sitting' (1): 402.20°: Da gemette he mec sittende, 7 ic spræcan meahte = 291.8: me reuisens, inuenit sedentem, et iam loqui ualentem.

— slæpende, 'sleeping' (1): 244.3: Sa gemette Sone his geSoftan slæpende = 193.17: invenit sodalem dormientem.

geseon, 'see' (4):—

— fleogende, 'flying' (1): 214.16: Geseah he eac swylce da wergan gastas durh det fyr fleogende = 166.9: Uidit autem et dæmones per ignem uolantes incendia bellorum contra iustos struere.

- standende, 'standing' (1): 444.15: geseah he . . . Sone Hælend standende Godes on Sa swiðran = 314.31: uidit . . . Iesum stantem a dextris Dei.
- utgangende [-o-], 'going out' (1): 386.5: Sa gesegon we . . . Sone leofan feder . . . of his deagolnissum utgongende = 282.6: uidimus . . . egressum de latibulis suis . . . patrem.
- wiðfeohtende, 'fighting' (1): 88.18: Ic geseo oðere æ in minum leomum wiðfeohtende ðære æ mines modes = 61.26: Uideo aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae.

Boethius (7):—

forlætan, 'leave' (1):

— sorgiende, 'sorrowing' (1): 20.31: Hwæðer de du hi forseo, 7 dines agnes donces hi forlete buton sare, de du gebide hwonne hi de sorgiendne forlæten? = 31.48: Quid igitur referre putas, tune illam moriendo deseras an te illa fugiendo?

gedon, 'make,' 'cause' (3):—

— wealdende 1 [-a-], 'controlling' (3): 5.16: mæge ænigne mon weligne 7 waldendne gedon = 0. — Ib. 38.16: ne se anweald ne mæg gedon his waldend wealdendne = 42.55: nec potestas sui compotem fecerit quem uitiosae libidines insolubilibus adstrictum retinent catenis. — Ib. 38.30: oððe se anweald, ðonne he ne mæg his waldend waldendne gedon = 0, but cf. 42.55 in preceding.

gehealdan, 'hold,' 'keep'(1):—

— wuniende, 'continuing' (1): 27.12: Forðamðe God hine gehelt æghwonan singallice wuniendne on his modes gesælðum = 35.21: Tu conditus quieti felix robore ualli, duces serenus aeuum.

geseon, 'see' (2):

- murciende, 'complaining' (1): 11.3: Sona swa ic $\mathcal{F}e$ ærest on $\mathcal{F}e$ unrotnesse geseah $\mathcal{F}us$ murciende = 18.3: Cum te . . . mæstum lacrimantem que uidissem.
- sweltende, 'dying' (1): 23.1^a : mænegum men is leofre δ æt he ær self swelte ær he gesio his wif 7 his bearn sweltende = 0.

Gregory (3):—

findan, 'find' (2):—

— frinende, 'interrogating' (1): 385.23^b: Sa fundon hie hiene tomiddes Sara wietena Se Sær wisoste wæron in Hierusalem, hlystende hiora worda & frinende hiora lara = 300.29^b: Invenerunt illum in templo sedentem in medio doctorum, audientem illos et interrogantem. [Cf. L. 2.46.]

- hlystende, 'listening' (1): 385.23°: quoted in preceding.

geseon, 'see' (1):—

— eaciende, 'increasing' (1): 231.19: Sonne hie geseo δ Sara o δ er[r]a gesæl δ a eaciende, Sonne Sync δ him Sæt hie wiellen acuelan etc. = 174.27: dumque augmenta alienæ prosperitatis aspiciunt.

Orosius (2): —

geseon, 'see' (1):—

— feohtende, 'fighting' (1). 92.10: Sa gesawan hie Romana ærendracan on hie feohtende = 93.7: legatos . . . adversum se videre pugnantes.

metan, 'find' (1):—

¹ As is evident from the three examples, wealdende is more an adjective than a participle here.

— sittende, 'sitting' (1): 134.31: Seh Se hie hiene medigne on cneowum sittende metten = 135.18: fixo genu eatenus pugnavit.

In Wærferth, however, the construction is somewhat more frequent than in Alfred, Wærferth having, in his one book (*The Dialogues of Gregory*), 27 examples; of which number, 25 are in direct translation of Latin predicate accusatives of the present participle; 1 (169.7), of a Latin predicate past participle; and 1 (335.26), of a Latin accusative and infinitive.

No examples have been found in the early part of the *Chronicle*, the earliest occurring in the year 1107, in the late manuscript E. Only three examples occur in all, and these belong, therefore, to Late West Saxon.

Moreover, not only is the predicate accusative of the present participle with real verbal power rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry and in Early West Saxon prose, and, when occurring in either, is traceable to Latin influence, but we have unmistakable evidence that the Early West Saxon translators constantly shunned rendering the Latin predicate accusative of the present participle by the corresponding construction in Anglo-Saxon. A reference to the Latin correspondents to the predicative infinitive with accusative subject after verbs of perception (sense and mental), given on pp. 206 f., shows that often the predicate participle is translated by a predicate infinitive.

Once more: we find the idiom only sparingly used in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose, whether early or late; for the *Chronicle* has only three examples, all after the year 1100; and Wulfstan, only four; while the *Laws* and the *Læceboc* have no example.

As to other relatively early West Saxon works, the *Prose Psalms* shows only two examples, in one of which (34.14°) an Anglo-Saxon predicate participle = a Latin appositive participle, and in the other (41.10) a slightly verbal participle = a Latin genitive phrase; *Benedict*, three examples, in each of which the Anglo-Saxon predicate participle translates a Latin predicate participle; the *Blickling Homilies*, 17 examples; the prose *Guthlac*, two examples, in one of which (VI.9) the Anglo-Saxon predicate participle = a Latin appositive participle, and in the other (I.16) the Anglo-Saxon predicate participle in the accusative = a Latin predicate participle in the nominative with a passive verb; the *Martyrology*, five examples; the *A. S. Homilies and Lives of Saints II* (non-Ælfrician), three examples; *Apollonius*, no example; and the Minor Prose, ten examples, distributed as follows: *Nicodemus*, 1; Napier's *Additions to Thorpe* (really, therefore, to be credited to Ælfric), 4; *Benediktiner-Offizium*, 1; *Chad*, 2; *Alexander*, 2.

But in Late West Saxon times the idiom is quite common, about 75 examples occurring in Ælfric and 80 in the Gospels. Of these 80 examples, all except two ¹ are in direct translation of a Latin predicate participle. Of Ælfric's familiarity with and his addiction to Latin idioms, especially those concerned with the participle, abundant evidence has been given in the present writer's discussion of Ælfric's frequent use of the absolute ² participle and of the appositive participle, ³ in which discussion were pointed out the chief Latin sources of

¹ The two exceptions are: Mat. 15.32: ic hig nelle fæstende forlætan = dimittere eos jejunos nolo, in which a slightly verbal participle = a Latin adjective; Mat. 27.32: Sa gemetton hig ænne Cyreniscne mann cumende heom togenes = Exeuntes autem invenerunt hominem Cyrenæum nomine Simonem, in which a predicate accusative participle is suggested by a Latin appositive participle.

<sup>See The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon, p. 28.
See The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon, pp. 297 ff.</sup>

Ælfric's works. Here it needs only to be said that Ælfric is likewise strongly influenced by the Latin, especially by ecclesiastical Latin, in his use of the predicate accusative of the present participle, a construction that, as shown above, is very frequent in the vulgate Gospels. It is likewise not uncommon in the vulgate Old Testament. Ælfric several times translates the Latin predicate participle by an Anglo-Saxon predicate infinitive (about four times in all). And, while occasionally Ælfric, in his Heptateuch, has a predicate accusative of the participle where another construction is found in the original Latin,¹ the participles so occurring are such as are not infrequent elsewhere in Ælfric and in other Anglo-Saxon prose (especially the Gospels); and such as are frequent in ecclesiastical Latin. I believe, therefore, that no one who examines my statistics as a whole will question the statement that Ælfric's use of the predicate accusative of the participle is due to Latin influence.

When we consider, then, that the predicative use of the present participle with full verbal power is practically unknown in Anglo-Saxon poetry; that it very rarely occurs in Early West Saxon, and then usually in translating a Latin predicate participle; that it is very rare also in the more original prose; but that it is frequent in Late West Saxon, especially in the Gospels and in Ælfric, and that of the 80 examples in the Gospels all but two are in direct translation of Latin predicate participles; — when we consider all this, the conclusion seems irresistible that this predicative use of the present participle was not a native Anglo-Saxon idiom, but was imported from the Latin, chiefly through the instrumentality of Ælfric and of the translator(s) of the Gospels.

As to this theory of the Latin origin of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon, I have seen no statement favoring it except this of Dr. Axel Erdmann,² which statement, it will be noted, ascribes the frequency, not the origin, of the idiom to Latin influence: "In the ancient period, the infinitive [i. e., the infinitive with accusative subject] prevailed instead of the Participle [i. e., the predicative participle in the accusative]. In Beowulf, Cædmon's Genesis, and even in the Enigmas it is employed exclusively, and in the whole A. S. poetical literature in by far the majority of cases. The Part. seems to owe very much of its frequency at a later time to Latin influence. In the Gospels it is decidedly preponderant. The infin. for inst. Lucas, XIX.32, XXI.1, 2. Cf. March, § 449."

But we are told by scholars of the highest distinction that, on the contrary, in the Germanic languages as a whole, the infinitive has been substituted for the participle. As already incidentally stated, this latter theory was proposed at least as early as 1836, by K. F. Becker, who, in his Ausführliche Deutsche Grammatik, Vol. I, pp. 193–194, expressed himself as follows: "Der Gebrauch eines objectiven Infinitivs nach den Verben: sehen, hören, fühlen, finden, z. B., 'Ich sehe ihn laufen,' 'Ich höre ihn singen,' ist uralt und findet sich auch in dem Angelsächsischen.³ Statt dieses Infinitivs finden wir aber nicht nur im Griechischen und Lateinischen, sondern auch im Gothischen das Partizip des

¹ The divergent examples are: Deut. 11.25: gehirdon his word dus cwedende = et locutus est vohis; Judges, Epilogue, p. 264, 1.22: hi gemetton . . . godes engel him togeanes gangende mid him = 0; Exod. 22.19: da geseh he . . . dat folc eall singende = vidit . . . choros; Gen. 18.2: And Abraham beseah upp and geseah dri weras standende him gehende = Cumque elevasset oculos, apparuerunt ei tres viri stantes prope eum. The remaining four examples of the predicate accusative in the Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch (Gen. 28.12^{b, c}, 29.1; Num. 22.23) translate Latin predicate participles.

³ "S. Otfrid, I, 4.21; 15.47; 25.15, 23; — Nibelungenlied, 5365; — Hickes, a. a. O., p. 93."

Präsens, z. B., L. vidit jacentem, G. gasahw ligandein. Auch im Alt- und Mitteldeutschen Kommt nicht selten das Partizip vor; 2 und im Englischen wird gewöhnlich das Partizip und nicht der Infinitiv gebraucht, z. B., I heard him singing. Obgleich wir im Neuhochdeutschen nur den Infinitiv gebrauchen, und auch die romanischen Sprachen diesen Gebrauch angenommen haben; so hat sich doch der Gebrauch des Partizips im Allgemeinen weiter verbreitet; und wir müssen schon darum das Partizip als die ursprüngliche Form dieses Verhältnisses ansehen und den Gebrauch des Infinitivs aus dem leichten Wechsel der Partizipialformen herleiten (§ 98). Aber noch bestimmter spricht für diese Annahme das Beziehungsverhältniss selbst. So ist zwar in: 'Ich höre den Vogel singen 'das Mittelwort singen Objekt des Verbs hören; aber es wird vermittelst des Prädikats hören als ein Attribut von Vogel ausgesagt, und fordert daher die adjektivische Form des Partizips, an welchem auch in den alten Sprachen — auch im Gothischen — die attributive Beziehung durch die Flexion bezeichnet wird." Substantially this same view was taken by Grimm, in 1837, in the fourth volume of his Deutsche Grammatik, p. 740; and by Theodor Vernaleken, in 1861, in his Deutsche Syntax, Vol. I, p. 125. In more recent times, too, this theory has not lacked advocates. It was espoused in 1885, by Professor Sylvester Primer, in his "The Factitive in German," pp. 47 ff.; in 1905, by Dr. C. Grimberg, in his "Undersökningar om Konstruktionen Accusativ med Infinitiv i den Äldre Fornsvenskan," pp. 226-227; and in 1908, by Dr. Jacob Zeitlin, in his dissertation referred to above.

But, despite the contention of these scholars, I must hold that, as in Anglo-Saxon, so in the Germanic languages as a whole, the predicative participle was a borrowed, not a native idiom, — a view that is held by several Germanic grammarians of note, as will be seen below. True, in Gothic we find the predicative participle far more frequently than the predicative infinitive after verbs of sense perception, but this comes, as I believe, merely of the translator's slavish following of the Greek original; for Professor Gering, l. c., p. 428, and Professor Streitberg, l. c., p. 216, tell us that only twice after this group of verbs does Ulfilas fail to render the predicative participle of the Greek by the same idiom in the Gothic.

Dr. Grimberg, l. c., p. 226, holds that in the Scandinavian the use of the predicate participle preceded that of the predicate infinitive after verbs of sense perception, — a view adopted apparently by Dr. Zeitlin.³ But Messrs. Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 218, seem to think that the predicative present participle was substituted for an original predicative infinitive: "Participiet betegner objektets tilstand under handlingen (se § 68, 1, b, γ): peir drapu hann sofanda; hann fann þa drepna. Ved 'finde' er den gamle infinitiv (§ 127) nu erstattet af nutidsparticip (undtagen i overført betydning): han fandt samme Trold siddende ved en Høy at græde (Holb, for: og græde); ved indflydelse heraf ogsaa: hvor jeg ofte saa ham siddende at flikke gamle Skoe (ib., for: sidde og flikke). Ved assimilation staar i ældre tid efter perfektum undertiden fortidsfor nutidsparticip: hvor tidt har jeg funden dig sprungen herom (Dass.)."

For the High Germanic languages, the evolution of the predicative infinitive from the predicative participle was denied by Dr. Arthur Denecke, l. c., p. 26, who, in 1880, declared: "Die Ansicht Koch's (Deutsche Gramm., § 269), dass

2 "S. Isidor, 4.1; Parzival, 516.23; Iwein, 283."

^{1 &}quot;S. Ulfila, Matth., 6.16, 18; 8.14; 9.9."

³ L. c., pp. 66 and 110.

der Inf. bei den Verbis der Wahrnehmung aus Particip entstanden zu sein scheine, ist aus historischen Gründen falsch." That the predicative use of the accusative of the present participle was not native to the High Germanic languages in general, but was with them, as with Anglo-Saxon, an importation from the Latin, was demonstrated by Professor J. B. Crenshaw, in his doctor's dissertation, The Present Participle in Old High German and Middle High German, Baltimore, 1901, pp. 14-20: "Present Participle after Verbs of Perception." His general statement is given on p. 14: "In Old High German and in Middle High German the Infinitive was the regular construction after Verbs of this class; the Participle was the exception, and the instances, cited from the works examined, will show that the usage was borrowed from the Latin. In Middle High German the Infinitive alone 2 is used, and the Participle has been dropped entirely." The general results of Professor Crenshaw's investigation have been confirmed, so far as Old High German is concerned, by the investigation of Dr. Karl Rick, in his dissertation, Das Prädikative Participium Praesentis im Althochdeutschen, Bonn, 1905, pp. 34-37; and by the less specialized investigations by Dr. Göcking and by Dr. K. Meyer cited in my bibliography. How closely the Old High German parallels the Anglo-Saxon may be gathered from these few examples taken from Rick: — Tatian 19.3: gisah 3 zuene bruoder rihtenti iro nezi = vidit fratres reficientes retia; ib. 16.2: tho gihortun inan thie iungiron sprechantan = audierunt eum discipuli loquentem; ib. 181.3: fant sie slafente = invenit eos dormientes.

Finally, in Old Saxon the predicative participle is very rare, Pratje, l. c., p. 77, giving only four examples for the whole of the Heliand: — 4024: that sia im uualdand Crist tuo . . . $farandian\ uuissun;$ 4356: that hie in . . . slapandia . . . ne bifahe; 4797: $fand\ sia\ slapandia;$ 5731: that hie uuissa that godes barn, $hreo\ hangondi\ herren\ sines$.

What Professor Wilmanns, professedly following Dr. Rick, says (l. c., p. 109) of Old High German, is true in my judgment of the Germanic languages as a whole: "Prädikativ gebrauchte Part. Präs. waren in der älteren Sprache offenbar wenig beliebt, wenn auch die Übersetzer sie nach dem Muster ihrer Vorlagen oft genug zulassen."

¹ Though 1893 appears on the title-page, the monograph was not printed until 1901.

² According to Professor Crenshaw himself, *alone* is too strong, for he cites on p. 15 sixteen examples of the predicate participle in Middle High German after the verb sehen.

³ Wilmanns, l. c., p. 110, tells us that after sehan Tatian uses the infinitive only 6 times, the participle 40 times, in strict accord with the Latin original; and that Otfrid uses the participle only once.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INFINITIVE IN THE OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

In this chapter I attempt to give a very brief conspectus of the Infinitive in the Germanic Languages other than Anglo-Saxon, primarily for the light thus to be derived for the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. I trust, however, that the preceding detailed discussion of the uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon may enable me to throw some light on the construction in the kindred Germanic languages. The main authorities, aside from the standard grammars by Grimm and by Wilmanns (the latter still unfinished), are for Gothic: the *Ele*mentarbuch by Streitberg and the special articles by Arthur Köhler and Otto Apelt; for the Scandinavian languages: the treatises of Falk and Torp, of Holthausen, of Kahle, of Lund, of Nygaard, and of Grimberg; for Old High German: the works of Apelt, Crenshaw, Denecke, Dietz, O. Erdmann, Göcking, K. Meyer, Mourek, Rannow, Rick, Seedorf, Seiler, and Wunderlich; for Middle High German: those of Paul, of Michels, and of Monsterberg-Münckenau; for New High German: those of Blatz, Curme, Herford, Thomas, Von Jageman, and Whitney; and for Old Saxon: those of Behaghel, Holthausen, Pratje, and Steig. It will not be considered improper, I trust, to add that, while the examples given below are borrowed from the aforementioned authorities, the interpretation thereof is my own.

I. THE SUBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

In Gothic we find as subject both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive (with du): — Mk. 7.27: unte ni gop ist niman hlaif barne jah wairpan hundam = οὐ γάρ ἐστιν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυναρίοις; 1 Rom. 7.18: unte wiljan atligib mis = τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειταί μοι; 2 Mk. 10.24: hvaiwa aglu ist paim hugjandam afar faihau in piudangardja gups galeipan = πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστι τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ $\epsilon i\sigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon i\nu$; 3 I. Cor. 11.6: ip jabai agl ist qinon du kapillon aippau skaban = $\epsilon i \delta \epsilon$ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι.3 As is evident from the preceding examples, the Greek articular infinitive is represented by both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive in Gothic. In Gothic itself the infinitive is at times preceded by the article, as in Philip. 1.29: izwis fragiban ist faur Xristu ni patainei du imma galaubjan, ak jah bata faur ina winnan = ὅτι ὑμῖν έχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν. Worthy of note, too, is the tendency to use the prepositional infinitive instead of the simple infinitive after the verb to be plus an adjective, but the tendency is not so strong as in Anglo-Saxon. Finally, it should be mentioned that Professor Streitberg, 2 l. c., § 318, considers as predicative infin-

¹ From Wright, ² l. c., § 435.

³ Ibidem, l. c., p. 434.

² From Köhler, ² A., *l. c.*, p. 421.

⁴ From Bernhardt, ² l. c., p. 111.

itive with dative subject what to me seems a subjective infinitive, a topic discussed in section ix of the present chapter.

In Old Norse, likewise, we find, as subject, both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive (with at), but the latter the oftener, as we learn from Drs. Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 195: "Som subjekt staar infinitiven særlig hyppig ved upersonlige udtryk: mik fara tiðir; lysti hann at kyssa hana; samt i udtryk med vera: lett er lauss at fara. Modsat af hvad man skulde vente, staar her allerede i oldnorsk mest at. Sagen er den, at i de fleste tilfælde var en dobbelt opfatning mulig: i mik fara tiðir er infinitiven ligefrem subjekt for verbet (at fare udgjør min lyst); men verbet kan ogsaa tages rent upersonligt: jeg har en lyst som gaar i retning af at reise = mik tiðir at fara. Den af denne dobbelte opfatning fremkaldte vaklen i brugen af at ophørte efterhaanden, og 'at' blev det herskende." See, further, Lund, l. c., pp. 357 ff.; Nygaard, l. c., p. 220.

In Old High German we find the same fluctuation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive as subject that we have found in Anglo-Saxon: — uninflected: Tatian 148.11: oba iz arloubit si wola tuon, heila tuon oda furliosan = si licet bene facere, salvam facere an perdere; 1 — B. R. 35.3: pezzira ist swigeen denne kisprehhan wesan = melius est silire, quam loqui; 2 — Tatian 191.26: guot ist thir einougen richison, thanna habenten gisentit werden = bonum tibi est luscum regnare quam habentem mitti; 3 — inflected: Hom. de voc. 29.14: iu garisit gotes wort za quedanne = vobis oportebat loqui verbum dei;4 — Tatian 100.30: gilimphit mir zi gotspellone = oportet me evangelizare; 4 — Is. 9.9: so zi chilaubanne mihhil wootnissa ist = ita existimare magnae dementiae est; 5 — Tatian 171.7: nist guot zi nemenne . . . brot inti zi werfenna = non est bonum sumere panem . . . et mittere.6 And the chief cause of this fluctuation appears to be the same as in Anglo-Saxon, namely, the disturbing influence of the datival verbs and verbal phrases; though a slight factor may be that suggested by Denecke with reference to the uninflected infinitive with guot ist in Tatian 191.18, 26: "In beiden Stellen scheint theils das Pass. gisentit werden, theils der vom Uebersetzer dem Lat. nachgeahmte Acc. das Eintreten von zi verhindert zu haben." 7

In his elaborate treatise, Der Infinitiv in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue, Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau gives a unique classification of the uses of the infinitive, and on page 7 declares that "nie ist der blosse Infinitiv bei Hartmann Subject." Despite this statement, he gives examples from Hartmann of what others consider the subjective use of the infinitive; and all recent authorities tell us that the infinitive is found as subject in Middle High German. But the usage, especially as to the presence or omission of the preposition with the subjective infinitive in both Middle High German and in New High German, has diverged so far from the earlier status represented in Old High German and in Anglo-Saxon that it seems useless for our purpose to cite examples. Suffice it to say that the confusion between uninflected infinitive and inflected infinitive grows in Middle High German, and becomes almost hopeless in New High German.

In Old Saxon we have clear examples of the inflected infinitive as subject,

¹ From Denecke, l. c., p. 20.

⁴ Ibidem, l. c., p. 66.

⁷ Denecke, l. c., p. 23.

² Ibidem, l. c., p. 22.

⁵ Ibidem, l. c., p. 70.

⁸ See Michels, *l. c.*, § 245.

³ Ibidem, l. c., p. 23.

⁶ Ibidem, l. c., p. 71.

with datival verbs and verbal phrases:— Hel. 975: uuest thu, that us so girisid allaro rehto gihuuilig te gifulleanne; ¹ ib. 3138: god is it her te uuesanne. ² In the following the uninflected infinitive may be considered as subject or as predicate nominative: Hel. 5825: ik uuet that is iu ist niud sehan an theson stene innan.³

It seems probable, therefore, that the use of the infinitive, whether uninflected or inflected, as the subject of active verbs, is of native origin in the Germanic languages; and that the differentiation between the two infinitives is much the same as in Anglo-Saxon: often the datival verbs or verbal phrases cause the inflected (or in Gothic the prepositional) infinitive to be used as subject instead of the uninflected.

The passive infinitive as subject, as, indeed, the passive infinitive in any use, is very rare in the earlier Germanic languages. Concerning the passive infinitive in general, we know that in Gothic the passive infinitive of the Greek is usually rendered by an active infinitive; that, while the passive infinitive is not infrequent in some Old High German translations, as in the Benedictiner-Regel, in the better translations it is often avoided, and that in the more original prose it is almost unknown, only two examples (with an auxiliary) occurring in Otfrid; that the passive infinitive is not frequent in Old Saxon or in Old Norse. The situation, therefore, in the Germanic languages as a whole as regards the passive infinitive is strikingly similar to that found in Anglo-Saxon. See Denecke, l. c., p. 5; Pratje, l. c., pp. 78, 80; Streitberg, l. c., § 312; Wilmanns, l. c., p. 165; Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 194; Kahle, l. c., § 432; Löffler, l. c., pp. 10-11; Öberg, l. c., pp. 24-25.

II. THE OBJECTIVE INFINITIVE.

It is clearly out of the question at this place to do much more than call attention to a few of the most striking instances of the interchange of uninflected infinitive and of inflected infinitive as object in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon.

As in Anglo-Saxon, so in the other Germanic languages the object infinitive is very common with verbs (1) of commanding, (2) of causing and permitting, and (3) of sense perception, as may be seen by a brief inspection of the treatises named for the respective languages at the beginning of this chapter. It is far less common with other groups of verbs.

According to the statistics of Dr. A. Köhler, there is next to no interchange of simple infinitive and of prepositional infinitive as object in Gothic. True, a few verbs that he discusses under the objective use 4 (giban, saihvan, meljan, anabiudan, sokjan) are followed by both the simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive, but each time he holds that the prepositional infinitive is final, not objective, in which supposition he is usually correct. As, however, we saw the same sort of wavering between the two infinitives in the Anglo-Saxon cognates, beodan and secan, I cite an example each of anabiudan and of sokjan followed by the prepositional infinitive: L. 4.10: patei aggilum seinaim

⁴ Köhler, A., l. c., pp. 435-450.

¹ From Steig, l. c., p. 493.

² Ibidem, l. c., p. 496.

³ Ibidem, l. c., p. 344. Steig, however, considers that sehan modifies niud. See p. 264 below.

anabiudib bi buk du fastan buk = ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε; Mk. 14.55: iþ þai auhumistans gudjans jah alla so gafaurds sokidedun ana Jesu weitwodiþa du afdauþjan ina = οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐξήτουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν εἰς τὸ θανατῶσαι αὐτόν. — Regardless of the question as to whether the infinitives in Gothic are final or objective in sense, it is instructive to note that the prepositional infinitive in Gothic corresponds in Greek in the one case to an articular infinitive in the genitive and in the other to a prepositional infinitive.

In the Scandinavian languages, on the other hand, there is considerable interchange of the two infinitives in the objective use, the basis of which interchange is thus stated by Professors Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 193: "Oprindelig havde altsaa den rene infinitiv sin plads som subjekt, objekt og efter de modale hjelpeverber, infinitiv med at derimod hvor der betegnes en hensigt ('lægge sig at sove'), en henseende ('let at finde'), eller en nødvendighed og mulighed ('hvad er nu at gjøre'). Allerede i ældste oldnorsk er imidlertid de to infinitiver paa mange maader sammenblandede, navnlig saaledes at formen med at har udbredt sig paa den rene infinitivs bekostning, f. eks. som subjekt og objekt. Heller ikke er dette underligt: betydningen af hensigt eller maal berører sig paa mange maader med objektet, som jo betegner den gjenstand som handlingen er rettet mod eller gaar ud over; saaledes ser vi ogsaa i gotisk objekts-infinitiven undertiden optræde med du, som herfra ogsaa kan overføres paa subjekts-Omvendt synes allerede i fællesgermansk bevægelsesverber at kunne bruges uden præposition (gotisk: qam giban, tysk: schlafen gehen)." See, further, Falk and Torp, l. c., pp. 196 ff.; Lund, l. c., pp. 358 ff.; Nygaard, l. c., pp. 221 ff.

In Old High German, the situation is much like that in Anglo-Saxon. instance, as object we find both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive after these verbs: suohhen, 'seek;' geron, 'desire;' gibiotan, 'command; 'beginnan, 'begin: 'Tatian 202.11: suochit in offane wesan = quaerit in palam esse; -ib. 83.6: thaz Herodis suochit then kneht zi forliosenne = ut Herodis quærat puerum ad perdendum eum (or final?); 2 — ib. 130.5: suohtun inan in zi traganne inti zi sezenne furi then heilant = quærebant eum inferre et ponere ante Jesum; 2 — Tatian 316.8: her uuas iu geronti . . . inan gisehan = erat enim cupiens . . . videre eum; 3 — Ev. Matth. 7.5: gerotun za gasehanne enti za gahorrenne = cupierunt videre et audire; 4 — Aug. serm. 35.20: gabiut mir queman = jube me venire; 5 — Tatian 226.11: gibot uns zi steinonne = mandavit nobis lapidare; 6 — ib. 196.34: gibot inan ther herro zi vorkoufanne inti sina quenun inti . . . inti vorgeltan = jussit eum dominus venundari et uxorem eius et . . . et reddi; 7 — Otfrid I, 2.7: thaz ih biginne redion, wio er bigonda bredigon; 8 Otfrid V, 13.25: bigonda swimmannes.9 The interchange in infinitives is chiefly due, I believe, in Old High German, as in Anglo-Saxon, to the double regimen of the governing verbs: such a governs an accusative of the thing or of the person usually, but occasionally a genitive of the thing in Old High German and in Old Saxon; 10 geron, a genitive of the thing usually, but occasion-

¹ From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 17.

² Ibidem, p. 63.

³ From Blatz, *l. c.*, p. 549.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 64. ⁵ Ibidem, p. 46. ⁶ Ibidem, p. 66.

⁷ From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 65, who attributes the absence of inflection in the second infinitive to its separation from the first infinitive, but I should prefer to say because of its separation from the principal verb.

⁸ From Erdmann, O., *l. c.*, p. 203.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 204.

¹⁰ Delbrück, *l. c.*, p. 93.

ally an accusative in Old High German; ¹ forhten, an accusative of the thing or person feared and a genitive of cause; ² gibiotan, a dative of the person and an accusative of the thing; ³ and beginnan, an accusative or a genitive. ⁴ In the series of two infinitives after gibot in Tatian 196.34, quoted above, as already stated, I think that the absence of inflection is due to its remoteness from the chief verb. In Tatian 83.6, the inflected infinitive may be due in part to the presence of the gerund in the Latin original.

Purposely, again, I ignore the objective infinitive in Middle High German except to say that Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., p. 11, denies this use to Hartmann, though what others consider such infinitives are abundant therein; and that in Middle High German the confusion between uninflected and inflected objective infinitives grows rapidly.

In New High German the differentiation between the two is as difficult as in Modern English.

In Old Saxon a similar interchange between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive is found after giuvaldan: Hel. 5345, 5346: that ik giuvaldan muot so thik te spildianne an speres orde, so ti quellianne an crucium, so quican latan.⁵ In Old Saxon, uvaldan governs the instrumental or the genitive,⁶ but the exchange of uninflected for inflected infinitive in the preceding example is probably due, not only to the double regimen of uvaldan, but also to the remoteness of the third infinitive from the chief verb. In all probability the original construction was with the inflected infinitive.

The following verbs have only the inflected infinitive as object in the Old High German texts discussed by Denecke: luston and lusten, 'desiderare'; giflizzan, 'studere'; wizzan, 'cognoscere'; argezzan, 'oblivisci'; sich bichnaan (?), 'agnoscere'; leren, 'docere'; gizeihhanon, 'demonstrare'; farbiotan, 'prohibere'; and the following in Old Saxon, according to Steig, l. c., pp. 491–494: bifelhan, 'recommend'; gemanagfeldian (?), 'multiply'; linon, 'learn'; menian 'intend'; thenkan, 'think,' 'think of'; ruokan, 'hope,' 'care'; biodan, 'command.' Even a cursory examination of the examples in which these words occur, will show that in the main the inflected infinitive represents an 'indirect case' in the sense in which that term was defined above, in Chapter II, p. 61.

As in the case of the subjective infinitive, so with the objective infinitive the statistics accessible to me are too incomplete to warrant speaking with confidence concerning the origin of this use in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon. But so far as it goes, the evidence seems to me to tend to show that the idiom is native in the languages considered, both with the uninflected infinitive and with the inflected infinitive, and for the same kinds of reason that were given in the discussion of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon. Moreover, the grounds of differentiation between the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive, in the objective use, appear to be substantially the same in the Germanic languages in general as in Anglo-Saxon: in the main, the simple infinitive only is used with verbs governing an accusative; the inflected infinitive only, with verbs governing an indirect case; both infinitives, with verbs of double regimen.

The passive infinitive as object is very rare in the Germanic languages, and

¹ Delbrück,² *l. c.*, p. 37.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 38.

² *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁵ From Pratie, l. c., p. 73.

³ Ibidem, p. 12.

⁶ Delbrück,² *l. c.*, p. 112.

usually, when it occurs, is due to foreign influence, as in the Old High German *Tatian* 145.1: thanne thisu ellu *biginnent gientot wesan* = cum haec omnia *incipient consummari*. See the note on the passive infinitive as subject in section i of this chapter and the references there given.

"The retained object" with passive verbs is rare in the Germanic languages. Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 143, records no example from the Gothic and only one example from the Old Norse (hann kvadhst vera brautingi einn ok utlendr, fornm. sög. 2, 73); and only two from Old High German (N. Cap. 318^a: dannan wirt er sie gesaget zunden; N. Arist. 386^b: ist er gesaget ouch wesen homo). Dr. Rannow, l. c., p. 99, tells us that, of the 14 examples of the infinitive as retained object in the Latin original of Isidor, only two are kept in the Old High German. Professors Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 196, declare that "En 'nominativ med infinitiv' i strengere forstand (som passiv of 'akkusativ med infinitiv,' hvorom se § 128) findes saaledes ikke i oldnorsk;" but they give several examples that in my judgment belong here: see my quotation from them in section iii of this chapter.

III. OTHER SUBSTANTIVAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

In my reading I have found only a few examples of other substantival uses of the infinitive in the kindred Germanic languages. They are as follows:—

A. AS A PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

In Gothic: Rom. 10.6: þat-ist Xristu dalaþ attiuhan = τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν; similarly Rom. 10.7; Rom. 7.10, in which latter the Gothic infinitive translates a Greek pronoun; with article: Mk. 9.10: hva ist þata us dauþaim usstandan? = τί ἐστι τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆσαι; ²

Of this use in the Scandinavian languages, Professors Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 196, speak as follows: "Som rent prædikatsord kan infinitiven kun sjelden forekomme: sligt er at friste Gud; dette maa kaldes at komme fra asken i ilden. Derimod staar det oftere som del af prædikatet. Saaledes i oldnorsk ved bykkja: beim botti hann vera katr. Videre ved de refleksive verber som betyder 'sige sig at være:' hon lezk vera læknir. Endelig undertiden, men yderst sjelden, ved passiv af de i § 126 nævnte verber: rytningar eru fyrirboðnir at bera (det er forbudt at bære dolke); samt ved passiv af verbet sja (§ 127): varu senar storar eldingar fljuga or norðri; var þa seinn eldligr stopull falla af himni. Ellers anvendes ved passive verber en sætning med at: Helgi ok Svafa, er sagt, at væri endrborin = siges at være gjenfødt. En 'nominativ med infinitiv' i strengere forstand (som passiv af 'akkusativ med infinitiv', hvorom se § 28) findes saaledes ikke i oldnorsk." See, too, Lund, l. c., pp. 376–378.

In Old High German: Tatian 327.13: wisa ist zi bigrabanne = mos est sepelire.³

In Old Saxon: Hel. 5825: see p. 233 above.

Clearly my examples are too few to warrant any conclusion as to the origin of this idiom in the Germanic languages.

¹ From Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 165.

² From Köhler, A., *l. c.*, pp. 421-422. In *Mk.* 9.10, the infinitive may be subjective, as is claimed by Bernhardt, *l. c.*, p. 111.

³ From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 70.

B. AS AN APPOSITIVE.

In Gothic: II. Cor. 7.11: saihv auk silbo pata bi gup saurgan izwis hvelauda gatawida izwis usdaudein = ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τὸ κατὰ θεόν λυπηθῆναι ὑμᾶς πόσην κατειργάσατο ὑμῖν σπουδήν; 1 Mk. 2.9: Hvapar ist azetizo, du qipan pamma uslipin: afletanda pus frawaurhteis peinos, pau quipan: urreis etc. = τί ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον, εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ, ᾿Αφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἢ εἰπεῖν ˚Εγειρε, etc.

In the Scandinavian languages: S. E. 32.1: helzt vill hann þat taka til at þreyta drykkju við einhvern mann; S. E. 75.5: hon hafði þess heit strengt at eiga þann einn mann.²

In Old High German: Otfrid IV, 17.29: sie sahun ungimacha, egeslicha sacha, druhtin iro bintan; 3 — B. R. 39.7: hweo unsenfta racha intfianc zekerihtanne... indi deonoon = quam dificilem rem suscepit, regere... et servire; 4 — Ev. Matth. 1.14: Hwedar ist gazelira za quedanne... odo za quhedanne? = Quid est facilius dicere... aut dicere? 5

Again, the collection of examples is too small to warrant any confident deductions as to the origin of the infinitive as an appositive in the Germanic languages.

C. AS THE OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION.

It seems unnecessary to give illustrations here of the well known use of the infinitive as the object of various prepositions other than those representing the Anglo-Saxon to in the kindred Germanic languages, — a topic treated well in Grimm, in Erdmann, and in Denecke.

IV. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH AUXILIARY VERBS.

The predicative use of the uninflected infinitive with auxiliary verbs is so common in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon as not to call for illustration here. Of the inflected infinitive in this use I cite a few illustrations:—

In Gothic: no instance of the prepositional infinitive is found with the auxiliaries, according to A. Köhler, l. c., p. 425.

In Old Norse, according to Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 197, both the uninflected infinitive and the prepositional occur with kunna, 'can;' pora, 'dare;' purfa, 'need;' eiga, 'own,' 'ought.' See, too, Delbrück, l. c. p. 355.

In Old High German:—eigan: Denkm. lvi. 97: ci arstandanne eigun = resurgere habent; 6 — Otfrid V. 19.2: zi sorganne eigun wir bi thaz; 7 — scal: Otfrid III, 20.124: waz scal es avur thanne nu so zi fragenne 8 (though Denecke, l. c., p. 10, holds that the infinitive here does not depend on scal).

In Old Saxon:—can: Hel. 2531: nio hie so uuido ni can te githenkeanne thegan an is muode.⁹

That the predicative use of the uninflected infinitive active with auxiliary verbs is native to the Germanic languages, as to Anglo-Saxon, is indisputable;

¹ From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 422.—Commenting on the difference between Mat. 9.5, in which we have the simple infinitive (hvapar ist raihtis azetizo gipan) and Mk. 2.9, in which we have the prepositional infinitive, Gabelentz and Loebe, l. c., p. 202, declare: "... scheint der Unterschied zu sein: ersteres heisst: was ist leichter, zu sagen ..., letzeres: was ist leichter zu sagen"

² From Nygaard, l. c., pp. 226 f. ³ From Erdmann, O., l. c., p. 199. ⁴ From Denecke, l. c., p. 59. ⁵ Ibidem, p. 71. ⁶ From Denecke, l. c., p. 61. ⁷ From Erdmann, O., l. c., p. 212.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 212. See, too, Delbrück, l. c., p. 355.

⁹ From Pratje, l. c., p. 73. See, too, Delbrück, l. c., p. 355, who says that thurban, also, has the prepositional infinitive as its complement.

this use of the inflected infinitive is sporadic except with eigan (agan), concerning which see above, Chapter IV, pp. 80–82; and except with the several verbs named under Old Norse above.

On the other hand, the passive infinitive with auxiliaries is almost unknown in the more original prose (only two examples occur in Otfrid ¹), and in the prose translations usually renders a Latin passive infinitive. In a word, as in Anglo-Saxon, so in the Germanic languages the idiom is borrowed. See the references at the end of section i in this chapter.

V. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION AND OF REST (EXCLUSIVE OF "(W)UTON").

Of the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion, as in the Anglo-Saxon com . . . fleogan, I find no examples in Gothic or in Old Norse unless the following, quoted from Grimm, l. c., IV, pp. 107–109, be such: — Gothic: Mk. 1.44: gagg puk $ataugjan = \tilde{v}\pi a\gamma \epsilon$, $\sigma \epsilon av \tau \delta v$ $\delta \epsilon \hat{i} \xi ov$; Mat. 5.24: gagg $gasibjon = \tilde{v}\pi a\gamma \epsilon$, $\delta \iota a\lambda \lambda \acute{a}\gamma \eta \theta \iota$; J. 9.7: gagg $bwahan = \tilde{v}\pi a\gamma \epsilon$ $v \iota \acute{\psi} a\iota$; — Old Norse: Hym. 14.7: bap $sio \delta a$ ganga = jussit coctum iri; $V\ddot{o}l$. 56.3: gengr vega; ib. 54.3: ferr vega; ib. 55.1: kemr vega.

Nor have I found any example in Old High German unless these quoted from Grimm, l. c., IV., p. 109, be such: O. III, 24.25: ilti loufan; N. Cap. 361^a: ilton chomen.

With a verb of rest we find the predicative infinitive in Notker's translation of Capella ² (782.9: stuont si sorgen) and in Otfrid. Concerning the latter Erdmann, ¹ l. c., p. 203, speaks as follows: "gistantan hat noch die Bedeutung: dastehen, indem der Inf. die aus dem ruhenden Zustande sich entwickelnde Tätigkeit angibt, in den Stellen: I, 9.23: gistuantun sie tho scouon; IV, 18.24: ih gistuant thin warten (dagegen stantan und irstantan mit zi und Inf., §§ 350–352)," to which he adds: "dann bezeichnet es formelhaft den Anfang einer Handlung: I, 17.42: gistuant er thingon," etc.

According to Monsterberg-Münckenau, *l. c.*, p. 31, this infinitive is not found after verbs of motion in Hartmann, but instead we have the predicative present participle, already illustrated in Chapter XV, section i. But this infinitive is found after verbs of rest in Hartmann, in the following, I think, though the infinitive is considered final by Monsterberg-Münckenau (p. 29): *E.* 9699: als si frou Enite gesach dort sitzen weinen; G. 2279: da ich in da stende sach klagen. It seems, however, that in Middle High German, while the present participle was occasionally used, the preterite participle was used habitually, as in the following: *Iw.* 785: kom gegangen; Mar. 170.28: kom geflogen; Parz. 16.23: kom gesigelt, an idiom that, according to Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 9, is unknown in Old High German, but which, as is well known, is very common in New High German.

After verbs of rest in New High German, of course, the predicative infinitive is very common, as in *blieb sitzen*, *stehen*, etc.: see Grimm, *l. c.*, IV, p. 10.

But in Old Saxon we have the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion quite as in Anglo-Saxon, only not so many verbs are so used. According to Steig,

³ The examples are from Grimm, l. c., IV, pp. 9, 146.

¹ Wilmanns, l. c., p. 165.

² From Manthey, l. c., p. 39. Cf., too, Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 106.

l. c., p. 342, we find kuman, 'come,' followed by gangan, 'go,' faran, 'go,' gifaran, 'go,' suogan, 'blow,' and uuallan, 'boil;' giuuitan, 'go,' followed by gangan, sithon, 'journey,' and faran, 'go;' and sithon followed by gangan. Typical examples are: Hel. 503: tho quam en uuif gangan; ib. 5796: thuo thar suogan quam engil thes alouualdon fan radure faran; — ib. 425: giuuitun im te Bethlehem siðon; — ib. 5783: sithodun idisi te them grabe gangan.

I believe that the predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of motion in the Low Germanic languages was a native idiom, and sprang from an original final use, as explained above, Chapter XIV, pp. 194 ff.; and that the predicative use of the infinitive after verbs of rest was native to the High Germanic as well as to the Low ² Germanic languages, and that it, too, sprang from the final use.

As in Anglo-Saxon, so in the other Germanic languages the predicative present participle was at times substituted for the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest: see Chapter XV, section i.

VI. THE PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "(W)UTON."

The predicative infinitive with (w)uton is found only in the Low Germanic languages, so far as I can discover. Three examples are found in the *Heliand*, according to Steig, l.c., $344:-223:uuita\ kiasan\ im\ o\"orana\ niudsamna\ naman;$ 228: $uuita\ is\ thana\ fader\ fragon;$ 3995: $uuita\ im\ uuonian\ mid,\ tholoian\ mit\ usson\ thiodne.$ In Grimm, l.c., IV, p. 98, footnote, a number of examples are given of the Mnl. $weten:\ weten\ hem\ volghen!\ weten\ vechten!\ weten\ gaen!\ weten\ varen!\ etc.$

In the Low Germanic languages this predicative use possibly was native, and arose from an original final use. Compare what is said concerning the origin of this idiom in Anglo-Saxon, above, Chapter XIV, pp. 199 f.

VII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH "BEON" ("WESAN").

The predicative infinitive of necessity with the verb to be is not found in Gothic, according to Wilmanns, l. c., p. 128. Nor, despite the statement of Dr. Karl Köhler, l. c., p. 8, to this effect, does du saihvan seem analogous in Matthew 6.1: Atsaihviþ armaion izwara ni taujan in andwairþja manne du saihvan im = $\Pi \rho o \sigma \acute{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon \tau \acute{\eta} \nu \delta \iota \kappa a \iota o \sigma \acute{\nu} \nu \gamma \nu \dot{\nu} \mu \mathring{\omega} \nu \mu \mathring{\eta} \pi o \iota \epsilon \mathring{\iota} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \mu \pi \rho o \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu \theta \rho \acute{\omega} \pi \omega \nu \frac{\pi \rho \dot{\delta} s}{\tau \dot{\delta}}$ $\tau \acute{\delta} \theta \epsilon a \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota a \mathring{\nu} \tau o \mathring{\iota} s$.

But the idiom is common in Old Norse. Of it Messrs. Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 206, speak as follows: "Infinitiv føies paa friere vis till verber i folgende tre tilfælde: a. Til verberne 'være' og 'bli (vorde).' Ved 'være' betegnes enten en pligt, nødvendighed eller en mulighed (§ 122, 3): þer er at þegja; hvat er at gera; nu er at segja; gnyr var at heyra; der var icke Korn at bekomme (P. Cl.); der var ikke et menneske at se; han er ikke (til) at spøge med. Merk: ok var þar mikilli osku af at moka, hvor vi anvender personligt udtryk. Ved 'vorde (bli)' betegnes en nødvendighed eller en sikker fremtidighed (= komme til at,

¹ From Steig, l. c., pp. 337-340.
2 The views of Grimm, of Steig, and of Pratje concerning this idiom have been given in Chapter XIV, section v.

§ 96): verð ek nu (at) flyja (jeg blir nødt til at flygte); nw worder jeg ath fly (K. Magn.); thi worder ieg nw ath kallis en forredere (Chr. Ped.); sporsmaalet blir at anse for uløseligt."

In Old High German this infinitive, inflected, is quite common, and corresponds, in the closer translations, usually to a gerundial periphrastic: Tatian 133.24: win zi sentenne ist = vinum mittendum est; ib. 189.12: sun ist zi sellenne = filius tradendus est; — Is. 9.10: hwemu ist dhiz nu zi quhedanne = cui ergo dicitur.¹ So common is the idiom in Middle High German and in New High German that illustration is unnecessary here. But I quote Wilmanns's statement concerning the voice of the infinitive in this construction, l. c., p. 167: "Noch entschiedener gilt passive Auffassung für die Infinitive mit zu, durch die wir neben manchen Verben bezeichnen, dass etwas geschehen kann oder muss (§ 70, 6). In der jetzigen Sprache schliessen sie sich namentlich an es ist (steht, bleibt): Es ist oder steht zu erwarten, ist nicht zu sagen, nicht auszuhalten, oder mit bestimmtem Subjekt, das zugleich Objekt des Infinitivs ist: Er ist hart zu tadeln; sein Übermut ist nicht zu ertragen; eine schwere Pflicht ist oder bleibt dir noch zu erfüllen. Überall behauptet sich die reine aktive Form."

Once in Otfrid we have after sin an uninflected infinitive denoting purpose: II, 14.100: sie warun in theru burg, koufen iro notdurft.² Similarly in Old Saxon, according to Pratje, l. c., p. 70, we have an uninflected infinitive of purpose in Heliand 389: thia thar . . . ute uuarun uueros an uuahtu uuiggeo $gomean.^3$

In the Benedictinerregel 114.5 (sciat se servaturum = ze haltane) we have an inflected infinitive after sin denoting futurity. In the Old Saxon Psalms, 70.18 (thie te cumene ist = quae ventura est 4), we have the inflected infinitive after ist denoting futurity and translating, as in Anglo-Saxon, a Latin future active participle.

But the predicative infinitive of necessity is not found in Old Saxon.

According to Wilmanns, l. c., p. 128, the infinitive of necessity in the Germanic languages arose from an original final use: "Eine eigentümliche Bedeutung gewinnt der Inf. mit zu in Verbindung mit sein; mit der Vorstellung des Zieles, auf das die Präposition hinweist, verbindet sich die Vorstellung der Notwendigkeit." This does not, however, preclude the possibility that this infinitive was first suggested to the Germanic peoples by the Latin gerundial periphrastic, and at the outset was only an imitation thereof, — a theory we found applicable to Anglo-Saxon and that seems also applicable to the Germanic languages as a whole, especially in view of the frequency with which this infinitive is found as a translation of the Latin gerundial periphrastic in Old High German.⁵

The only examples of the inflected infinitive of futurity are in translation of the Latin future participle, as shown above.

¹ From Denecke, p. 60. See, too, Wilmanns, l. c., p. 128.

² From Erdmann, O., l. c., p. 204. Cf. section x, 2, below.

³ Cf., too, Steig, *l. c.*, p. 316; and see section x, 2, below.

⁴ From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 489.

⁵ After writing the above, I came upon the following in Wunderlich, ² l. c., I, p. 384: "Besonders begünstigt wurde die Ausbreitung dieses Infinitivs mit zu in der althochdeutschen Uebersetzerlitteratur durch die Notwendigkeit, das lat. Gerundium und Gerundivum wiederzugeben: Pediu ist nu zesagene . . . An dero sago ih tes ahten zeerest ze fragenne, demonstrandum . . . inquirendum, Notker, Boethius, 131^a u. a."

VIII. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE SUBJECT.

I. THE INFINITIVE UNINFLECTED.

THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

AS OBJECT.

The predicative infinitive with accusative subject, in object clauses, is common in the Germanic languages after (1) verbs of commanding, (2) verbs of causing and permitting, and (3) verbs of sense perception, although, as stated above, p. 107, some scholars, including Grimm, prefer to consider the infinitive after these verbs as objective rather than predicative. And after these verbs the idiom is common in the more original literature (as in Otfrid in Old High German) as well as in the translations (as in Gothic; in Tatian and Notker in Old High German).1

A few examples will suffice for illustration:—

(1) Verbs of Commanding:

Gothic: — Mat.~8.18: $haihait~galeipan~siponjans~hindar~marein = <math>\epsilon \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \epsilon v$ ἀπελθεῖν εἰσ τὸ πέραν (with an accusative implied in the preceding clause).

Old Norse: — bað hann segja ser.²

Old High German: — Tatian 161.38: heiz mih queman = jube me venire; 3 ib. 161.1: gibot her thie jungiron stigan . . . inti furifaran = jussit discipulos ascendere . . . et precedere.4

Old Saxon: Hel. 5831: hiet sia eft thanan gangan endi faran te them jungron, seggian 5 etc.

(2) Verbs of Causing and Permitting:

Gothic: Mat. 8.22: jah let pans daupans filhan seinans daupans = $\kappa a i \ a \phi \epsilon s$ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς έαυτῶν νεκρούς; Mat. 5.32: taujib bo horinon = ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθήναι.

Old Norse: leto hann fara nauðgan með ser.⁶

Old High German: Tatian 127.7: laz mih fursagen = permitte mihi renuntiare; 7

Old Saxon: Hel. 1986: the let hie that unerod sidon.⁸

(3) Verbs of Sense Perception:

Gothic: J. 6.62: jabai nu gasaihvip sunu mans ussteigan = έ $\alpha \nu$ ο $\delta \nu$ θεωρ $\hat{\eta}$ τε τον νίον . . . ἀναβαίνοντα. [But more usually this and the other verbs of this group are followed by the accusative and the predicative participle in Gothic, in strict conformity with the Greek original.9]

Old Norse: sal ser hon standa. 10

Old High German: Otfrid I, 25.23: gisah er queman gotes geist; — ib. I, 25.15: then fater hort er sprechan.11

⁶ From Kahle, *l. c.*, p. 139.

¹ See for Gothic: Apelt, l. c., pp. 280-297; Streitberg, l. c., pp. 211-212; Van der Meer, l. c., pp. 55-59; for Old Norse: Falk and Torp, l. c., pp. 201-203; Kahle, l. c., p. 139; Lund, l. c., pp. 381-384; Nygaard, l. c., pp. 231–232; for Old High German: Apelt, 2 l. c., pp. 1-7; Denecke, l. c., pp. 25-53; Erdmann, 1 O., l. c., pp. 205–210; Wilmanns, l. c., pp. 118–119; — for Middle High German and New High German: Apelt, 2 l. c., pp. 8–21; Blatz, l. c., II, pp. 557-569; Herford, l. c., pp. 8-13; Wilmanns, l. c., pp. 120-121; — for Old Saxon: Pratje, l. c., pp. 70-72; Steig, l. c., pp. 470-484; Behaghel, l. c., pp. 211-212.

² From Kahle, *l. c.*, p. 139.

³ From Denecke, l. c., p. 35.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 41. ⁵ From Steig, l. c., p. 476.

From Denecke, l. c., p. 35. ⁸ From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 477.

⁹ See Streitberg, ² l. c., pp. 211, 216.

¹⁰ From Kahle, l. c., p. 139.

¹¹ From Erdmann, 1 O., l. c., pp. 207-208.

Old Saxon: Hel. 474: he gisah that barn cuman; — ib. 2777: so sie that gihordun thea magad sprekan.¹

But with (4) verbs of mental perception the construction is less common, and with (5) verbs of declaring it is almost unknown, except in the translations. After (4) and (5) we have what Grimm called the "genuine" accusative and infinitive construction.

This idiom is frequent in Gothic, but I quote only a few examples: — (4) Verbs of Mental Perception: Mk. 14.64: eis allai gadomidedun ina skula wisan daupau = οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκρινον αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου; L. 4.41: unte wissedun silban Xristu ina wisan = ὅτι ἤδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι; 2 — (5) Verbs of Declaring: Mk. 8.27: hvana mik qiþand mans wisan = τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ανθρωποι εἶναι; 3 J. 12.29: qeþun þeihvon wairþan = ἔλεγον βροντὴν γεγονέναι. 3 In mostinstances given by Apelt¹ the accusative with infinitive is in translation of the same idiom in the Greek original, — a fact that makes me doubt whether the idiom is native to Gothic after these verbs (groups (4) and (5)). Apelt, l. c., p. 297, does not go so far: "Da bei der Mehrzahl der oben angeführten Verba ein Nachweis darüber nicht möglich war, dass der mit ihnen verbundene Acc. c. Inf. als dem Gothischen fremdartig anzusehen wäre, so sind wir nicht berechtigt, der Constr. für diese Fälle das Bürgerrecht in der Sprache abzusprechen. Im allgemeinen jedoch scheint mir so viel fest zu stehen, dass der Gothe aus übergrosser Treue gegen das griechische Original nicht selten über das seiner Sprache Geläufige hinausgieng." 4 Dr. Zeitlin is more pronounced against foreign influence: "Gothic, and, even more, Icelandic, show the locution likewise after verbs of declaration, where the relation of the accusative to the main verb is no longer obvious. In the former, this phase of the construction has sometimes been unnecessarily attributed to the influence of Greek." 5 Professor Streitberg admits the close correspondence between the Gothic and the Greek, but would not deny the construction to Gothic: "Wenn diese Konstruktion auch zweifellos unter dem Einfluss des griech. Originals weit häufiger erscheint, als es sonst wohl der Fall gewesen wäre, so haben wir doch schwerlich das Recht, sie ganz dem Gotischen abzusprechen, da im Nordischen eine analoge Fügung nicht ungebräuchlich ist." 6 With all due respect, this judgment, it seems to me, lays too much weight on the apparent state of affairs in the Scandinavian languages and too little weight on that in the High Germanic and the Low Germanic languages.

In Old Norse, also, the idiom is not infrequent after these two groups of verbs. Examples 7 are:—(4) Verbs of Mental Perception: Egilss. 169: ek hygg hann vera engan vin þinn; — Sn. Edd. 148: þeir truðu hann guð vera; — Völusp. 62.19: ask veit ek standa; — (5) Verbs of Declaring: Hrafnk. 13: hann kvað þat eigi vera; — Kristn. 22: þeir sögðu okkr eiga börn saman.

The idiom is frequent, also, in the closer Old High German translations (Notker 8 and Tatian 9), in both authors, especially the latter, corresponding

⁴ Apelt ¹ then adds that the accusative and infinitive after impersonals is certainly of foreign origin, concerning which see below, p. 245.

⁹ See Denecke, l. c., pp. 34-44.

⁵ Zeitlin, ¹ l. c., p. 40. — Bernhardt, ² l. c., p. 113, says: "Man hat im zusatz des subjects den einfluss der lateinischen version erkennen wollen; allein das Altnordische und Angelsächsische bieten ganz ähnliches, wie denn überhaupt die construction des accusativs mit infinitiv in der Edda und im Beowulf hinreichend belegt ist, um zu erkennen, dass dieselbe den germanischen sprachen keineswegs fremd war, auch nach verben wie wiljan und bidjan."

From Lund, l. c., pp. 381-383. See, too, Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 201.
 See Erdmann, O., l. c., pp. 209-210; Manthey, l. c., pp. 44-46; Wunderlich, l. c., pp. 122-123.

very closely to the original Latin: (4) Verbs of Mental Perception: Tatian 335.41: wantun sih geist gisehan = existimabant se spiritum videre; \(^1 - ib\). 136.32: ih weiz megin uzgangen = ego novi virtutem exisse; — (5) Verbs of Declaring: Tatian 182.37: wenan quedent mih man wesen mannes sun? = quem me dicunt homines esse filium hominis? ib. 334.18: quaedent inan leben = dicunt eum vivere.\(^2\) But it is found only twice in Isidor\(^3\) (each time in translation of the Latin), though occurring thirty-six times in the Latin original; and it is unknown in Otfrid.\(^4\)

These facts lead me to believe that the so-called "genuine" accusativewith-infinitive construction was not a native idiom in Old High German, — a conclusion substantially identical with that of most investigators of the idiom in Old High German. In his Syntax der Sprache Otfrids (1874), I, p. 208, after stating that the accusative with the infinitive in Otfrid is about as restricted as in present German, Erdmann continues: "Dasselbe gilt nicht von den ahd. Prosaikern. Bei ihnen, die meist direct und wörtlich aus dem Lateinischen übersetzen, finden wir eine viel ausgedehntere Anwendung des Acc. mit dem Inf., die entschieden dem Lateinischen nachgebildet, in originaler deutscher Rede aber, wie ich glaube, im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert ebensowenig heimisch gewesen ist als im neunzehnten." In the following year (1875), Dr. Otto Apelt concluded his special investigation, "Bemerkungen über den Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Althochdeutschen und Mittelhochdeutschen," with these words: "Das Ergebniss der Untersuchung für das Ahd. ist demnach dahin zusammenzufassen, dass sich in den literarischen Denkmälern dieser Periode keine genügenden Anhaltepunkte für die Ansicht bieten, dass der Gebrauch der Construction in der lebenden Sprache wesentlich über diejenigen Grenzen hinausgegangen wäre, innerhalb deren er sich noch bei uns bewegt, d. h. über die Anwendung derselben bei den Verbis der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung. Deutlich zeigte es sich, dass der Umfang, in welchem die Fügung erscheint, in umgekehrtem Verhältniss steht zu der Selbständigkeit der literarischen Production; je unabhängiger die Entstehung eines Werkes, um so geringer die Zahl der Fälle, in denen die Construction auftritt." This statement of Apelt is confirmed by the subsequent investigations of Denecke, Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den Ahd. Übersetzern des 8. and 9. Jahrhunderts (1880), p. 53; of Wunderlich, Beiträge zur Syntax des Notkers'chen Boethius (1883?), p. 122; of Behaghel, Die Deutsche Sprache (1887), p. 127; of Rannow, Der Satzbau des Ahd. Isidor im Verhältniss zur Latein. Vorlage (1888), p. 92; and of Manthey, Syntaktische Beobachtungen an Notkers Uebersetzung des Martianus Capella (1903), pp. 44 ff.

But, on the other hand, not a few distinguished scholars have held that this so-called "genuine" accusative with infinitive was a native idiom in Old High German. So held Grimm, l. c., IV, pp. 129 ff. So held Herzog, "Die Syntax des Infinitivs" (1873). So holds Professor Jolly, who, in his Geschichte des Infinitivs (1873), p. 260, declares: "Wenn aber im Got. sich hier wie überall schwer entscheiden lässt, ob idiomatische Constructionen vorliegen oder der Acc. cum Inf. dem griech. nachgebildet ist, so zeigt dagegen das Ahd. und Mhd. unwiderleglich, dass der Accus. c. Inf. unserer älteren Sprache in ziemlich weitem Umfange eigenthümlich war, worüber J. Grimm, Gramm., IV, 105 ff., ausführlich gehandelt hat." So holds Löhner, as cited by Rannow, l. c., p. 92. So apparently holds Dr. Zeitlin, who, after quoting some examples of the accu-

¹ From Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 37-38.

³ See Rannow, l. c., p. 93.

² *Ibidem*, pp. 38-39.

⁴ See Erdmann, 1 O., l. c., p. 208.

sative with the infinitive after verbs of mental perception in Old High German (chiefly from Tatian and Notker) and of the accusative with predicate participle in Old High German, declares, l. c., p. 32: "The persistence of the construction after these verbs of perception in Middle High German is an indication of its genuine Germanic character." On the same page he adds: "The accusative with infinitive after verbs of speaking is hardly found outside of Tatian and Notker, but we are not therefore justified in attributing it to Latin influence, since plentiful analogies exist in other Germanic dialects;" by which, I presume, he intends to refer to the Gothic and to the Old Norse. Indeed, Dr. Zeitlin goes so far as to declare that the accusative and infinitive in subjective clauses is also a native development in Old High German: see p. 246 below. So holds Professor Wilmanns, who, in his Deutsche Grammatik (1906), declares it difficult to determine how far the construction was native in High German ("wie weit er im Hochdeutschen heimisch war") because of the diversity of usage by Otfrid and by Notker; who allows that Notker "unter dem Einfluss des Lateinischen den Gebrauch der Konstruktion über seine ursprüngliche Grenzen hinausgetrieben hatte;" who allows that Latin influence is evident in the Middle High German writers and in some New High German authors; but who adds, on p. 121: "Aber wie stark auch die Einwirkung der lateinischen Schulsprache gewesen sein mag, so hat man doch anderseits zu bedenken, dass auch dem Germanischen von Anfang an der Akk. c. Inf. nicht fremd war, und dass man keinen Grund hat, für den ahd. Gebrauch so enge Grenzen vorauszusetzen, wie wir im Heliand und im Ags. finden."

But despite the eminence of some of these advocates of the theory that this construction was native to Old High German and despite the cleverness of some of their arguments, they do not seem to me to upset the interpretation given above, based as it is on abundance of material, gathered from various texts by various scholars of acknowledged accuracy and acumen.

In his monograph (1875) above quoted from, Dr. Apelt has shown that the so-called genuine accusative and infinitive is very rare in Middle High German, and, when found, is probably due to Latin influence. In New High German the idiom is very rare, though, as Dr. Herford has shown in his "Ueber den Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv im Deutschen" (1881), not so rare as has occasionally been stated.

In Old Saxon ² a few examples are found after verbs of mental perception, but none after verbs of declaring: *Hel.* 807: fundun in a sittean an them uuiha; — *ib.* 4771: fand sie that barn godes slapen; *ib.* 1590: that thu us bedon leres.

In a word, the situation in the Germanic languages as a whole is quite similar to that in Anglo-Saxon: the accusative and infinitive is quite common after verbs (1) of commanding, (2) of causing and permitting, and (3) of sense perception; but is relatively rare after verbs (4) of mental perception, and is practically unknown after (5) verbs of declaring, except in the closer translations.

It is probable, therefore, that the idiom is native to the Germanic languages when occurring after verbs of groups (1), (2), and (3), and after a few verbs of group (4); but that it is due to foreign influence after some verbs in group (4) and after all verbs in group (5). Under the separate languages above I have

³ Except in Gothic: see above, p. 241.

² See Pratje, l. c., pp. 71-72; Steig, l. c., pp. 480, 482-483.

¹ See, too, Wilmanns, l. c., p. 121, for an excellent brief statement as to the idiom in New High German; also Blatz, l. c., II, pp. 557-569.

stated with some fullness the grounds for this belief with respect to each, and in connection therewith have given a good deal of the history of the opinions concerning the construction. Here I need only add that the cumulative weight of the evidence should not be lost sight of.

Perhaps I should add here that some scholars, among them Drs. Becker, Grimberg, Prime, and Zeitlin, hold that the accusative with infinitive in the Germanic languages is in part a native development from the accusative with predicative participle, and that in the Germanic languages the latter idiom was prior to the former. In Chapters XIV and XV, however, I have tried to show that, while, in conformity with the Greek original, the accusative with predicative present participle is commoner in Gothic than is the accusative with predicative infinitive after verbs of sense perception, the reverse is the case in the Germanic languages as a whole, especially in Anglo-Saxon and in High German, and that in these languages the predicative infinitive was prior to the predicative present participle.

AS SUBJECT.

Despite Dr. Stoffel's contention that "we are almost forced to the conclusion that the Acc. cum Inf. as the logical subject of a quasi-impersonal verb, must once have been as common in the Germanic tongues as we find it to have been in the classical languages," I must hold that, in the Germanic languages, as in Anglo-Saxon, the idiom is relatively rare, and occurs for the most part only in translations.

In Gothic we occasionally have the infinitive phrase as subject to the verb to be plus an adjective (gub ist, azetizo ist, gadob ist, etc.), but, as Apelt, l. c., pp. 290–291, shows, only because of the influence of the Greek original, the Goth usually translating otherwise the Greek accusative and infinitive in such expressions. Examples are: (1) of accusative and infinitive: L. 16.17: ip azetizo ist himin jah airba hindarleiban pau witodis ainana writ gadriusan = εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν etc.; — (2) of other translations: Mk. 10.25: azetizo ist ulbandau pairh pairko neplos galeiban, etc. = εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον . . . διελθεῖν, etc. This view as to the foreign origin of the accusative and infinitive as the subject of impersonals, in Gothic, though once opposed by Albrecht and by Miklosich, is now generally accepted: see Apelt, l. c., p. 290; Bernhardt, l. c., p. 113; Streitberg, l. c., p. 212; Zeitlin, l. c., p. 28; and Wilmanns, l. c., p. 119. Quite recently, however, Professor G. O. Curme, l. c., pp. 359–367, has attempted to overthrow this theory, but without success in my judgment.

That the construction is rare, also, in Old Norse, I judge from the fact that

I find no examples cited by Lund or by Falk and Torp.

In Old High German, too, the construction is rare ⁴ with impersonals, and as a rule is found only in translation of the same idiom in Latin. Usually, however, the translator uses another idiom, generally a dative dependent on the chief verb, with a subjective infinitive, either uninflected or inflected. Examples are: (1) of accusative and infinitive: Tatian 187.9: gilimphit min gangen = oportet me ambulare; ⁵ — (2) of dative and infinitive: Tatian 85.22: gilimphit

From Denecke, l. c., p. 42.

¹ Stoffel,² l. c., p. 54.

² L. c., p. 18.

³ Miklosich,¹ l. c., p. 483.

⁴ No one of the five Latin examples of his original is retained by Isidor: see Rannow, l. c., pp. 87-88.

 $mir\ wesan = oportet\ me\ esse;$ 1 ib. 100.30: $gilimphit\ mir\ zi\ gotspellone = oportet$ me evangelizare. I, therefore, consider this idiom borrowed from the Latin originals in Old High German. But not so Dr. Zeitlin, who, l. c., p. 33, thus expresses his view: "In considering the usage with impersonal and neuter verbs we must remember that many Old High German expressions of this class govern an accusative case as direct object, e.g., Otfrid V, 1.1: ist filu manno wuntar, 'great wonder is on the men;' ib. I, 9.27: wuntar was thia menigi, 'wonder was on the multitude; 'ib. V, 6.14: thes thih mag wesan wola niot, 'of this you it may well be pleasing (you may well rejoice at this); 'ib. V, 22.7: thes ist sie iamer filu niot, 'they are ever pleased at this; 'ib. V, 9.11: ward wola thiu selbun mennisgon. When an object infinitive is added to sentences like the preceding, we have a combination which is hardly distinguishable from the free Latin accusative with infinitive. But it is quite apparent from these illustrations that the assumption of Latin influence is not necessary, that the accusative, indeed, is almost always felt as directly connected with the main verb, and that these cases, therefore, do not differ from the other categories of the accusative with infinitive which are found in Old High German." He then gives examples of the idiom after gilustan (?), gilimphan, and bifahan, all from Tatian except the first example, after gilustan, which seems doubtful to me. He concludes: "In Notker, impersonal verbs with this construction seem to follow Latin models in most cases, since often the accusative has no connection whatever with the main verb, which is followed by another substantive in the dative case as indirect object." Of his examples from Notker I cite only one: III, 124^b.29: fone diu ist not, chad si, misseliche namen haben diu finuiu und siu doh ein uuesen, 'hence it is necessary . . . that the five should have different names and yet be a single thing.' This is a clever, but to me not convincing plea: it allows more weight to a bare possibility than to the demonstrable and, as I believe, demonstrated origin of the construction in Gothic and in Anglo-Saxon; and it underrates the fact, stated by Dr. Zeitlin¹ (l.c., p. 35), that the idiom is not found in Old Saxon.

In Old Saxon I find no example of the accusative and infinitive as subject, but frequent examples of the dative and subjective infinitive, as in *Hel.* 3298: that *uuari* an godes riki unoõi odagumu *manne* up *te cumanne*.³

In the Germanic languages, then, as in Anglo-Saxon, the accusative and infinitive as subject of a finite verb is an imported idiom.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

The passive infinitive with accusative subject, whether in objective or in subjective clauses, is rare in the Germanic languages, as in Anglo-Saxon.

Dr. Apelt does not gather together in one place the passive infinitives in Gothic with accusative subject. But we find examples here and there of this idiom in subjective clauses, as in Skeir. Ic: gadob nu was mais pans . . . ufhausjandans . . . gaqissans uairpan, and in objective clauses, as in I Cor. 10.20: ni wiljau auk izwis skohslam gadailans wairpan = où $\theta \in \lambda \omega$ de $\delta u = \delta u = \delta$

¹ From Denecke, l. c., p. 42.

² Ibidem, p. 66.

active infinitive with a noun object, as in Mat.~27.64: hait nu witan pamma $hlaiwa = \kappa \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \sigma \circ \upsilon \upsilon \dot{\upsilon} \dot{\sigma} \phi a \lambda \iota \sigma \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota \tau \dot{\circ} \upsilon \tau \acute{a} \phi \circ \upsilon$.

In Old Norse, also, the construction is quite rare.

In Old High German, likewise, the idiom is rare, and is due to the Latin: Tatian 183.32: gilimphit inan varan inti thruoen inti arslagan wesan inti arstantan = oportet eum ire et pati et occidi et resurgere; ib. 171.6: laz eer thiu kind gisatotiu werdan = sine prius saturari filios. The passive infinitive is oftener translated by the active, as in Tatian 199.7: wenan wollet ir iu fon thesen zwein forlazzan? = quem vultus vobis de duobus dimitti? See, too, under "the inflected infinitive with accusative subject," p. 248 below.

In Old Saxon we habitually have, not the passive infinitive with accusative object, but the active infinitive with objective accusative, as in *Hel.* 527: gihordun uuilspel mikil fon gode seggean. Steig, l. c., p. 309 ff., holds that in such expressions the infinitive, though active in form, is passive in sense, and that the accusative is the subject, not the object, of the infinitive; but, for reasons given above, in Chapter II, pp. 29 f., this seems untenable to me. I have not found an example of the compound passive infinitive with accusative subject in Old Saxon.

It seems probable, therefore, that this idiom was imported into the Germanic languages from the Greek and the Latin.

II. THE INFINITIVE INFLECTED.

Although Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 130, declares, "Sicheres kennzeichen der construction des acc. cum inf. ist, dass sie nie die präp. zu verträgt," it seems to me that in the Germanic languages we occasionally come upon an accusative with a prepositional infinitive that is almost, if not quite, identical with an accusative with an uninflected predicative infinitive. Concerning possible examples of the idiom in Anglo-Saxon, I have spoken in Chapter VIII. I here add a few words concerning the construction in the other Germanic languages.

One apparent, if not real, example of the prepositional infinitive with an accusative subject occurs in Gothic in correspondence with the same construction in Greek: I Thes. 2.12: weitwodjandans du gaggan izwis wairþaba guþs! $= \mu a \rho \tau \nu \rho o \acute{\nu} \mu \epsilon i s$ τὸ $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi a \tau \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ $\hat{\nu} \mu \hat{a} s$ $\hat{a} \xi \iota \omega s$ $\tau o \hat{\nu}$ $\theta \epsilon o \hat{\nu}$. But usually the Greek idiom is avoided, as in II Thes. 1.5: taikn garaihtaizos stauos guþs du wairþans briggan izwis þiudangardjos guþs $= \epsilon i s$ $\epsilon \nu \delta \epsilon \iota \gamma \mu a$ $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ $\delta \iota \kappa a \iota a s$ $\epsilon \iota a \epsilon \iota a \delta \nu \delta \iota a \epsilon \iota a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta \nu \delta \iota a \epsilon \iota a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta \nu \delta \iota a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta \iota a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta \nu \delta \iota a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta \iota a$ $\epsilon \iota a \delta a$ $\epsilon \iota a$

In Old Norse, apparently, the prepositional infinitive was not used with accusative subject, though in earlier Danish it was occasionally so used: see Nygaard, l. c., p. 235; Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 201, where Danish examples are given; Lund, l. c., pp. 381 ff.; Delbrück, l. c., p. 355.

In Old High German, in sentences like the following, Tatian 196.34: gibot inan ther herro zi vorkoufanne inti sina quenun inti . . . inti vorgeltan = jussit eum dominus venundari et uxorem ejus et . . . et reddi, apparently we have an inflected infinitive with an accusative subject, and the phrase is the object

¹ From Streitberg, ² l. c., p. 208.

² From Denecke, l. c., p. 42.

^{*} Ibidem, p. 35.

5 Bernhardt, l. c., p. 114, seems to consider that the infinitive phrase here is subjective, but surely it is objective.

6 See Apelt, l. c., p. 292.

7 From Denecke, l. c., p. 65.

of gibot, but in reality the inflected infinitive (like the uninflected in this sentence) is the object of gibot, not the predicate of the accusative noun or pronoun, the accusative being objective in the Old High German, though subjective in the Latin; for, as we saw above, p. 247, in Old High German, as in Anglo-Saxon, the predicative passive infinitive is normally turned by an active objective infinitive. In Aug. serm. 33.8: manot unsih za forstantanne = admonet nos intelligere, we may have an inflected infinitive used predicatively, but more probably we have an inflected infinitive denoting result. But at least two clear examples of the inflected infinitive with an accusative subject occur in Old High German, in a subjective phrase: Tatian 331.2: inan gilimphit zi arstantanne = oportet eum resurgere; 2 and ib. 206.26: odira ist olbentun zi faranne, thanne otagan zi ganganne = facilius est camelum transire, quam divitem intrare.³ The inflection of the predicative infinitive here, as indeed in the instances of the subjective infinitive, is due to the datival sense of gilimphit and of ist plus an adjective, I believe; while in the instances with the uninflected infinitive, especially when predicative, this datival sense is resisted owing to the influence of the Latin original. In Tatian 342.13: leret sie zi bihaltanne alliu = docentes eos servare omnia,4 we possibly have a predicative infinitive, but the infinitive is inflected because the chief verb, leret, hovers between a transitive and a consecutive-final sense: cf. the inflected predicative infinitive with Anglo-Saxon læran in Chapter VIII, p. 119.

In Old Saxon I have found no example of the inflected infinitive with accusative subject unless the following be such: *Hel.* 2752: huo thu *gilinot habis liudeo* menigi *te blizzenna;* ⁵ *ib.* 976: that us so *girisit* . . . allaro rehto gihuilik *ti gifullanne*; but more probably the infinitive here is subjective: see above, p. 232.

As is evident, most of the examples cited of a supposed predicative use of the prepositional infinitive in the Germanic languages, are doubtful. In a few instances, however, it seems to me that the inflected infinitive is really predicative, and has an accusative subject. In such cases the infinitive becomes inflected because of its proximity to a dative-governing finite verb, or because it follows a verb denoting tendency, or, occasionally, in Gothic because the Greek original has a prepositional infinitive.

IX. PREDICATIVE INFINITIVE WITH DATIVE SUBJECT.

As stated above, Chapter IX, p. 136, I doubt whether we have a genuine predicative infinitive with dative subject in Anglo-Saxon, but, as this interpretation of the dative and infinitive after impersonal verbs in Gothic is given by such eminent scholars as Grimm, Miklosich, Jolly, Winkler, and Streitberg, it is incumbent upon me to give a brief survey of the construction in the Germanic languages other than Anglo-Saxon.

For the Gothic I cannot do better than to quote entire Professor Streitberg's paragraph on this idiom, in his Gotisches Elementarbuch, 4th ed., § 318: "Der von Jakob Grimm entdeckte, von Miklosich und Jolly verteidigte Dativ

¹ From Denecke, l. c., p. 66. ² Ibidem, p. 67.

From Denecke, l. c., p. 71, who adds: "Der Acc. ist sicher nur dem Lat. aus Nachlässigkeit nachgeahmt."
From Denecke, l. c., p. 65.
From Pratje, l. c., p. 73.

m. Inf. darf heute trotz aller Einwendungen als gesichert gelten. Got. warb in Verbinding mit einem Infinitiv und einem Dativ dient zur Uebertragung von έγένετο mit dem Akk. m. Inf. Der Dativ hat natürlich ursprünglich zum Verbum finitum gehört, es ist jedoch, wie schon Grimm erkannt hat, eine Verschiebung des Abhängigkeitsverhältnisses erfolgt: der Dativ steht fast ausnahmslos hinter dem Infinitiv, wie im Griech. das Subjekt des Akk. m. Inf., ist also wahrscheinlich zum Infinitiv in engere Beziehung gesetzt. Am besten dürfte man wohl mit Winkler, S. 17, das Verhältnis so charakterisieren, dass der Dativ von der Verbindung warb m. Inf. abhänge, warb gaswiltan bamma unledin = ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχόν, Luk. 16.22, demnach heisse: 'es kam zum Sterben für den Armen.' Die Ausdehnung, die der Dat. m. Inf. in der got. Bibel erlangt hat, ist sicherlich dem Bestreben zuzuschreiben, den Anschluss ans Original so eng als möglich zu gestalten, ohne in direkten Widerspruch mit den got. Sprachgesetzen zu geraten. Vgl. z. B. jah warp in sabbato anbaramma frumin gaggan imma þairh atisk = εγένετο, εν σαββάτω δευτεροπρώτω διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, Luk. 6.1; warþ . . . galeiþan imma in sunagogein = ἐγένετο εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τῆν συναγωγήν, Luk. 6.6; swaei mis mais faginon warb = ώστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι, Kor. 7.7, u. ä." This view of Professor Streitberg is substantially that of Professor Jolly and Professor Winkler. In my discussion of the Dative with Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, Chapter IX, pp. 127 ff. above, I have tried to show that the situation in Anglo-Saxon, in Old High German, and in Latin considerably reduces the force of Professor Streitberg's contention that we have a genuine dative-with-infinitive construction in Gothic; and that, in the Gothic itself, the post-position of the infinitive and its separation from the finite verb — two points stressed by Grimm and by Professor Streitberg — resulted merely from the Goth's close following of the Greek original. Dr. Apelt, who gives the above examples and some others, holds, with Gabelentz and Loebe, with A. Köhler, and with Bernhardt, that the dative is the object of the principal verb and not the subject of the infinitive; he stresses the fact that a personal accusative of the Greek is translated by a dative in the Gothic, and an impersonal accusative by an accusative; and he, too, holds that the post-position of the dative in the Gothic is the result merely of the slavish following of the Greek order of words. Professor Joseph Wright, also, holds that the infinitive in the above sentences is subjective, not predicative, as we may gather from the fact that in his Grammar of the Gothic Language, § 435, he quotes Mark 2.23 (jah warþ þairhgaggan imma þairh atisk = καὶ ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν . . . διὰ τῶν σπορίμων) as illustrating the use of the infinitive as subject. Finally, it should be stated that, while Professor Jolly does defend the setting up of a predicative infinitive with dative subject in Gothic, he distinctly states that such an interpretation is not obligatory: "Auch bei den gotischen Dativen mit wairhan ist die Beziehung des Dativs auf das Hauptverbum wenigstens nicht ungereimt, und nur im Slavischen liegt, abgesehen von den arischen Beispielen, eine grössere Reihe von Constructionen vor, in denen nur die Beziehung auf den Inf. zulässig ist." 2

Concerning a dative with an infinitive in the Scandinavian languages, Lund, l. c., p. 378, speaks as follows: "Hensynsform föjes til en navnemåde, når der

¹ Apelt, ¹ l. c., p. 289. See, too, Gabelentz and Lœbe, l. c., p. 249; Köhler, ¹ A., l. c., pp. 290-292; and Bernhardt, ² l. c., p. 111.

² Jolly, l. c., p. 268.

er en foregående hensynsform at henføre omsagnsordet til, men også, uden at der er nogen anden hensynsform at henføre den til eller som bevirker dens fremkomst, i visse udtryk med tillægsord (er gott, illt), hvor den må betragtes som udtryk for et hensyn (efter 30), men i hvilket tilfælde også nævneform bruges. Jfr. 30, anmk. 4. Således siges både hann bauð þeim at fara fyrstum og bauð þa at fara fyrsta; illt er illum at vera og illt er illr at vera, s. ovenfor 1," etc., etc. But the infinitive with er gott seems to me subjective, and that with bauð þeim objective. Moreover, I do not understand Lund to claim that the infinitive is really predicative in either of these two categories.

Although, as already stated, Grimm declares, l. c., IV, p. 131, that in no Germanic dialect other than Gothic have we any trace of the dative-with-infinitive construction, it seems to me that, if we consider that we have this construction in the above examples from the Gothic, we must allow that we have it in the following passages from Old High German: — uninflected: B. R. 41.5: discoom kerisit hoorreen = discipulos convenit obedire; 1 Tatian 195.14: goumon inti gifehan thir gilimphit = aepulari et gaudere te oportet; 2 — inflected: Hom. de voc. 29.14: iu garisit gotes wort za quedanne = vobis oportebat loqui verbum dei; 3 Tatian 100.30: gilimphit mir zi gotspellonne = oportet me evangelizare. Whether Dr. Denecke, from whom I have quoted these examples, considers the infinitive therein as predicative or not, I do not feel sure, but he puts the uninflected infinitive under the heading "Dat. c. Inf." Gilimphit is likewise followed, as we saw above, p. 245, by the accusative and infinitive; and Denecke, pp. 42, 43, seems to think that a significant factor is the person of the pronoun, the dative occurring usually with the pronouns of the first and second persons, and the accusative with pronouns of the third person and with nouns in Old High German, he declares. But surely this fact is accidental, not determining; the interchange between dative and accusative with these infinitives most probably depends, as in Anglo-Saxon, on the datival sense of the accompanying finite verb, which datival sense occasionally was not strong enough to resist the accusative of the Latin original. This explanation tallies with that given by Miklosich of the dative-with-infinitive in the Slavic languages, and extends still further the application of Jolly's happy comment thereon: "Als die Ursache dieser eigenthümlichen Constructionen gibt Miklosich, dem wir die nähere Kenntniss derselben verdanken, die grössere Verbreitung verbal- und besonders mit dem Dativ construirter Verbalsubstantive in den slavischen Sprachen an; 4 auch für die Sprachstufe des Zend und vedischen Sanskrit liess sich dieselbe sprachliche Erscheinung oben S. 93 nachweisen, und die gewiss richtige Erklärung M.'s ist demnach auch für ein Sprachgebiet für das sie ursprünglich nicht gemacht war, doch nicht weniger zutreffend." 5 Once more: it is important to note that in these Old High German examples the dative sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the infinitive, usually according to the position of the noun or pronoun in the Latin original. Finally, whether Dr. Denecke or any one else considers the inflected infinitive in these Old High German examples to be the predicate of a dative subject or not, I do not know. But Denecke does note the interchange between uninflected and inflected infinitives after gilimphit; calls attention to two facts: (1) "dass zi stets ge-

¹ From Denecke, l. c., p. 31. ² Ibidem, p. 42. ³ Ibidem, p. 66. ⁴ "Beispiele ebenda S. 494." ⁵ Jolly, l. c., p. 269. — My inability to read Slavic makes it improper for me to express an opinion as to whether or not the infinitive in this locution is really predicative.

braucht wird, wenn zu gilimphit kein Object tritt und alleinstehender oder mit Object verbundener Inf. davon abhängt" (with two exceptions, duly noted), and (2) "dass, wenn ein Dat. zu gilimphit (s. auch garisit) tritt, meist Inf. mit zi, wenn Acc. meist der reine Inf. folgt" (likewise with exceptions, duly indicated); and concludes: "Man sieht hieraus, dass sich vollständig sichere Grenzen für den Gebrauch des reinen und des mit zi verbundenen Inf. nicht ziehen lassen. Augenscheinlich war aber der Gebrauch des letzeren im siegreichen Vordringen begriffen." But the matter is not so hopeless as Denecke would have it seem: the inflected infinitive is due to the strong datival sense of the chief verb, but occasionally this strong force yielded to that of the accusative and infinitive in the Latin original. It remains only to add that I have not quoted all of the examples of a dative with an infinitive that occur in Denecke; that, as implied above, to me the infinitive in these Old High German examples is subjective, not predicative; and that the dative is governed by the principal verb.

We have, too, in Old High German a dative with infinitive after certain personal verbs, as in the following: Aug. serm. 35.20: gabiut mir za dir queman = jube me venire ad te; ²— Tatian 198.30: vorliez iu forlazzan iwara quenun = permisit vobis dimittere uxores vestras.³ But, as in Anglo-Saxon, I take the infinitive to be objective, not predicative. Gabiotan is once followed by the accusative with infinitive: the native construction of dative with infinitive then yields to the influence of the Latin accusative and infinitive.

Of the dative with infinitive in Middle High German, Dr. Otto Apelt, l. c., p. 289, after denying that we have a predicative infinitive with dative subject in Gothic, speaks as follows: "Die beste Analogie hierzu bietet sich in mhd. geschehen mit Infinitiv und Dativ, und Grimm selbst macht IV, 109, auf die nahe Verwandtschaft dieser Fügungen mit den eben besprochenen aufmerksam. Allerdings erscheint im Mittelhochdeutschen in Wendungen wie nach der ze riten im geschach, ir ze sterben niht geschach, daz ime ze lidenne geschiht, sit uns ze sitzen geschah, der Infinitiv meist in Begleitung von ze, doch findet sich auch der blosse Infinitiv Nib. 1145, 4, so ist in alreste von schulden sorgen geschehen. Wenn aber Grimm in der Stellung der Worte im Gothischen eine Nöthigung finden will, die Zugehörigkeit des Dativs zu warb zu verwerfen, so ist dem entgegenzuhalten, dass der Gothe sich hier, wie sonst, in der Wortstellung möglichst eng an sein Original anschloss."

I find no example of the dative with infinitive after impersonals in Old Saxon unless the following be one: Hel. 976: that us so girisit... allaro rehto gihuilik ti gifullanne; 4 but, as stated above, p. 232, I consider the infinitive here subjective. Nor do I find an example after personal verbs unless these be such: Hel. 5152: endi im that silubar bod gerno te agebanne; 5 ib. 1023; loboda them liudeon lera Cristes herren sines endi hebanriki te giuuinnanne; 6 ib. 1838: hie im thuo bethiu bifalah gi te seggeanne.6

In the Germanic languages as a whole, therefore, we have an apparent, not a genuine, dative with infinitive after (1) certain impersonals and (2) certain personal verbs. The idiom interchanges with the genuine accusative with

<sup>Denecke, l. c., pp. 67-68.
From Denecke, l. c., p. 20. On p. 41 Denecke states that, with only one exception, in Tatian, gabiotan is followed by the dative and infinitive instead of the accusative and infinitive.</sup>

³ *Ibidem*, p. 35. ⁴ From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 73.

⁵ From Steig, *l. c.*, p. 494.

⁶ From Pratje, l. c., p. 73.

infinitive. But, after impersonals, the native idiom is the dative with the infinitive, the dative being demanded by the strong datival sense of these impersonals; when these impersonals are followed by the accusative with the infinitive, it is due to the influence of the original Greek or Latin. After the personal verbs the dative with infinitive is likewise native, as with many of them is also the accusative with infinitive. The interchange between dative and accusative rests partly on the double regimen of the verbs, partly on the influence of the originals. Many scholars restrict the phrase "dative with infinitive," however, to the idiom after impersonals.

After both impersonals and personals, at times the inflected infinitive is substituted for the uninflected infinitive by the strong datival force of the principal verb.

X. THE FINAL INFINITIVE.

1. With Verbs of Motion.

The infinitive of purpose is commonly found after verbs of motion in the Germanic languages.

We find both infinitives after verbs of motion in the Scandinavian languages. Professors Falk and Torp, l. c., pp. 206-207, give examples of each and attempt to differentiate the two: "Infinitiv føies paa friere vis til verber i folgende tre tilfælde: . . . b. Ved bevægelsesverber til betegnelse af en hensigt: gengu menn at heyra tiðir; settast at hvilast; leggjast niðr at sofna (= til svefns). Ofte uden at: gekk bera; koma ræna hana riki; Oðinn ferr við ulf vega. Saaledes navnlig hvor infinitiven staar foran verbet: ganga at sofa — þeir munu þa sofa ganga; gekk at eiga konu — konu skal ek eiga ganga. Denne dobbelthed er urgermansk: gotisk gemun saihwan — angelsaksisk hie comon & t lond to sceawienne (gerundium)." With the foregoing compare the following statement by Lund, l. c., p. 367: "Navnemåden med at (sjældnere og digterisk uden at) föjes til udsagnsord for at betegne hensigten af handlingen; ligeledes til talemåder af lignende betydning. Det er fornemmelig bevægelses-begreber, som dette gælder om, dog bruges også andre på samme måde, ligesom udtryksmåden grænser til de ovenfor omtalte (136, anm. 2) udsagnsord eiga, hafa, vera med navnemade." The fact stated by Lund, that the simple infinitive occurs chiefly in the poetry, leads me to believe that, in Old Norse as in Anglo-Saxon, the occurrence of the simple infinitive does not depend upon the pre-position of

¹ From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 453, who gives numerous examples. See, too, Streitberg, l. c., p. 213.

From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 456.
 See, too, Gabelentz and Loebe, l. c., p. 251.
 From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 455.

the infinitive, but upon the fact that the infinitive is being used in poetry, which habitually keeps the original idiom, the infinitive without a preposition.

In Old High German, the uninflected infinitive is far more common than is the inflected infinitive after verbs of motion (chiefly queman, gangan, faran) in Tatian 1 and still more common in Otfrid; 2 while the inflected infinitive is found only a few times in Otfrid (after queman, gangan, slihan, stantan). Unfortunately Rannow does not treat the final use of the infinitive in his Der Satzbau des Ahd. Isidor; nor does Wunderlich in his Beiträge zur Syntax des Notker'schen Boethius; nor Manthey, in his Syntaktische Beobachtungen an Notkers Uebersetzung des Martianus Capella. We have, therefore, for our purposes a far from adequate survey of the final infinitive in Old High German. However, the examples of Tatian's use, as given by Denecke, are illuminating. We learn that, as in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, the final infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, often translates (a) a Latin infinitive of purpose, though the uninflected occasionally translates (b) a Latin participle or (c) finite verb; and the inflected infinitive, often (d) ad + a gerund or gerundive: — (a) Tatian 278.28: The sie fuorun coufen = Dum autem irent emere; Denkm. lvi. 48: quemendi ci ardeilenne = venturus judicare; 4 — (b) Tatian 200.25: quam suochen = venit quaerens, 5 — (c) Ev. Mat. 18.15: daz er in sceffilin genc sizzen = ut in naviculam adscendens sederet; 6 — (d) Tatian 74.10: foraferis zi garwenne . . . zi gebanne wistuom = praeibis parare . . . ad dandam scientiam. **Occasionally, it should be added, Tatian turns the Latin final infinitive by a dependent clause, as in 120.39: ni quam zi thiu thaz ih sibba santi, ouh suuert = non veni pacem mittere sed gladium.8

Slight as our statistics are, they seem to make clear that in Old High German the uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion is a native idiom; and that the inflected infinitive was at times suggested by the Latin original (the constructions with gerund or gerundive), habitually in the closer translations like the *Benedictine Rule*. The case, therefore, is not so bad for Old High German in general as it seemed to Denecke for the verb *queman*, concerning which, after giving an example of the inflected infinitive following it, he adds, p. 63: "Noch häufiger ist es mit reinem Inf. (s. I, 4), ohne dass sich ein Grund für die jeweilige Wahl des einen oder des andern Ausdrucks finden liesse, während es im Got. (Köhler, S. 454) nur mit reinen Inf. vorkommt, Otfr. mit zi (Erd., S. 212) und mit einfachem Inf. (S. 204)."

Quite common, too, is the final infinitive, both uninflected and inflected, after verbs of motion in Old Saxon. Pratje, l. c., pp. 69-70, 73, gives numerous examples, of which I cite only a few: Hel. 3492: thia . . . uuirkean quamun; ib. 4526: geng im thuo eft gisittian (though Pratje considers the infinitive 'phrase-ological'); ib. 807: giuuitun im . . . iro suno suokean; ib. 523: nu ist thie helago Crist cuman to alosannea thia liude; ib. 4541: that ik iu sanda tharod te gigeriuuianne mina goma.

From the foregoing survey, incomplete as it is, it seems probable that the uninflected infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion is an idiom native to the Germanic languages as a whole; and that the inflected infinitive in Gothic was

¹ For Tatian see Denecke, l. c., pp. 16-17 and 62-63.

² For Otfrid see Erdmann, O., l. c., pp. 204, 212.

³ From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 16.

Ibidem, p. 16.
 From Denecke, l. c., p. 63. See, too, pp. 57, 59.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 62.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 16.

first suggested by the Greek infinitive after a preposition or by the Greek articular infinitive in the genitive; in Old High German, by the Latin gerund and gerundive constructions.

2. With Verbs of Rest.

In Gothic we have, once, the prepositional infinitive of purpose after sitan, in Mk. 10.46: sat faur wig du aihtron = $\frac{\partial \kappa}{\partial \eta} \frac{\partial \eta}{\partial \eta} \frac{\partial \kappa}{\partial \eta} \frac{\partial$

Concerning the idiom in Old Norse we read in Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 207: "Sporadisk findes i oldnorsk en hensigtens infinitiv ved hvileverber: Heimdallr sitr þar at gæta bruarinnar; sml. gotisk sat faur wig du aihtron, tysk: was steht ihr horchen (saa stadig i hollandsk). Almindelig bruges dog her sideordning: eitt kveld er þeir satu ok drukku," etc.

Clear cases of the final infinitive after verbs of rest are not numerous in Old High German. However, one example after sin was given above, p. 240; and the following is possibly an example: Tatian 228.4: Inti thanne ir stantet zi betonne = Et cum stabitis ad orandum.² But Tatian 95.9 (inti arstuont uf zi lesanne = surrexit legere ²) and Otfrid V, 20.26 (irstantent, iro werk zi irgebanne ³) belong under verbs of motion. The infinitive after verbs of rest in Old High German and in Middle High German is usually predicative, not final: see pp. 238 f. above.

I have not found a clear example of the final infinitive after verbs of rest in Old Saxon except once after *uuesan*, concerning which see above, p. 240.

3. With Verbs of Offering and of Giving.

Although Dr. A. Köhler, l. c., pp. 435–436, considers the simple infinitive for eat and drink after give as objective in Gothic, but the infinitive with duas final, I consider both the infinitives as final. A few examples will suffice: Mat. 25.42: unte gredags was jan-ni gebuþ mis matjan = ἐπείνασα γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν; Mk. 15.23: jah gebun imma drigkan wein miþ smyrna = καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ πιεῖν ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον; — L. 9.16: insaihvands du himina gaþiuþida ins jah gabrak jah gaf siponjam du fauralagjan þizai managein = καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ παραθεῖναι τῷ ὄχλῳ; J. 6.31: hlaif us himina <math>gaf im du matjan= ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ $\underline{\check{\epsilon}}$ δωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν; — J. 6.52: hvaiwa mag unsis leik giban $du \ matjan? = 6.53$: $\pi \hat{\omega}$ ς δύναται οδτος ήμ $\hat{\iota}$ ν την σάρκα ξαυτοῦ δοῦναι φαγε $\hat{\iota}$ ν? 1.25: bi ragina gups, patei giban ist mis in izwis du usfulljan waurd gups = κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. As is apparent, in the preceding examples, the Gothic simple infinitive and the prepositional infinitive both correspond to a Greek final infinitive. But compare I Cor. 11.22: ibai auk gardins ni habaip du matjan jah drigkan? = $\mu \dot{\eta} \gamma \dot{a} \rho$ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, which seems to me to belong here, though Dr. A. Köhler, 2 l. c., p. 460, thinks not. Compare, too, II Thes. 3.9: ak ei uns silbans du frisahtai gebeima du galeikon unsis = ἀλλ' ἵνα ξαυτοὺς τύπον δῷμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς (A. Köhler, l. c., p. 462).

For the Old Norse compare the following example, given by Falk and Torp,

From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 457.
 From Erdmann, O., l. c., p. 212.

² From Denecke, l. c., p. 63.

l. c., p. 208: gaf hrofnum bloð at drekka. I find no example of the infinitive without at after verbs of giving in Falk and Torp; in Lund, l. c., p. 368; or in Nygaard, l. c., p. 228.

In Old High German, we have after geban both uninflected and inflected infinitives of purpose, in Tatian, with whom, however, the uninflected infinitive is much the more common. In Isidor, in Otfrid, in the Murbacher Hymns, and in the $Benedictine Rule^2$ we have only the inflected infinitive, in the last two invariably translating a Latin gerund or gerundive. In Tatian the infinitive corresponds usually to a Latin infinitive, but occasionally to a Latin noun or to ad + a gerund, especially when the infinitive is inflected. Examples are: uninflected: Tatian 321.25: gabun imo gimorrotan uuin trincan = dederunt ei vinum murratum bibere; ib. 283.22: uuanne uuir . . . <math>gabunmes thir trinkan? = quando . . . dedimus tibi potum?; —inflected: Tatian 165.37: sin fleisc geban zi ezzanne = carnem suam <math>dare ad manducandum; ib. 121.31: zi trincanne gibit kelih = <math>potum dederit calicem; ib. 169.4: thiu gigebanu sint in <math>zi haltanne = quae tradita sunt illis <math>servare.

Sellan is found only with the inflected infinitive according to Denecke, p. 62: Ev. Matth. 11.11: selent inan deotom za bismeronne enti za bifillanne enti arhahanne = tradent eum gentibus ad illudendum et flagellandum et crucifigendum; ib. 19.17: wirdit gaselit in cruci za slahanne = tradetur ut crucifigatur.⁶

It seems probable, therefore, that the uninflected infinitives, *trinkan* and *ezzan*, after *geban* are largely due to the Latin original; and that the inflected infinitive after verbs of giving is often due to a Latin gerundial construction.

In Old Saxon, geban is followed by both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected, but drincan and etan are found uninflected only: Hel. 1965: thoh hie ... manno huilicon uuillandi forgebe uuatares drincan; ib. 4640: gibu ik iu hier bethiu samad etan endi drincan; — ib. 4763: that ik minan gebe lioban lichamon for liudio barn te uuegianne te uuundron; ib. 5225: so man mi gabi Judeo liudiun te uuegeanne.8

Despite the evident incompleteness of our data, the facts detailed above tend to show that the uninflected infinitives, drink and eat, after give are due largely to Greek and Latin influence in the Germanic languages as a whole; and that the inflected infinitive after verbs of giving is largely due to the influence of the Latin gerund and gerundive construction in Old High German as in Anglo-Saxon.

4. With Other Verbs.

Dr. A. Köhler, 2 l. c., pp. 458 ff., gives a large number of other verbs that in Gothic are followed by a final infinitive, simple or prepositional. With very few exceptions, the Gothic simple infinitive corresponds to the same in Greek; while the Gothic prepositional infinitive usually corresponds to a Greek prepositional infinitive or to the articular infinitive in the genitive, though it occasionally corresponds to an articular infinitive without a preposition, as in *Philip*. 4.10; or to a preposition plus a noun, as in I Tim. 4.3; or to a dependent clause introduced by $i\nu a$, as in J. 17.4.

It seems highly probable, therefore, that the final prepositional infinitive in Gothic, after whatever group of verbs, is due largely to the fact that in the

¹ See Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 15.

² *Ibidem*, p. 16. ⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

³ Erdmann, ¹ O., *l. c.*, p. 213. ⁶ From Denecke, *l. c.* p. 62.

⁴ From Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 15-16.
⁷ From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 70.

⁸ From Steig, l. c., p. 494.

Greek we have one of the analytic equivalents above mentioned instead of a simple infinitive.

The lists of final infinitives given by Lund, *l. c.*, pp. 367–368, by Nygaard, *l. c.*, p. 228, and by Falk and Torp, *l. c.*, p. 208, contain so few except after verbs of motion, of rest, and of giving, as to make it impossible for me to form therefrom any definite opinion as to the final use of the infinitive in the Scandinavian languages after verbs other than those already treated.

As to Old High German, Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 23, merely gives two or three examples of an uninflected infinitive of purpose with verbs other than those signifying motion or giving, and suggests that the uninflected infinitive is due to a slavish following of the Latin original; as in *B. R.* 87.4: *kechriffe* puah *lesan* = *arripuerit* codicem *legere*; while Erdmann, *l. c.*, p. 212, cites a few verbs (*ziahan*, *duan*, *geron*, *ratan*, *birinan*, *dragan*, *irougen*) that in Otfrid are followed by the inflected infinitive of purpose. Of these I cite only one, that after *duan*, for the light it throws on a somewhat similar expression in Anglo-Saxon: Otfrid, I, 17.48: *duet* iz mir *zi wizzanne*. For the corresponding Anglo-Saxon expressions, see Chapter VIII, p. 118.

In Old Saxon I find no clear case of a final infinitive with verbs other than wesan and verbs of motion and of giving.

To sum up the final infinitive in the Germanic languages, we may say that, despite the confessed meagerness of our statistics, the evidence, as far as it goes, reveals a situation surprisingly similar to that in Anglo-Saxon. As in the latter, so in the former it seems probable that (1) after verbs of motion the uninflected infinitive was a native idiom, but that the inflected infinitive was first suggested in Gothic by the Greek prepositional infinitive or by the Greek articular infinitive in the genitive, and was first suggested in Old High German by the Latin gerund and gerundive constructions; (2) after verbs of giving, the uninflected infinitives, *drink* and *eat*, are largely due to Greek and Latin influence, but that the inflected infinitive after verbs of giving is largely due to the influence of the Latin gerund and gerundive constructions, especially in High German. Concerning other groups of verbs than these two our statistics are too meager to warrant the drawing of conclusions.

XI. THE INFINITIVE WITH ADJECTIVES.

The infinitive with adjectives is common in the other Germanic languages. Professor Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 167, has an interesting comment on the voice of the infinitive with adjectives in High German, and holds that in the main the prepositional infinitive is active in sense, but that occasionally it is passive.

In Gothic, only a few adjectives are followed by the infinitive. Usually we have (a) the simple infinitive, corresponding generally to the same in Greek, at times to an articular infinitive or to a finite verb; occasionally we have (b) the prepositional infinitive, corresponding to the articular infinitive in Greek: (a) L. 14.31: siaiu mahteigs mip taihun pusundjom gamotjan pamma = $\epsilon i \delta_{\nu\nu\alpha\tau\dot{o}s} \epsilon_{\sigma\tau\nu\nu}$ $\epsilon_{\nu} \delta_{\kappa\alpha} \chi_{\nu} \lambda_{\nu} \dot{\alpha}_{\sigma\nu} \dot{\gamma}_{\sigma\alpha\iota}$; i Rom. 8.39: nih hauhipa nih diupipa nih gaskafts anpara mahteigs ist uns afskaidan af friapwai gups = $o\tilde{\nu}_{\tau\epsilon}$... $\delta_{\nu\nu\dot{\gamma}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota} \dot{\gamma}_{\mu} \dot{\alpha}_{s} \chi_{\nu} \dot{\nu}_{\nu} \dot{\nu}_{\sigma} \dot{\nu}_{$

κάμὲ πορεύεσθαι; (b) Philip. 1.24: appan du wisan in leika, paurftizo in izwara = τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν ἐν σαρκὶ ἀναγκαιότερον δι ὑμᾶς (c) (or subjective?).

As the Gothic infinitive (simple) after adjectives has several different correspondents in Greek, the construction is probably native.

In Old Norse, on the other hand, the infinitive, usually with at, is frequently used with adjectives. Concerning this idiom we read in Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 204: "Til adjektiver føies infinitiv paa en tredobbelt maade: a. Som til et ved substantiv dannet udsagn kan i oldnorsk infinitiv ogsaa føies til et adjektivisk, ikke til adjektivet alene. Saadanne adjektiver er de som betegner vane, beredthed, skikkethed, begjærlighed, berettigelse, osv.: vapn er hann var vanr at hafa; vera buinn at riða; vera lystr at lifa; ufuss em ek at lata þetta band a mik leggja. Kun i det poetiske sprog kan undertiden at mangle. . . . b. Medens ved den foregaaende gruppe infinitiven er styret af hele det verbalt følte udtryk, kan ved andre adjektiver infinitiv staa paa en friere maade, som betegnelse for den handling med hensyn til hvilken egenskaben fremtræder. Denne infinitiv nedstammer direkte fra det gamle gerundium, hvorfor at her aldrig (udenfor poesien) kan mangle: drjugr at ljuga (droi til at lyve); firðir illir yfir at fara; hræðiligr at sja (frygtelig at skue). Saaledes fremdeles: den er let at lokke, som efter vil hoppe; han er ikke god at komme til rette med. c. Hvor adjektivet har adverbiet 'saa' foran sig, betegnes ved infinitiven en følge: vær saa snil at sige mig. Ved imperativ bruges ogsåa sideordning: vær saa snil og sig mig, ligesom i svensk dagligtale samt tysk (seien Sie so gut und tun Sie das) og engelsk (be so kind and tell me). Hvor 'saa' mangler, gaar betydningen over i kausal: er du gal at bære dig saadan ad." See, too, Lund, l. c., pp. 371 ff.; Nygaard, l. c., p. 225.

In Old High German, the uninflected infinitive (a) is much less frequent than the inflected (b). The uninflected infinitive habitually answers to a Latin infinitive; the inflected often does, but it corresponds also to a Latin future participle and to ad + a gerund. Some adjectives are followed by each infinitive. Examples are: — (a): Tatian 88.21: mahtig ist arwekkan = potest suscitare; Is. 37.21: chiwon was ardhinsan = solebat rapere; Otfrid I, 17.43: giwon was queman zi in; B. R. 36.1: fora wesan wirdiger ist = preesse dignus est; — (b) Tatian 318.27: was giwon ther grauo zi forlazzanne einan = consuerat preses dimittere unum; ib. 90.4: ni bim wirdig zi traganne = non sum dignus portare; ib. 291.19: garo bin zi faranne = paratus sum ire; ib. 334.25: lazze in herzen zi giloubanne = tardi corde ad credendum.

So divergent are the Latin correspondents to the infinitive with adjectives in Old High German that it seems probable that the idiom was native thereto, whether the infinitive was uninflected or inflected. In Otfrid and in Tatian the inflected infinitive is the rule.

In Old Saxon, (a) the uninflected infinitive is rare; (b) the inflected, common: (a) Hel. 4720: that uuas hie upp giuuono gangan; ib. 3821: thia scattos thia gi sculdiga sind an that geld (te C) geban; — (b) Hel. 1794: hie ist garo . . . ti gebanne; ib. 650: uuarun . . . fusa ti faranne; ib. 3988: te hui bist thu so gern . . . tharod te faranne? 8

Most probably, therefore, the infinitive, uninflected and inflected, with adjectives is an idiom native to the Germanic languages.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

5 From Denecke, l. c., p. 22.

⁷ From Pratje, *l. c.*, p. 70.

8 Ibidem, p. 74.

¹ From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 452. 2 *Ibidem*, p. 430. 3 From Denecke, l. c., p. 22. 4 From Erdmann, O., l. c., p. 204, who tells us that *giwon* is the only adjective that is followed by an uninflected infinitive in Otfrid, and that only twice.

XII. OTHER ADVERBIAL USES OF THE INFINITIVE.

A. THE CAUSAL INFINITIVE.

I have not found a clear example of the causal infinitive with verbs in The infinitive after ogan, 'fear,' may be considered causal, but to me, as to Dr. A. Köhler² (l. c., p. 438), it seems objective; and faurhtjan, 'fear,' according to Dr. Köhler, is not found with an infinitive.

Concerning the causal use of the infinitive with adjectives in some of the Scandinavian languages, see the passage quoted from Falk and Torp in the preceding section of this chapter, p. 257.

Nor have I found more than a few clear examples of the causal infinitive with verbs in Old High German. Wavering between the objective and the causal use are the infinitives after forhten, found once uninflected and once inflected: Tatian 84.13: forhta imo thara faren = timuit illo ire; 1 - ib. 76.35: ni curi thu forhtan zi nemanne = noli timere accipere.² Betolon, in Tatian 208.21 (betolon scamen mih = $mendicare\ erubesco^3$), may denote cause. In Isidor 39.8 (lustida sic chihoran = delectantur audire 4), chihoran is doubtless subjective. But in the following passages from Otfrid, given by Erdmann, l. c., p. 210, we seem to have genuine causal infinitives in the genitive: V, 7.21: mag unsih gilusten weinonnes; V, 23.138: er sih lade forahtennes = 'sich beschwere durch Furchten.' In Murb. H. 20.8 (tod farloranan sih einun chuere = mors perisse se solam gemat⁵) we have a preterite participle instead of a predicative infinitive after a verb of emotion.

In Tatian 339.20 (mit ferennu quamun = navigio venerunt⁶) we have an instrumental infinitive, but this belongs more properly under the Infinitive with Prepositions.

Possibly we have a causal infinitive in -nes (-ndes) in these Middle High German passages given by Wilmanns, l. c., p. 125: Der tiuvel irret dich betendes (= betennes); er irret dich bihtendes; Der Künec sich vragens sumte niht; — and with an adjective in: Du wirst niemer vehtens sat.

Nor do I find a causal infinitive in Old Saxon. The infinitive after ruokan in the following is probably objective: Hel. 61.11: ne ruokit gi te truone . . . ne $ruokit\ te\ gerone\ \dots\ ne\ ruokit\ herta\ te\ settane=nolite\ sperare\ \dots\ concupiscere$ \dots apponere.

Our statistics are too meager to warrant a confident opinion as to the origin of the causal infinitive in the Germanic languages. The two examples of the uninflected infinitive in Old High German correspond to the Latin infinitive; the two examples of the genitive infinitive in -nes, in Otfrid, may be of native origin, occurring as they do after verbs governing a genitive with nouns. The double construction with forhten, as already stated, probably arises from the double regimen of that verb.

¹ From Denecke, *l. c.*, p. 19.

² From Denecke, l. c., p. 64, who adds: "Vielleicht ist die Anwendung von zi hier begünstigt worden durch die Abneigung vor zwei nebeneinander stehenden reinen Infinitiven," — a hypothesis which seems very doubtful to me. More probably the double construction with forhten results from the double regimen of that verb, which is followed by an accusative and a genitive (Delbrück, 2 l. c., p. 34). 4 Ibidem, p. 46.

From Denecke, l. c., p. 36.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 34.

⁶ Ibidem, l. c., p. 56.

⁷ From Steig, l. c., p. 492.

B. THE INFINITIVE OF SPECIFICATION WITH VERBS.

Of the infinitive of specification with verbs I find no clear example in Gothic, in Old Norse, or in Old Saxon.

But in Old High German the following is probably an example: B. R. 45.9: saar so eoweht kipotan fona meririn ist, samaso cotchundlihho si kepotan tuuala kedoleet wesan ni-uuizzin zetuenne = Mox ut aliquid imperatum a maiore fuerit, hacsi diuinitus imperetur moram pati nesciant in faciendo. With the foregoing compare the following phrases, in which the infinitive is governed by a preposition other than zi: B. R. 41 (title): fona tuenne ze keratte pruadero = de adhibendis ad consilium fratribus; ib. 121.5: in kankanne = in ambulando; Tatian 335.26: in brehchanne thes brotes = in fractione panis.¹ Specification is denoted, too, by the participial (adverbial) form in -do (-to) translating the Latin gerund in the ablative, as in Hatt. II, 116 b. 28: fure mit fahindo pist du Satanas, mir nah kando wirdistu min scuolare = precedendo Satanas es, sequendo discipulus.²

In all probability the infinitive of specification with verbs is due to Latin influence in the Germanic languages (Old High German and Anglo-Saxon).

C. THE CONSECUTIVE INFINITIVE.

(a) With Adjectives.

In his section on "Der Infinitivus Effectus s. Consequentiae," l. c., pp. 450–453, Dr. A. Köhler² mentions, among adjectives, only wairbs, 'worthy,' as being followed by a consecutive infinitive. The infinitive after this adjective has been illustrated above, p. 256; it does not seem necessary to repeat the illustrations here, the more so that the use does not to me seem consecutive.

For the consecutive infinitive with an adjective preceded by saa in the Scandinavian languages, see section xi of this chapter, p. 257.

In Old High German, clear examples of a consecutive infinitive after an adjective are difficult to find. Perhaps this is an example: Is. 7.25: endi joh dhazs ist nu unzwiflo so leohtsamo zi firstandanne dhanne dhazs dhiz ist chiquhedan. Wirdig occurs with both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected, as we saw above, p. 257, but, despite Dr. A. Köhler's statement as to wair s, the infinitive after wirdig does not seem to me consecutive in sense.

Possibly we have a consecutive infinitive after an adjective preceded by ze in Middle High German, as in E. 7483: so waerz iu ze sagenne al ze lanc; ib. 7572: daz waer ze sagenne ze lanc, both from Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., p. 104.

In Old Saxon I find a few examples of the inflected infinitive following an adjective preceded by an adverb (te): Hel. 5846: uuas im thiu uuanami te strang, te suithi te sehanne; ib. 143: it is unc all ti lat so te giuuinnanne.⁴

In the Germanic languages, as in Anglo-Saxon, the consecutive infinitive with adjectives seems merely an extension of the native infinitive of specification with adjectives.

(b) With Verbs.

Under the verbs followed by a consecutive infinitive in Gothic, Dr. A. Köhler, 2 l. c., pp. 450-453, names: taujan, 'make,' cause; 'gataujan, 'make,'

¹ From Denecke, l. c., pp. 56, 57.

From Denecke, l. c., p. 71.

² From Erdmann, O., l. c., p. 231.

⁴ From Pratje, l. c., p. 74.

'cause; 'waurkjan, 'make,' 'cause; 'naubjan, 'compel; 'baidjan, 'compel; 'afhugjan, 'bewitch,' 'entice; 'gahvotjan, 'threaten; 'and ga-arman, passive, in the sense of 'be worthy.' However, for reasons given above, concerning wairbs, I should exclude the verb last named; and the factitives (taujan, gataujan, and waurkjan) I should likewise exclude, as they occur almost exclusively in the accusative-with-infinitive construction, already treated. I quote a few illustrations of the infinitive with the remaining verbs: L. 14.23: jah naubei innatgaggan = καὶ ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῦν; Gal. 6.12: pai naubjand izwis bimaitan = οὖτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι; — Gal. 2.14: hvaiwa piudos baideis judaiwiskon? = τία ἀδθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδάζειν? Gal. 3.1: hvas izwis afhugida sunjai ni ufhausjan? = τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανε τῆ ἀληθεία μὴ πείθεσθαι? — Skeir. I, c: diabulau pairh liugn gahvotjandin ufargaggan anabusn. In all the foregoing examples, it will be observed, the Gothic uses the simple infinitive, which corresponds to the same construction in Greek.

Of the consecutive infinitive with verbs in the Scandinavian languages, Professor Nygaard, l. c., p. 229, speaks as follows: "Infinitive bruges efter sva at for at betegne følgen af det udsagtes maade eller grad, naar subjektet for infinitivens handling er det samme som for hovedudsagnet, og handlingen udsiges som en forestilling, ikke som noget virkelig stedfindende." I quote only one or two of the examples given by Nygaard: S. E. 30.8: ef hann kvæmi sva i foeri at sla hann it þriðja hogg; — S. E. 26.21: spurði hverr annan, hverr þvi hefði raðit at spilla loptinu ok himninum sva at taka þaðan sol ok tungl.

In Old High German the following verbs are followed by an infinitive that may be considered consecutive: spanan, 'persuade; 'ganuhtsamon, 'suffice;' noten, 'compel;' ginoten, 'compel;' beiten, 'compel;' cruazzit, 'provokes;' manon, 'admonish;' irfaran, 'reach.' Typical examples are: (1) uninflected: B. R. 102: spanames kihaltan = suademus custodire; 3 ib. 34.4: die kenuhtsamont fehtan = qui sufficiunt pugnare; 4 Denkm. liv. 21: daz er za sonatage ni uuerde canaotit vadja urgepan = ne ante tribunal Christi cogatur rationem exsolvere; 5 Tatian 233.22: beiti ingangen = compelle intrare; 6 — Otfrid IV, 13.53: ther thir so irfare, gisunten uns thir derien = 'der dich so erreicht, dass er dir schaden könnte, so lange wir wohlbehalten sind.' On this passage from Otfrid, O. Erdmann, 1 l. c., p. 204, comments: "Freier schliesst sich der Inf. einmal in consecutivem Sinne an ein mit demonstrativem so verbundenes Verbum an; er gibt die Tätigkeit an, zu welcher in dem mit so angezeigten Zustande die Bereitschaft und Fähigkeit vorhanden ist." He adds: "Auf ähnliche Weise denke ich mir an das stark betonte thu angeschlossen den scheinbar absoluten Infinitiv, III,

¹ From Apelt, ¹ L c., p. 290.

² See Gabelentz and Loebe, *l. c.*, p. 273; Apelt, *l. c.*, p. 290; Streitberg, *l. c.*, p. 205; Wilmanns, *l. c.*, p. 119. — Since the above sentence was written, Professor G. O. Curme, *l. c.*, pp. 359 ff., has published what seems to me an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow this theory of Greek influence.

³ From Denecke, l. c., p. 20. ⁴ Ibidem, p. 21. ⁵ Ibidem, p. 34. ⁶ Ibidem, p. 35.

20.163: thu bist al honer, in sunton giboraner, thu unsih thanne bredigon = 'du (bist) einer, welcher uns zurechtweisen könnte (um uns zurechtzuweisen).'"
(2) Examples of the inflected infinitive are: Murb. H. 12.1: unsih za petonne cruazzit = nos ad orandum provocat; 1—Aug. serm. 33.8: manot unsih za forstantanne = admonet nos intelligere; 2—Denkm. lvi. 70: ci gigehanne ginotames = confiteri compellimur.²

Says O. Erdmann, l. c., p. 213: "Ohne dass die Bedeutung des Verbums wesentlich ist, schliesst sich nicht selten zi mit Inf. als freiere consecutive oder finale Ausführung an den Inhalt des ganzen Satzes an." Of the several examples given by him, the following seem to me consecutive: IV, 13.24: mit thir bin ih . . . in karkari zi faranne joh dothes ouh zi koronne = 'bis zu Kerker und Tod;' V, 16.35: zeichono eigit ir gewalt zi wirkenne ubar woroltlant = 'so dass ihr sie wirken könnet.'

Professor Wilmanns, l. c., p. 127, gives a few examples of the consecutive inflected infinitive in Middle High German, and states that the idiom does not survive in New High German: "Fremder ist uns der Inf. mit zu geworden, wo er die Wirkung bezeichnet; z. B. Er. 5586: im ze sehenne er in sluoc, so dass er es sah; Gudr. 499.3: daz man des fiuwers wint sluoc uz herten helmen ze sehenne schænen frouwen, so dass sie es sehen konnten; Nib. 382.3: sin solden da niht sten den fremden an ze sehenne." Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., pp. 77-104, gives an extended treatment of the consecutive use of the infinitive in the epics of Hartmann von Aue, but includes under his general heading, "Der Infinitiv der Richtung," a number of uses that are otherwise classified by the standard grammars, for example, the infinitive with auxiliaries and the infinitive with impersonal verbs.

Dr. Pratje, l. c., p. 73, cites what he considers an example of the consecutive inflected infinitive in Old Saxon: "Auch schliesst sich, wie bei Otfrid (vgl. Erdmann, I, § 351), ein Infinitiv als freiere konsekutive Ausführung an den Inhalt des ganzen Satzes an: uuarth im giuuendid thuo hugi an herten after thero heri Judeonno te uuerkeanne iro uuillion, 5471."

It seems to me that in most of the foregoing examples the consecutive infinitive is a native development of the infinitive after verbs calling for an accusative infinitive (when uninflected) or for a dative infinitive or a prepositional phrase (when inflected), in the latter case, however, somewhat influenced, in Old High German at least, by the presence in the original of gerund and gerundive constructions. The infinitive of result preceded by swaswe and by swaei in Gothic, however, is in direct imitation of the Greek consecutive infinitive preceded by ωστε.

D. THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE.

Of the absolute use of the infinitive in Gothic, I have not found a clear example. Messrs. Falk and Torp, l. c., pp. 208-209, give several examples of the absolute infinitive in the Scandinavian languages: "Den absolute infinitiv, hvis subjekt er den talende eller et ubestemt 'man,' føies til det hele udsagn: fyrst at segja fra Oðni (for nu først at tale om Odin); nw at tale om thenne artikel (P. Elies.); med faa ord at sige (Abs. Ped.); kort at sige (Holb.); sandt at sige; at sige, hvis du ønsker det; efter udseendet at dømme; vel at merke; (for) ikke at tale om." They then give a short paragraph on the elliptical use of the in-

¹ From Denecke, l. c., p. 59.

See the references given in the second footnote on p. 260 above.

² Ibidem, p. 66.

finitive: "En elliptisk infinitiv bruges i spørsmaal og indignerede udraab: hvorfor ei Skaftet tage og dermed Hunden fra dig jage (Wess.); hvi dig omsonst umage (ib.); komme her og fortælle mig sligt. Ved tysk indflydelse ogsaa i bisætninger efter verbet 'vide:' jeg neppe veed for Fryd paa hvilken Fod at staae (Wess.); ligedan i engelsk, fransk, italiensk og spansk."

Concerning an apparent, not real, example of the absolute infinitive in Old High German, see above, p. 260, the quotation from Erdmann. Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 98, differs with Erdmann, and holds that the infinitive in both of the examples from Otfrid are absolute: "Man kann sich einen ganz unabhängig gesetzten inf. denken. Jener imperativische (s. 87) ist ein solcher, wenn die schleppende erklärung durch ellipse nichts gilt. Es scheint, dass der inf. auch als ausruf hingestellt wurde." He then quotes Otfrid III, 20.163, and continues: "Es könnte auch fragweise gesagt sein," but he gives no example of this type from Old High German. Of the imperative infinitive in asseverations he thinks we have an example in piladi quedan = verbi gratia.

But examples are given from Middle High German and from New High German, not only of the interrogative type but also of the exclamative type: Ludw. Kreuzf. 7144: waz biten langer unt niht striten? Lessing 2.104: ich schwören? — Keisersb. Omeiss. 19^d: ja wol jetz bistumb aufgeben! Goethe 7.13: ich verreisen! ich dich nicht lieben! Grimm concludes: "infinitivische beteurung: mhd. friuntel machen, nimmer tuon (im munde eines thoren), Frib. Trist. 5239, 5241; nhd. diesmal tanzen und nicht wieder! ahd. piladi quedan (verbi gratia), Graff 3.97, d. h. um ein beispiel zu sagen." — See, further, concerning the idiom in Middle High German, Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., pp. 98, 134.

In Old Saxon I find no example.

The absolute infinitive, in most of its uses, in the Germanic languages is probably, as in Anglo-Saxon, derived by ellipsis from the predicative infinitive after the verb to be, though occasionally it arises from the abridgment of a final clause into an infinitive phrase: see the list of examples illustrative of this evolution in Anglo-Saxon, given in Chapter XIV, section xii.

Of the four adverbial uses of the infinitive treated in this chapter, then, one, that of specification with verbs, seems wholly due to foreign (Latin) influence; one, that of cause, seems partly of native and partly of foreign origin; one, that of result, with adjectives, is wholly native, but with verbs is largely native but partly foreign; while the remaining use, the absolute, is wholly native.

XIII. THE INFINITIVE WITH NOUNS.

Both the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive are found with nouns in the Germanic languages, but the latter the oftener.

In Gothic we have both 1 infinitives, but oftener the prepositional. More frequently (a) the simple infinitive corresponds to the same in Greek, but occasionally to an articular or a prepositional infinitive; while (b) the prepositional infinitive more commonly corresponds to a Greek articular infinitive in the genitive or to a prepositional, though occasionally to a simple infinitive or to a preposition + a noun: - (a) Mat. 9.6: patei waldufni habail sa sunus mans ana

¹ On p. 459 Dr. A. Köhler² seems to say that only the prepositional infinitive is found with nouns in Gothic, and Denecke, pp. 22, 70, was misled thereby; but what Köhler really says is that he is about to give a group of finite verbs + a substantive that are followed only by a prepositional infinitive. At other places he gives clear examples of a noun followed by the simple infinitive, as is evident from my citations.

airpai afleitan frawaurhtins = ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ νίὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι άμαρτίας; ¹ L. 10.19: atgaf izwis waldufni trudan ufar waurme jah skaurpjono = δίδωμι ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων; ² Philip. 1.23: þanuh lustu habans andletnan jah miþ Xristau wisan = τὴν ἐπισθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλοσαι καὶ οὺν Χριστῷ εἰναι; ³ — (b) L. 1.57: Aileisabaiþ usfullnoda mel du bairan = ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν; ⁴ L. 2.6: dagos du bairan = ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν; ⁴ L. 5.17: jah mahts fraujins was du hailjan ins = καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἢν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς; ⁵ Mk. 3.15: waldufni du hailjan sauhtins jah uswairpan unhulpons = ἐξουσίαν θεραπεύειν τὰς νόσους καὶ ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια; ⁵ L. 14.28: niu frumist gasitands rahneip manwipo, habaiu du ustiuhan? = εἰ ἔχει τὰ πρὸς ἀπαρτισμόν (in which the noun is to be supplied). ⁶ It is worth noting that usually, when the infinitive stands in a genitival relation to the noun, it translates an articular infinitive in the genitive, as in Anglo-Saxon it translates a Latin gerund or gerundive in the genitive: see Chapter XIV, p. 220 above.

Concerning the infinitive with nouns in the Scandinavian languages, Messrs. Falk and Torp, l. c., p. 203, make this interesting statement: "Skjønt infinitiven egentlig er et substantiv, kan den dog oprindelig ikke, saaledes som andre substantiver, direkte forbindes med et substantiv som styret af dette. I oldnorsk heder 'lyst til at reise' ikke hugr (at) fara, men farar hugr. Heller ikke som forklarende tillæg (i lighed med den definitive genitiv) kunde infinitiv oprindelig forbindes med et substantiv (som i vort 'kunsten at skrive'). Først naar substantivet i forbindelse med hafa og vera kommer til at danne et verbalt udtryk, kan infinitiv tilføies, som til de i § 125 nævnte verber, med hvilke saadanne substantiviske udsagn blir synonyme. Som ved disse verber kunde at mangle eller staa, alt efter den oprindelige opfatning af infinitiven som objekt eller som maalet for hanlingen; dog udelades at i oldnorsk kun i det poetiske sprog: hafa hug hjorum at bregða; sina talði litla fysi (scil. vera) at roa lengra (= sagði sik litt fysa); mal er at riða (= nu skal riða)." To these examples I add two others, from Nygaard, l. c., p. 224: Am. 63: tom lezt at eiga teðja vel garða; — Laxd. 161.5: gefr rum at sitja hja ser. See, too, Lund, l. c., pp. 375 ff.

Dr. Denecke, *l. c.*, pp. 21–22, cites only three examples of a noun modified by an uninflected infinitive in Old High German: *Tatian* 179.1: inti *giwalt* gab imo tuom tuon = et potestatem dedit ei et judicium facere; ⁷ ib. 210.35: ih haben toufi gitoufit werdan = baptismum habeo baptizari; ⁸ B. R. 125.2: kecaugrot wesan (trotz lat. Gerd.) = sit necessitas vacandi. ⁸ On the other hand, he gives, on pp. 69–70, numerous examples of the inflected infinitive, of which I quote only a few: Denkm. lxvi. 1: gewalt have sachun sinu ce gevene = potestatem habet res suas dare; Ev. Matth. 1.18: habet gawalt za forlazanne suntea = habet potestatem dimittendi peccata; Tatian 232.17: thorph coufta ih inti notthurft haben ih uzziganganne inti gisehen iz = villam emi, et necesse habeo exire et videre illam; ib. 72.31: zit zi beranne = tempus parturiendi; ib. 143.3: habe orun zi horenne = habet aurem audiendi. Erdmann, ¹ O., l. c., p. 213, gives some examples of the inflected infinitive in Otfrid.

¹ From Köhler, A., l. c., p. 426.

² Ibidem, p. 426.

<sup>Ibidem, p. 437.
Ibidem, p. 427.</sup>

⁴ Ibidem, p. 460.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 426.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 427.

⁷ Denecke, l. c., p. 69, comments: "1 mal reiner Inf., . . . wo wahrscheinlich das lat. doppelte et die Veranlassung war, dass die Abhängigkeit des Inf. von dem Subst. dem Uebers. nicht klar wurde."

⁸ Denecke, l. c., p. 22, thinks that the uninflected infinitive here is due to the fact that a Latin passive infinitive is translated.

It seems probable that the inflected infinitive after nouns was native to Old High German, corresponding as it does to various Latin idioms. But it is noteworthy that the inflected infinitive with genitival force corresponds often, as in Anglo-Saxon, to a Latin gerund in the genitive. As to the uninflected infinitive, as stated above, Denecke holds that sometimes, as in Tatian 179.1, the lack of inflection is due to a misunderstanding of the Latin et . . . et; sometimes, as in Tatian 210.35, to the fact that a passive infinitive is being translated. On p. 69 he thus comments on the interchange of inflected and uninflected infinitive seen in Tatian 232.17 above quoted: "Wechsel der Construction wohl nur aus nachlässiger Anlehnung an den lat. Text." He then cites other examples of this interchange of the two infinitives after nouns, and adds: "Ueberhaupt dürfte Nachlässigkeit wohl in allen den Fällen anzunehmen sein, wo aus der Construction mit zi, ohne dass ein Wechsel in der lat. Construction vorliegt, zum einfachen Inf. übergegangen wird." It is more probable, I think, that the lack of inflection in the first and in the third examples is due to the separation of the infinitive in the Old High German from its noun, — a principle that we found applicable in Anglo-Saxon. Concerning the passive infinitive Denecke is doubtless correct, for we found that in Anglo-Saxon the infinitive part of the compound passive infinitive is never inflected.

Rare, too, is the uninflected infinitive in Old Saxon. Pratje, l. c., p. 70, cites two examples: Hel. 4289: huan ist thin eft uuan cuman; ib. 5825: ik uuet that is iu ist niud sehan an theson stene innan; but, in the second, the infinitive may be subjective or a predicate nominative instead of a modifier of the noun, niud. On pages 73–74 he cites several examples of the inflected infinitive, of which I quote only two: Hel. 2228: that ik giuuald hebbiu sundea te fargibanne endi oc seokan man te gihelianne; ib. 2377: uuas im tharf mikil te gihoreanne hebancuninges uuarfastun uuord.

In all probability, then, the inflected infinitive with nouns was an idiom native to the Germanic languages in general. But when the to (zu) infinitive is distinctly genitival in function, it seems to have been due in part to foreign influence: to the articular (genitive) or the prepositional infinitive in Greek and to the genitive of the gerund or gerundive in Latin. Outside of Gothic and Old Norse, the uninflected infinitive is found only sporadically with nouns, and is usually appreciably separated from the noun it modifies.

NOTES.

- 1. The Historical Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages. Grimm, l. c., IV, p. 99, gives no example of the historical infinitive in the Germanic languages, but his editors, Messrs. Roethe and Schroeder, give what they conceive to be examples from Swedish and from Anglo-Saxon. The alleged examples from Anglo-Saxon have been quoted and commented upon in the "Introduction," p. 6. Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., p. 134, declares that the idiom does not occur in Hartmann von Aue.
- 2. The Imperative Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages.—Grimm, l. c., IV, pp. 92-93, gives examples of the imperative infinitive in Gothic and in High German, the former in imitation of the Greek: L. 9.3: ni þan tweihnos paidos haban = μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν; HMS. 3.321^a: damite niht gahen; Dioclet. 3586: mich baz verstan; Lessing 1.279: nicht gehen! Dr. Monsterberg-Münckenau, l. c., p. 134, says the construction does not occur in Hartmann von Aue, but does occur in Berthold von Regensburg; and he refers to H. Roetteken, l. c., § 211.

¹ See p. 232 above.

CHAPTER XVII.

RESULTS.

I briefly sum up what seem to me to be the results of this investigation, first, concerning the active infinitive and, secondly, concerning the passive infinitive:—

I. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

- 1. In respect of the Form, the Anglo-Saxon has two active infinitives: (1) the uninflected, ending in -an, with phonetic variants, which in origin is the petrified nominative-accusative case of a neuter noun of action; and (2) the inflected, made up of the preposition to plus the dative case of the uninflected infinitive, ending in -enne (-anne), with phonetic variants. Occasionally, however, we have a compromise between these two, as in to singan or in singenne without to, both of which forms are counted as inflected in this investigation. And very rarely, in Late West Saxon, we have the infinitive in -enne preceded by for to, as in for to hauene.
- 2. As to the Voice of these two infinitives, it seems to me that the uninflected infinitive is habitually active in sense as in form in each of its various uses, after verbs of commanding, of causing, and of sense perception as well as in other uses. The inflected infinitive, also, is usually active in sense except when used predicatively with beon (wesan) to denote necessity or obligation, in which use it is normally passive, though occasionally active. Probably, too, the adjectivized inflected infinitive with nouns, a construction that may be considered an abridgment of the infinitive of necessity with beon (wesan), is also passive in sense. Possibly, but not probably, the inflected infinitive is occasionally passive in sense when used to denote purpose, and when used with adjectives. But the Anglo-Saxons at the outset had little feeling for a true passive infinitive, and very slowly acquired it through the Latin: see the section below on the passive infinitive.
- 3. In keeping with its origin, the infinitive is of dual Nature, partaking, at one and the same time, of the nature both of the noun and of the verb. But, despite this fact, one of these two tendencies, the substantival and the verbal, usually predominates; and from this standpoint we may roughly divide all infinitives into two big classes, (1) substantival and (2) verbal (or predicative). More generally useful, however, is the classification according to the dominant Function of the infinitive; according to which an infinitive is substantival, predicative, adverbial, or adjectival.
 - 4. The Uses of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon are fourfold: —
 - (1) Substantival, subdivided into:
 - (a) Subjective, oftenest with the infinitive inflected, but often uninflected.

- (b) Objective, oftenest with the infinitive uninflected, but often inflected.
- (c) Other substantival uses:
- (aa) As a predicate nominative, infrequent, oftener with the infinitive inflected.
 - (bb) As an appositive, infrequent, oftener with the infinitive uninflected.
 - (cc) As the object of a preposition: the examples cited are all very doubtful.
 - (2) Predicative (or more verbal), in which we have the infinitive:
 - (a) As the predicative complement after:
- (aa) Auxiliary verbs, with the infinitive normally uninflected, but sporadically inflected.
 - (bb) Verbs of motion and of rest, with the infinitive invariably uninflected.
 - (cc) The adhortative (w)uton, with the infinitive invariably uninflected.
- (dd) Beon (Wesan) to denote habitually necessity, but occasionally futurity and purpose. In each of these three uses the infinitive is habitually inflected except occasionally in the first.
 - (b) As the quasi-predicate of:
- (aa) An accusative subject after certain groups of verbs ((1) commanding, (2) causing and permitting, (3) sense perception; less frequently: (4) mental perception; very rarely: (5) declaring and (6) other verbs), with the infinitive habitually uninflected, but occasionally inflected. The accusative-with-infinitive construction is much more frequent in objective than in subjective clauses.
- (bb) A dative subject apparently but not really, with the infinitive sometimes uninflected and sometimes inflected.
 - (3) Adverbial, subdivided into:
 - (a) Final, frequent, with the infinitive both uninflected and inflected.
 - (b) Causal, rare, oftener with the infinitive inflected.
- (c) Specificatory: with verbs, rare, always with the infinitive inflected; with adjectives, frequent, with the infinitive habitually inflected, but sporadically uninflected.
- (d) Consecutive, with adjectives and with verbs, with the infinitive habitually, if not exclusively, inflected.
- (e) Absolute, with the infinitive habitually inflected, but sporadically uninflected.
- (4) Adjectival, to limit a noun or a pronoun, in which use we have habitually the inflected infinitive, but sporadically the uninflected infinitive. In a few of these examples the inflected infinitive is almost a pure adjective; and in a few others it closely approximates a Latin gerundive.
- 5. The Differentiation between the Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive seems to rest upon this general principle, though not without a few apparent, if not real, exceptions: the uninflected infinitive is used normally, in substantival uses, as a nominative or an accusative of a verbal noun; in predicative and in adverbial uses, as an accusative; the inflected infinitive is used normally, in substantival (objective), in predicative, in adverbial, and in adjectival uses, to represent a case other than the nominative or the accusative, what for lack of a better term I have designated an "indirect case," which corresponds oftenest, as would be expected from its composition, to the dative case, but also to the genitive case and to the instrumental case. And, owing to the influence

of neighboring datival verbs and verbal phrases, we have, from the outset, the inflected infinitive as subject oftener than the uninflected. In accordance with this general principle we find that:—

(1) Normally the Uninflected Infinitive is used to denote:

(a) The subject of a few finite verbs.

(b) The direct object of most verbs governing an accusative of the direct object.

(c) The appositive to a noun or a pronoun.

- (d) Purpose after a few verbs of motion, of rest, of commanding and requesting.
- (e) The predicative complement of (aa) the auxiliary verbs (except agan, which not infrequently has the inflected infinitive) and of (bb) verbs of motion and of rest, as in com fleogan and uton gangan.
 - (f) The quasi-predicate of (aa) an accusative subject.
 - (2) Normally the Inflected Infinitive is used to denote:
- (a) The subject of datival verbs and verbal phrases, especially when in proximity thereto.
- (b) The "indirect case" object of verbs governing a noun object in the genitive, or the dative, or the instrumental.

(c) The predicate nominative after certain datival verb phrases.

- (d) The predicative complement of beon (wesan) to denote necessity or obligation.
- (e) The "indirect case" adverbial modifier of (aa) verbs, to express (a) purpose, (β) result, (γ) absolute relationship; and of (bb) adjectives, to express (a) specification, (β) result.
- (f) The "indirect case" phrasal, adjectival modifier of nouns or pronouns, in which construction the infinitive usually represents a genitive or a dative case, but occasionally an instrumental case.
- (3) The Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive are each used to denote:
 - (a) The object with a number of verbs of double regimen.
- (b) The adverbial (final) modifier of certain verbs (1) of motion and rest and (2) of giving, the uninflected infinitive in (1) representing the earlier (poetical) usage.
- (4) Datival verbs or verbal phrases at times attract what would normally be an uninflected infinitive into an inflected infinitive, especially if in proximity to the infinitive.
- (5) The presence of gerund or of gerundive in the Latin original (whether with or without a preposition) tends to the use of the inflected infinitive in Anglo-Saxon; as does, also, the presence of the Latin future participle.
 - (6) Analogy at times upsets original conditions.
- (7) Naturally, in Late West Saxon the distinction between the two infinitives is less strictly observed than in Early West Saxon; and, in keeping with the analytic trend of the English language, the inflected infinitive gains upon the uninflected infinitive.
 - (8) Sporadically the Uninflected Infinitive is used to denote:
 - (a) The subject of verbs that normally have the inflected infinitive.

(b) The object of verbs that normally have the inflected infinitive.

(c) The predicate nominative where we should expect the inflected infinitive, as in the later members of a series of co-ordinated (inflected) infinitives.

(d) The predicative complement to been (wesan) to denote necessity or obligation.

(e) The quasi-predicate to a dative subject, apparently but not really.

(f) Purpose where we should expect the inflected infinitive, especially in the later members of a series of co-ordinated (inflected) infinitives.

(g) Specification with adjectives.

- (h) Cause with verbs.
- (i) The absolute relationship with verbs.
- (j) The adjectival complement of a noun or a pronoun.
- (9) Sporadically the Inflected Infinitive is used to denote:
- (a) The subject of verbs that normally have the uninflected infinitive.
- (b) The object of verbs that normally have the uninflected infinitive.
- (c) An appositive to a noun or a pronoun, when in proximity to some word usually followed by the inflected infinitive.

(d) Possibly, though not probably, the object of a preposition.

- (e) The predicative complement of (aa) auxiliary verbs (except agan, which not infrequently has the inflected infinitive) and of (bb) beon (wesan) to express futurity or purpose.
- (f) The quasi-predicate of (aa) an accusative subject; and of (bb) a dative subject, apparently but not really.
- (g) Purpose where we should expect an uninflected infinitive, as in a series of co-ordinated (uninflected) infinitives.
 - (h) Cause with verbs.
 - (i) Specification with verbs.
- 6. As to the Position of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, pre-position is the commoner (1) with beon (wesan) when denoting necessity and active in sense; (2) in the absolute use; and (3) in dependent clauses. In other uses, post-position is the commoner. At times, the position of the infinitive in the Latin original is a determining factor; oftener, as already indicated, the subordinate nature of the Anglo-Saxon clause is a determining factor; but not infrequently each of these factors is ignored. At times, the position of the infinitive seems to be determined by the exigencies of the meter; at any rate, pre-position is relatively more frequent in the poetry than in the prose. As stated in 4, proximity to datival verbs and verbal phrases is favorable to attraction, and tends to cause the infinitive to be inflected.
- 7. As to Origin, the active infinitive in Anglo-Saxon is in some uses (A) native and in others (B) foreign (Latin).

A. NATIVE.

(1) In the following uses the infinitive appears to be a native English idiom:—

I. SUBSTANTIVAL:

- (a) Subjective, uninflected and inflected, with active verbs.
- (b) Objective with active verbs, as indicated below:

Group of Verbs:	$Followed\ by\ Uninft. \ Inf.\ Only:$	Followed by Infl. Inf. Only:	Followed by Uninfl. and Infl. Inf.:
(aa) Commanding:	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} hatan.^{1} \end{array}\right.$	$igg\{ \mathit{gediht} an.$	\begin{cases} bebeodan, be-dan, be-werian, biddan, for-beodan, gehatan.
(bb) Causing and Permitting:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} latan.^{2} \end{array} ight.$	$\Big\{\ \textit{liefan, lofian}.$	{ aliefan, geðafian, sellan.
(cc) Sense Perception: (dd) Mental Perception:	gehieran, geseon, hie- ran, ofseon, seon. In the main: gefrig- nan, gehogian, hogian, tweogan [tweon] (?).	$\begin{cases} & \text{See the long list on} \\ & \text{p. 187.} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} & \text{In the main: see} \\ & \text{the list on pp. 44} \\ & \text{and 189.} \end{cases}$
(ee) Beginning, Delaying, Ceasing:			$ \begin{cases} fon,^3 forlætan, and \\ the compounds of \\ ginnan, in the main. \end{cases} $
(ff) Inclination and Will:	In part: behealdan,4 onmedan.	In the main: see the list on pp. 37 and 188.	In the main: see the list on pp. 190-192.
(gg) Other Verbs:		habban in part.	(1000

(c) Predicate nominative, in part, normally inflected.

(d) Appositive, in part, normally uninflected.

II. PREDICATIVE (OR MORE VERBAL):

- (a) With auxiliary verbs, uninflected save in a few sporadic cases.
- (b) With verbs of motion and of rest, uninflected.

(c) With (w)uton, in the main, uninflected.

(d) With accusative subject, as object, uninflected save in a few sporadic instances, after (aa) verbs of commanding: bebeodan, biddan, hatan; (bb) verbs of causing and permitting: lætan and its compounds, alætan and forlætan; (cc) verbs of sense perception: gehieran, geseon, hieran, ofseon, seon; and (dd) verbs of mental perception: afindan, findan, gefrignan, gehyhtan, gemetan, gemittan, gewitan, onfindan, witan.

(e) With accusative subject, as object, inflected, after this verb of mental perception, tæcan. [The inflected infinitive with accusative subject is found once each after findan and gereccan, in Ælfric.]

(f) With apparent but not real dative subject, uninflected and inflected.

III. ADVERBIAL:

(a) With Verbs:

(aa) Final, uninflected, after verbs of motion and of rest.

(bb) Absolute, inflected; possibly, also, the sporadic uninflected infinitive.

(cc) Causal, uninflected and inflected, in part.

(dd) Consecutive, inflected, in the main, with both active and passive verbs.

(b) With Adjectives:

(aa) Specificatory, normally inflected, except when the infinitive is clearly genitival in function:

(bb) Consecutive, habitually inflected.

¹ Indeterminable: abiddan.

³ Indeterminable: ablinnan, geswican.

² Indeterminable: don, forgiefan.

⁴ Indeterminable: cunnian, gegiernian.

IV. ADJECTIVAL:

- (a) With noun or pronoun, habitually inflected, except, possibly, when the inflected infinitive is equivalent to a genitive phrase or when the infinitive is used strictly as a Latin gerundive (see Chapter XIII, Note 2, p. 182).
- (2) The grounds of the foregoing statement as to which uses of the infinitive are native to Anglo-Saxon are briefly these: (1) that these uses are, in general, found in the poems and in the more original prose; (2) that, in the Anglo-Saxon translation from the Latin, no dominant influence of the original can be demonstrated; and (3) that what we know of these uses in the kindred Germanic languages tends to support the theory that these uses are native in Anglo-Saxon.

B. FOREIGN (LATIN).

(3) In the following uses, on the other hand, the infinitive appears to be borrowed from the Latin:—

I. SUBSTANTIVAL:

- (a) Subjective, uninflected and inflected, with passive verbs.
- (b) Objective, with active verbs, as indicated below:

Group of Verbs:	$Followed by Uninft. \ Inf. Only:$	$Followed\ by\ Infl.\ Inf.\ Only:$	Followed by Uninfl. and Infl. Inf.:
(aa) Commanding: (bb) Causing and Permitting: (cc) Sense Perception: (dd) Mental Perception: (ee) Beginning, Delaying, Ceasing:	$\left\{ egin{array}{ll} & \left\{ & \left$	$\left\{egin{array}{ll} \left\{ & \left\{ $	Only in part: geleornian; see p. 189. fon, forlætan, and the compounds of ginnan, only in part.
(f) Inclination and Will:	In part: forefon, ge- ea \Im modigan, ge \Im yrs- tigan, lystan, wunian.		In part only: ge- earnian, gemedemian, gewunian; see pp. 190-192.
(gg) Other Verbs:		habban in part.	

- (c) Objective, uninflected and inflected, with passive verbs.
- (d) Predicate nominative, in part, normally inflected.
- (e) Appositive, in part, normally uninflected.

II. PREDICATIVE (OR MORE VERBAL):

- (a) With (w)uton, in part, uninflected.
- (b) With accusative subject, as object, uninflected except sporadically, after (aa) verbs of commanding: forbeodan; (bb) verbs of causing and permitting: biegan [began], don, gedon, gedafian, gedolian, geunnan, niedan; (cc) verbs of sense perception: ¹ gefelan, gehawian, sceawian; (dd) verbs of mental perception: ² æteawan, eowan, gecyðan, gehatan, geliefan, gemunan, getriewan, læran,

¹ The origin is indeterminable after behealdan.

² The origin is indeterminable after geacsian and taligan; and after habban and todælan, of "other verbs."

ongietan, tellan, wenan; and (ee) verbs of declaring: cweðan, foresecgan, ondettan, secgan.

(c) With accusative subject, as object, inflected, after (aa) verbs of causing and permitting: don(?); (bb) verbs of mental perception: leran; (cc) verbs of declaring: foresecgan(?); and (dd) in L. 1.73: hyne us to syllane to one to at

(d) With accusative subject, as subject, uninflected except sporadically,

with both active and passive verbs.

(e) With beon (wesan), inflected except sporadically, to denote necessity or obligation (in both passive and active senses); to denote futurity; and, probably, to denote purpose.

III. ADVERBIAL:

(a) With Verbs:

- (aa) Final, inflected, after verbs of whatever kind, both active and passive.
- (bb) Final, uninflected, after verbs (1) of commanding and requesting and (2) of giving.
 - (cc) Causal, uninflected and inflected, in part.

(dd) Specificatory, always inflected.

(ee) Consecutive, inflected, in part, with both active and passive verbs.

(b) With Adjectives:

(aa) Specificatory, inflected, when the infinitive is clearly genitival in function.

IV. AD JECTIVAL:

- (a) With noun or pronoun, habitually inflected, when the infinitive is equivalent to a genitive phrase, and when the infinitive is strictly equivalent to a Latin gerundive (see Chapter XIII, Note 2, p. 182).
- (4) The grounds of the foregoing statement as to which uses of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon are of foreign (Latin) origin are briefly these: (1) that these uses are, in general, not found in the poetry except in poems known to be based on Latin originals, and in these only sparingly; (2) that they are found very rarely in the more original prose; (3) that, in the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin, the dominant influence of the original is demonstrated; and (4) that what we know of these uses in the kindred Germanic languages tends to support the theory that these uses in Anglo-Saxon are borrowed from the Latin.
- (5) Ultimately, in Anglo-Saxon as in the Germanic languages in general, the predicative use of the infinitive with auxiliaries was objective; and the predicative use with (w)uton, with other verbs of motion, and with beon (wesan) was final.

II. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

- 8. Anglo-Saxon has a compound passive infinitive, made up usually of the present active infinitive, beon (occasionally wesan or weorðan), plus the past participle. The strictly infinitive part of the compound is uninflected; the participle part is sometimes inflected, sometimes not.
 - 9. This infinitive is passive in sense as well as in form.
- 10. Though far less frequently used than is the active infinitive, the passive infinitive is found, in Anglo-Saxon, in the following uses:—

- (1) Substantival:
- (a) Subjective occasionally.
- (b) Objective occasionally.
- (2) Predicative (or More Verbal):
- (a) With auxiliary verbs frequently.
- (b) With (w)uton occasionally.
- (c) With accusative subject, the phrase being the object of an active transitive verb, not infrequently.
- (d) With accusative subject, the phrase being the subject of an active verb occasionally and of a passive verb once.
 - (3) Adverbial:
 - (a) With an adjective once.
- 11. In each of its uses, the Anglo-Saxon passive infinitive is of Latin origin. The grounds of this statement are these: (1) that these uses are, in general, unknown in the poetry except in the poems known to be based on Latin originals, and are rare even in these; (2) that they are rare in the more original prose; (3) that, in the Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin, the dominant influence of the original is demonstrated; and (4) that what we know of these constructions in the kindred Germanic languages tends to support the theory that these uses in Anglo-Saxon are borrowed from the Latin.

III. SUBSTITUTES FOR THE INFINITIVE.

- 12. In course of time there were developed some Substitutes for the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.
- (1) Gradually the nominative of the present participle came to be substituted for the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion (and occasionally of rest), com fleogan becoming com fleogende. Despite the encroachment of the present participle, the predicative infinitive, contrary to the usual statement, survived into Late West Saxon times, and is occasionally found in Ælfric.
- (2) Gradually the predicate accusative of the present participle came to be used side by side with the predicate infinitive with accusative subject after verbs of sense perception, etc.
- (3) The substitution of the predicate nominative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive after verbs of motion and of rest seems to have been due to these causes: the appositive use of the participle, especially of words denoting motion, with verbs of motion; the predicative use of the participle in the present and past periphrastic tenses; and the superior clarity, in such locutions, of the participle over the infinitive.
- (4) The substitution of the predicate accusative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive with accusative subject was due to Latin influence.

IV. THE INFINITIVE IN THE OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

13. Despite the incompleteness of my statistics concerning the Infinitive in the Other Germanic Languages, they seem to make probable the following conclusions:—

- (1) The Uses of the Infinitive, active and passive, are substantially the same in the other Germanic languages as in Anglo-Saxon, though, naturally, with some variations in the several languages, as indicated in the discussion thereof.
- (2) The Differentiation between the Uninflected Infinitive and the Inflected Infinitive rests upon the same general principles as in Anglo-Saxon.
- (3) The Voice of the two infinitives active in form, in the High Germanic languages, tallies substantially with that of these two forms in Anglo-Saxon.
- (4) In the main, the Origin of the Constructions of the Infinitive is in substantial agreement with that of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.
 - (5) The same Substitutes for the Infinitive are found as in Anglo-Saxon.
- (6) The substitution of the predicate nominative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive was probably due to the same general causes as in Anglo-Saxon, but the statistics available on this point are too meager for a confident conclusion.
- (7) The substitution of the predicate accusative of the present participle for the predicative infinitive in the High Germanic languages was due to Latin influence. In Gothic, owing to the closeness of the translation, the predicative participle was from the outset more common than the predicative infinitive after verbs of sense perception.

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APPENDIX A.

STATISTICS OF THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

Except in Sections VI and VII, the initial verb in the sections below is, not the infinitive, but the finite verb of the passage in question cited in the infinitive form and given in alphabetic sequence. Under each word are given all 1 the occurrences, first, of the uninflected infinitive (= U.) and, secondly, of the inflected infinitive (= I.), first in the prose works and then in the poems, cited in each case in the approximate chronological order, except that the Minor Prose Works and the Minor Poems are given, each, in alphabetic sequence. In $\mathcal{E}lf$. Hom., in Chron., and in Napier's Ad. to Th., the superior letters (t, m, and b) refer respectively to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the page; while the superior figures distinguish the several examples. In other texts, the superior letters distinguish the several examples within the same lines or verse, or larger whole (as in the Latin of Wxerf.). The totals for each use are given at the beginning of the chapter in which the particular use is discussed and in the Synoptic Tables of Appendix C. The abbreviations for the texts are explained in the "Bibliography." For convenience, I have not distinguished \mathcal{F} and \mathcal{F} , but have uniformly used \mathcal{F} . As a rule, contractions in the texts have been expanded.

I. The Subjective Infinitive.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

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alefan: see aliefan.
aliefan [-e-, -y-], be allowable: U. (10): Bede (4): 74.15 = 53.29; 74.18<sup>a, b</sup> = 53.32<sup>a, b</sup>; 78.17 =
    55.28. — Gosp. (6): Mk. (3): 3.4^{b. c}; 10.2; — L. (3): 6.9^{a. b. c}. — I. (3): Pr. Gu. (1):
     xx.85. - Mk. (2): 3.4^a; 12.14.
alyfan: see aliefan.
anhagian: see onhagian.
abreotan, weary: U. (0). — I. (1): Oros. (1): 42.13 = 43.12.
becuman, happen: U. (1): Minor Prose (1): Chad, Anhang (1): 11. — I. (0).
behofian, behoove: U. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 27.12.
beon, be: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Mat. (1): 20.23.
beon + an adjective (occasionally an adverb or a noun): —
— æðryt, troublesome: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 2<sup>m</sup>.
— arwierolicost [-y-], honorable: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 401.16 = 320.6 (or with
     adjective?).
— betere, better: U. (1): Mk. (1): 9.47 = 9.46. — I. (6): Greg. (1): 457.21 = 390.13. — Solil.
     (1): 36.8 = 0. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (1): 3.406. — Mat. (1): 18.9. — Gen. (1): 660. —
     Ps. (1): 83.10.
— betst, best: U. (0). — I. (2): Solil. (2): 3.6, 7.
— deoplic, difficult: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 386<sup>t</sup> (or with adjective?).
— deorwierde [-u-], precious: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 582<sup>b</sup> 2.
— dyslic, foolish: U. (0). —I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXVI. 325.
— earfe\delta(e): see earfo\delta(e).
— earfoo(e) [-feo(e)], difficult: U. (0). — I. (9): Boeth. (1): 127.22^b = 108.13 (or with ad-
     jective?). — Greg. (1): 51.5 = 28.3. — Oros. (1): 212.30 = 0. — Chron. (1): 170^{b}, 1050
     D. — Laws (1): 455, Gerefa, c. 18. — Bened. (1): 67.1 = 126.10. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
     466^{b}. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (1): 8.15. — Gu. (1): 1039.
— earfoolic, difficult: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Boeth. (1): 118.7 = 101.30 (or with adjective?).
  - earfoore, more difficult: U. (0). — I. (2): Greg. (2): 453.12 = 384.5; 455.6 = 386.11.
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¹ Except of the Predicative Infinitive with Auxiliary Verbs, the full tabulation of which seemed unnecessary.

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beon earmlic, distressing: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 151.22b.
— ease [ese, iese], easy: U. (0). — I. (5): Boeth. (1): 145.5 = 0. — Chron. (1): 239^{m},
        1104 \, \mathrm{E}^{\mathrm{a}}. — Bened. (1): 124.12 = 190.2. — Beow. (1): 1003 (or with adjective?). — Ps.
        (1): 76.16.
— eavelicor, easier, more easily: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 236<sup>t</sup> 2, 3 (or predicative
       with beon?).
— eastelicre, easier: U. (0). — I. (1): Mat. (1): 19.24.
— eavere [evre, ievre], easier: U. (0). — I. (5): Boeth. (1): 81.13 = 0. — Greg. (2): 203.17, 18
        = 152.14. - Mk. (1): 10.25. - Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 280.
— efne\delta e, equally easy: U. (0). — I. (1): Met. (1): 20.168.
— egeslicost, most terrible: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Wulf. (1): 297.12 (or with adjective?).
— e\delta e: see ea\delta e.
— eðre: see ea\mathcal{F}(e)re.
— feor, far: U. (0). — I. (1): Beow. (1): 1922(?). (Cf. And. 424.)
— fulfremedlic, perfect: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): \mathbf{I}. 394^{t_2}.
— gecopust, most fit: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 275.18 = 208.11.
— gecynde, natural: U. (0). — I. (2): Boeth. (2): 57.21 = 0; 133.9 = 112.136.
— gedwolsum, misleading: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Pref. to Gen. 24.15.
— gelimplicor, more suitably: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 216<sup>b</sup>.
— genoh, enough: U. (0). — I. (4): Bede (2): 350.33 = 263.30; 366.2 = 271.10 (or with ad-
        jective?). — Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 444^{b_{1,2}}.
— geomorlic, sad: U. (0). - I. (1): Beow. (1): 2445.
— gewunelic, customary: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (2): 274.186; XXXVI. 100.
— god, good: U. (0). — I. (13): Bede (2): 2.10^{a, b} = 0. — Greg. (3): 151.8^{b} = 108.18^{a}; 151.9^{a} = 0
        108.18<sup>b</sup>; 151.9^b = 108.18^c. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 564^t. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 2.18^a. —
        Mat. (1): 17.4^{a}. - Lace. (1): 28.41. - Ps. (4): 117.8^{a, b}, 9^{a, b}.
— hefig, heavy, unpleasant: U. (0). — I. (3): Boeth. (1): 127.22^a = 108.13. — Werf. 289.6 =
        349 C<sup>1</sup>. — Mart. (1): 172.4 (or with adjective?).
— hefi(g)tyme, troublesome: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 324^b (or with adjective?). —
        Wulf. (1): 304.15<sup>b</sup>.
— ie\delta e [y\delta e]: see ea\delta e.
— ieðre: see ea\mathcal{F}(e)re.
— lang [-o-], long: U. (0). — I. (14): Solil. (1): 10.7. — Warf. (3): 266.18 = 325 A; 303.1 = 
        365 B^1; 339.11 = 409 B^2. — Wulf. (8): 7.12; 206.29^a; 211.24^a, b; 217.11^a; 220.6; 283.15;
        306.17. - Beow. (1): 2093. - Rid. (1): 40.22.
— langsum [-o-], long, tedious: U. (0). — I. (9): Oros. (1): 208.21 = 209.21. — Chron. (1):
        189<sup>m</sup>, 1058 D. — Ælf. Hom. (4): I. 526<sup>t</sup>; II. 328<sup>b</sup><sup>2</sup>, 476<sup>t</sup>, 578<sup>b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXV.
        82; XXXV. 219; XXXVI. 85.
— langsumlic [-o-], long, tedious: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 362<sup>b</sup> 1, 2.
— lat, loathsome: U. (0). — I. (6): Oros. (1): 122.16 = 0. — Chron. (2): 173^{\text{m}}, 1048 E<sup>b</sup>;
        181<sup>m</sup>, 1052 D<sup>d</sup>. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (1): 2.8. — Wulf. (2): 257.13; 304.15<sup>a</sup>.
— leng, longer: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Oros. (1): 82.33 = 0.
— leofost [-ast], dearest: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Laws (1): 78, Ælfred, c. 43.
— leofre, dearer: U. (0). — I. (6): Greg. (2): 217.12^{a, b} = 164.7, 9. — Oros. (2): 44.14^{a, b} = 164.7
       0. - Chr. (1): 597. - El. (1): 607.
— long
— longsum
                           : see lang, etc.
-longsumlic
— lustbærre, more pleasant: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 303.6 = 230.9.
— manfullic, sinful: U. (0). — I. (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (1): 2.73 (or with adjective?).
— min, mine: U. (0). — I. (2): Warf. (1): 231.17 = 281 D^1. — Mk. (1): 10.40.
— nyttre, more useful: U. (0). — I. (3): Boeth. (2): 139.29, 30 = 121.9. — Greg. (1): 275.12 =
       208.7.
— nyttwierde [-y-], useful: U.(0). - I.(1): Greg.(1): 89.6 = 58.28.
— nyttwyrde: see nyttwierde.
— pleolic, dangerous: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Pref. to Gen. 22.9 (or with adjective?)
— riht [-y-], right, proper: U. (0). — I. (7): Bede (2): 268.4 = 210.6; 398.18 = 289.11. —
        Boeth. (1): 30.10 = 0. — Greg. (1): 283.7 = 214.5. — Laws (1): 48, Ælfred, c. 1, § 2^a. —
        Minor Prose (2): Alex. (1): 695; — Chad (1): 157.
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— rihtlic, right, proper: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 283.28.

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beon rihtre, better: U. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 39.9.
— ryht: see riht.
— sar, grievous: U. (0). — I. (1): And. (1): 1689 (or with adjective?).
— scandlic [-o-], disgraceful: U. (0). — I. (1): Oros. (1): 48.4 = 49.4.
— sceamu, shame: U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 216<sup>b</sup>, 1085 E<sup>g</sup>.
— scondlic: see scandlic.
— sel, better: U. (0). — I. (2): Bened. (2): 10.3^{a, b} = 16.13^{a, b}.
— selest [-ost], best: U. (0). — I. (4): Bened. (1): 15.19 = 26.20. — Bl. Hom. (1): 205.27. —
     Beow. (1): 174 (or with adjective?). — Prayers (1): IV. 11.
— selre, better: U. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 144b. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad.
     to Th. (1): 101.322<sup>t</sup> · . — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 486<sup>b</sup> · . — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 144<sup>a</sup>.
— softe, soft: U. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 164^{t}. — I. (0).
— sorblic, grievous: U. (0). — I. (3): Wulf. (3): 151.22<sup>a</sup>; 241.21<sup>a</sup>, b.
— strang [-o-], distressing: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. 225.13.
— strong: see strang.
— sweotol, clear: U. (0). — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 36.16 = 41.25 (or with adjective?).
— treowlicre, safer: U. (0). — I. (2): Minor Prose (2): Cato (2): 63<sup>a</sup>, b.
— unacumendlic, intolerable: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 956.
— unalefedlic: see unaliefedlic.
— unaliefedlic [-e-, -y-], unlawful: U. (0). — I. (3): Pr. Ps. (1): 16.14<sup>a</sup>. — Warf. (2): 334.22,
     23 = 401 D (or with adjective?).
— unalyfedlic: see unaliefedlic.
— unaræfnedlic, intolerable: U. (0). — I. (1): \mathcal{E}lf. L. S. (1): XXX. 133.
— uneade: see uniede.
— ungeliefedlic, incredible: U. (0). — I. (4): Oros. (4): 74.7 = 75.8; 134.15 = 135.13; 238.2 =
     0; 240.16 = 0.
— unier [uneare], difficult, grievous: U. (0). — I. (4): Greg. (1) 355.21 = 276.1. — Oros. (1):
     52.8 = 53.4. - Warf. (1): 112.17 = B. 142 D. - And. (1): 206.
— unriht, wrong: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 308.18 = 372 C^1 (or with adjective?).
— waclic, mean: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 400^{\rm m}.
— weorc, hardship: U. (0). — I. (1): Ju. (1): 569 (or with noun?).
— weorce, grievous: U. (0). — I. (2): Beow. (1): 1419. — And. (1): 1659 (or with adjective?).
— wundorlic, wonderful: U. (0). — I. (2): Wulf. (2): 206.29<sup>b</sup>; 217.11<sup>b</sup> (or each with adjec-
— wynsumere, winsomer: U. (0). — I. (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (1): 1.275.
dafenian, be fitting: U. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 32.17 = 0.
derian, annoy: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 237.11 = 178.25.
fremian: see fremman.
fremman [fremian], advance, help: U. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 394^{\rm m}. — I. (1): Mat. (1): 19.10.
gebyrian, be fitting, proper: U. (7): Gosp. (7): Mat. (1): 18.33;—L. (6): 11.42b; 12.12;
     15.32a, b; 24.26a, b; — I. (11): Laws (2): 446. c. 3 (with gebyriað for gebyrað by scri-
     bal error?); 477. c. 2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 492<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (1): De N. T. 20.30. —
     Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 245.9. — Gosp. (5): Mat. (1): 26.54b; — Mk. (1):
     14.31; — L. (2): 2.49; 11.42^a; — J. (1): 9.4. — Wulf. (1): 279.4.
gedaf(e)ni(g)an, be fitting, proper: U. (11): Bede (2): 74.22 = 54.2; 342.18 = 259.12 (or pre-
     dicative with accusative subject?). — Pr. Gu. (3): V. 67, 68, 69. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
     318<sup>m</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 240.31; XXIII B. 261. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): Napier's
     Ad. to Th. (2): 102.34^{t} 2.3. — L. (1): 4.43. — I. (18): Bede (2): 2.13 = 0; 196.17 =
     156.18. — Solil. (2): 32.16^{a,b} = 0. — Laws (1): 248, VI. — Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 124^b; 386^t<sup>2</sup>;
    II. 318<sup>m</sup>. — Ælf. L. S.(6): 228.131; 240.30; 314.127; XXIII B. 228<sup>a, b</sup>; XXX. 124. —
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (1): 3.444. — Wulf. (2): 227.22; 269.24. — Minor Prose (1):
     Alex. (1): 59.
gelician, please: U. (1): L. (1): 12.32. — I. (3): Oros. (2): 106.23 = 107.24; 250.19 = 0. —
     Chron. (1): 182<sup>t</sup>, 1052 C<sup>b</sup> (or appositive?).
gelustfullian, delight: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 360<sup>b</sup> 3.
gelystan, please: U. (3): Læce. (3): 69.31<sup>a, b</sup>, 32. — I. (0).
genihtsumi(g)an, suffice: U. (0). — I. (1): Bened. (1): 90.15 = 158.13.
gerisan, befit: U. (0). — I. (2): Oros. (1): 54.30 = 0. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf.
     Æthelw. (1): 2.
geőyncan, seem good: U. (1): L. (1): 1.3. — I. (0).
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geweorðan [-u-], happen: U. (1): Gen. (1): 1692. - I. (0).
gewurðan: see geweorðan.
helpan, help: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXVI. 183. — Læce. (1): 41.12.
lician, please: U. (2): Bede (1): 276.12 = 214.31. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 308.32. — I. (4): Pr. Ps.
     (1): 43.5 = 43.4. — Laws (1): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 10. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 308.30. —
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. (1): 18.293.
lystan, please: U. (61): Bede (2): 398.7^{a, b} = 288.26, 27^{a}. — Boeth. (8): 1.11 = 0; 39.21 = 0;
     59.9 = 26.23; 78.32 = 70.93; 88.19 = 76.125; 91.8 = 78.46; 121.12, 20 = 0. — Greg. (1):
     279.6 = 210.15. - Oros. (1): 50.17 = 0. - Solil. (11): 1.6; 14.22; 34.9; 39.1; 42.4^{a, b}
     7^{a, b}; 52.4; 64.12; 67.22. — Werf. (12): 2.21 = 0; 18.2^{a, b} = 160 \text{ C}; 34.28 = 172 \text{ B}^2; 60.7
     = 192 B<sup>1</sup>; 83.20. = 208 C; 86.14 = 212 A; 177.23 = B.204 B<sup>1</sup>; 182.16^{a, b} = 221 A<sup>1, 2</sup>;
     209.23^{b} = 256 \text{ B}^{2}; 246.19^{a} = 301 \text{ A}^{1}. — Bened. (2) 126.17, 18 = 194.2. — Bl. Hom. (2);
     51.16; 101.20<sup>a</sup>. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 220<sup>b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 356.297. — Ælfric's Minor
     Prose (8): Ælf. Gr. (8): 211.5, 9, 10<sup>a, b</sup>, 11, 12<sup>a, b</sup>; 214.9. — Wulf. (3): 141.8<sup>a, b, c</sup>. —
     Læce. (1): 49.35. — Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 629. — Beow. (1): 1793. — Met. (6): 9. 19;
     10.20; 19.16, 33, 34, 39. — I. (4): Oros. (1): 102.25 = 0. — Solil. (3): 14.23; 59.33^{a, b}.
onhagian [an-], please: U. (1): Greg. (1): 289.16 = 218.19. — I. (7): Greg. (2): 341.13 =
     264.6; 417.17 = 338.21. — Solil. (2): 26.7; 65.10. — Chron. (1): 175^{b}, 1052 D^{c}. — Ælf.
     Hom. (1): I. 448^{t} <sup>3</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 4.37.
sc(e)amian, shame: U. (0). — I. (5): Chron. (1): 170<sup>m</sup>, 1050 D. — Ælf. L. S. (4): 200.76;
     202.125; 370.100; XXIII B. 327.
\forallyncan, seem: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 177.19 = 132.17.
dyncan + an adjective (or occasionally a noun):—
— æðryt, troublesome: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 374b.
— dyselig, foolish: U. (0). — I. (1): \cancel{E}lf. Hom. (1): I. 94<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
— eaðre, easier: U. (0). — I. (2): Solil. (2): 21.24; 22.1.
— hefigtime, troublesome: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Pref. to Gen. 22.5.
— lang [-o-], long, tiresome: U. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 52.17.
— langsum [-o-], long, tiresome: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 100.23.
— leofra, dearer: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 196.7.
— sceamu, shame: U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 216b, 1085 Eh.
— selest [-ost], best: U. (0). — I. (2): El. (2): 533; 1165 (or each with adjective?).
— selle, better: U. (0). — I. (1): Ju. (1): 408.
— sellic [-y-], strange: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 564 (or with adjective?).—
     Wulf. (1): 269.26.
— syllic: see sellic.
— wierse [-y-], worse: \mathbf{U}. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 36.7.
— wyrse: see wierse.
                                     2. With Passive Verbs.
alefan: see aliefan.
aliefan [-e-, -y-], allow: U. (5): Bede (5): 84.20 = 59.20; 278.10, 11 = 216.7, 8; 278.22 = 278.10
     216.22; 280.1 = 217.1. — I. (29): Boeth. (1) 121.19^a = 103.93^a. — Weef. (3): 39.21 = 176
     A; 156.3 = B. 182 B^1; 214.8 = 261 A. — Bened. (1): 86.6 = 154.7. — Bl. Hom. (1):
     137.15. — Ælf. Hom. (4): II. 40<sup>m</sup>, 348<sup>b</sup>, 484<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 520<sup>m</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 684. —
     Gosp. (6): Mat. (5): 12.2, 10, 12; 14.4; 19.3; — Mk. (1): 6.18. — A. S. Hom. & L. S.
     II (1): 18.258. — Wulf. (8): 136.24; 210.17; 227.9, 12a, b, 13; 285.12, 13. — Minor Prose
     (2): Nic. (2): 476.16, 478.1. — Gu. (1): 1223.
alyfan: see aliefan.
bebeodan, command: U. (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 398^{b_{1,2}}.—I. (3): Bede (1): 206.16 =
     161.27. - Boeth. (2): 40.10 = 0; 40.24 = 0.
bewerian, prohibit: U. (2): Bede (2): 76.19 = 54.31; 78.31 = 56.9. — I. (0).
forgi(e)fan, give, grant: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (2): XXIX. 134<sup>a</sup>, b.
(ge)sellan, give, allow: U. (0). — I. (2): Gosp. (2): Mat. (1): 13.11; — Mk. (1): 4.11.
læfan, leave: U. (0). — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 42.9 = 44.18.
dencan, consider, + an adjective: —
— halwende, salutary: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 479.
\deltayncan, seem, consider(?), + an adverb: —
— wierolicor [-u-], worthily: \mathbf{U}. (0). — \mathbf{I}. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): \mathbf{I}. 48^{t} 4.
— wurðlicor: see wierðlicor.
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B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Given in full in Chapter I, pp. 26-27.

II. The Objective Infinitive.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

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abiddan, bid, command: U. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 422<sup>b3</sup>. — I. (0).
ablinnan, cease, desist from: U. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 39. — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 74<sup>t</sup>.
adrædan, fear: U. (0). — I. (1): Mk. (1): 9.32.
æteowan, show: U. (0). — I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 169.9.
aginnan [-y-], begin: U. (28): Pr. Ps. (1): 9.30. — Chron. (2): 7<sup>b</sup>, 47 F; 206<sup>m</sup>, 1070 A<sup>c</sup>. —
     Laws (2): 310, II Cnut, c. 4; 472, Grið, c. 21. — Gosp. (14): Mat. (1): 24.49; — Mk. (3):
     6.7; 14.65^{a, b}; — L. (10): 5.21; 12.45^{a, b, c}; 14.29,30^{a, b}; 22.23^{a}; 23.2^{a}, 30. — Wulf. (7):
     14.14<sup>a, b</sup>; 85.1; 88.17, 21; 105.18; 216.33. — Minor Prose (2): Apol. (2): 19.28, 25.9. — I. (5): Chron. (5): 6^b, 40 F; 8^b, 49 F, 116 F, 137 F; 137<sup>m</sup>, 1006 E<sup>b</sup>.
agynnan: see aginnan.
alefan: see aliefan.
ali(e)fan [-e-, -y-], allow: U. (2): Gosp. (2): Mat. (1): 8.21b; — L. (1): 9.59. — I. (5): Laws (1):
     30, Ælfred, Intr., c. 12<sup>b</sup> (or final?). — Ælf. Hept. (2): Deut. 3.25<sup>a, b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1):
     102.227. - Mat. (1): 8.21^a.
alyfan \} see ali(e)fan.
anbidian, expect: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 438, Excommunicatio VII, c. 2, § 3.
anforlætan, abandon: U. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 337.2 (syngiende = syngienne?) = 405 B.
anginnan [-y-]: see onginnan.
anoracian, fear: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 554^{t}.
aðencan, intend: U. (0). — I. (1): Beow. (1): 2644.
bebeodan [bi-], command, order: U. (11): Bede (3): 36.31<sup>a, b</sup> = 19.31; 388.20 = 283.27.
     Laws (1): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 7. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 380<sup>b</sup> i. 2. — Ælfric's Minor
     Prose (2): Napier's Ad. to Th. (2): 101.314^{t_{1,2}}. — El. (1): 1018. — Ju. (2): 232; 295.
     — I. (16): Bede (2): 350.28 = 263.25 (?); 412.1 = 297.30. — Oros. (1): 292.27 = 293.28.
     — Solil. (1): 4.2. — Chron. (1): 206<sup>t</sup>, 1070 A<sup>b</sup>. — Laws (2): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49<sup>a</sup>; 46,
     Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9b. — Warf. (2): 9.31 = 0; 23.5 = 0. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 240t; II.
      316b. — \mathcal{E}lf. Hept. (1): Deut. 25.7. — \mathcal{E}lf. L. S. (2): 22.203; 456.243. — Wulf. (2):
      294.28; 296.5.
beginnan, begin: U. (28): Chron. (1): 201<sup>m</sup>, 1067 D. — Ælf. Hom. (4): II. 142<sup>m</sup>, 142<sup>b</sup>, 196<sup>b</sup>2,
     302<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (14): 216.96; 230.186; 242.56; 248.153; 296.200; 298.203; 414.24<sup>a, b</sup>,
      25, 26; 502.263; 504.296; 538.811; XXXI. 893. — Ælf. Hept. (1): De N. T. 18.1. — L.
      (1): 7.49. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (5): 18.21, 25, 40, 74, 97. — Wulf. (1): 214.24. —
      Minor Prose (1): Benediktiner-Offizium (1): 64.29. — Creed (1): 37. — I. (57): Chron. (1):
     243<sup>t</sup>, 1110 E<sup>b</sup>. — Bened. (2): 32.1 = 60.1; 63.2 = 118.10. — Ælf. Hom. (16): I. 10^{b}, 22^{b}
     46<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 66<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 152<sup>m</sup>, 170<sup>t</sup>, 258<sup>t</sup>; II. 146<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 148<sup>m</sup>, 154<sup>m</sup>, 158<sup>m</sup>, 196<sup>b</sup>, 392<sup>t</sup>, 412<sup>b</sup>, 418<sup>t</sup>, 502<sup>b</sup>.
      — Ælf. L. S. (17): 36.184; 264.61; 530.704; XXV. 419, 609, 664; XXVI. 215; XXXI.
      96, 165, 406, 535, 992; XXXV. 24, 30, 172b; XXXVII. 34, 114. — Ælf. Hept. (17): De
      V. T. 4.8: De N. T. 16.42; 17.13, 16; 17.18; 18.21; Pref. to Gen. 22.33; Gen. 8.3; 9.20;
      11.6; 18.27, 31; Num. 3.10; Judges 7.19, 22; 10.6; 15.8. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (2):
      7.81; 8.148. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): Napier's Ad. to Th. (2): 102.34<sup>t</sup>, 102.42<sup>m</sup>.
behatan, promise: U. (0). — I. (7): Chron. (3): 226<sup>t</sup>, 1091 E; 236<sup>t</sup>, 1100 E<sup>b, c</sup>. — Ælf. Hept.
      (1): Deut. 10.11. - Gosp. (2): Mat. (1): 14.7; -Mk. (1): 14.11. - Wulf. (1): 172.14.
 behealdan, take \ care: U. (1): Ex. (1): 110 (?). - I. (0).
beodan, command: U. (10): Chron. (1): 173<sup>m</sup>, 1048 E<sup>c</sup>. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 262<sup>t</sup>. — A.
     S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 15.280^{\text{b}}, 281. - And. (6): 780, 781^{\text{a, b}}, 782, 783, 784. - I. (6):
     Greg. (1): 47.13 = 24.24. — Pr. Ps. (1): 39.7. — Laws (1): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3^a.
      — Ælf. Hept. (2): Deut. 32.46<sup>a, b</sup>. — Wulf. (1): 231.1.
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beoti(g)an, threaten: U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): Chad (1): 193.
bewerian [bi-], prohibit, forbid: U. (1): Bede (1): 82.24 = 58.27^{b}.—I. (1): Bede (1): 80.7
     = 56.32.
bibeodan: see bebeodan.
biddan, request, demand: U. (6): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 182<sup>m</sup>. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (3):
     15.152^{\circ} = 0; 15.288^{a, b} = 217.320^{a, b}. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 23.34^{a} = 42^{t}. —
     Versuchung (1): 9. — I. (1): Læce. (1): 58.27.
biweri(g)an: see bewerian.
blinnan, cease: U. (7): Bede (7): 44.2 = 25.7; 202.21 = 159.21; 338.16, 17^{a, b} = 256.19, 20;
     474.9^{a, b} = 347.32. - I. (0).
bodian, preach: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 344b.
cunnian, try, attempt: U. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 450<sup>b</sup>. — I. (0).
cyŏan [+ beodan], make known: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 483, Wilhelm I, Prol.
don, do, cause: U. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): 214.90. — Ps. (1): 118.25. — I. (0).
elcian, delay: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 282<sup>t</sup>.
eldan: see ieldan.
findan, find, strive(?): U. (1): El. 1255(?). — I. (1): Dan. (1): 544.
fleon, shun: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 33.12 = 14.4.
fon, undertake, begin: U. (2): Wulf. (2): 133.14^{a, b}. — I. (6): Wærf. (1): 197.6 = 240 D. — Ælf. L.
     S. (2): 70.345; XXXIV. 64.—Ælf. Hept. (2): Judges 3.6 = 0; 13.1.—Wulf. (1): 105.33.
forældan: see forieldan.
forbeodan, forbid, prohibit: U. (1): Bede (1): 70.8 = 50.34. - I. (18): Greg. (1): 369.3
     = 286.5. — Laws: (1): 214 Krönungseid, Prol. — Ælf. Hom. (4): I. 122<sup>t</sup>, 218<sup>b</sup>; II. 308<sup>m</sup>,
     534b. — Ælf. Hept. (1): De V. T. 4.43. — Ælf. L. S. (5): XXV. 36, 42(?), 89; XXXII.,
     105, 221. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (3): 1.213; 3.9; 7.115. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf.
     Gr. (1): 242.7. — Wulf. (2): 200.3a.b.
forefon, presume, undertake: U. (1): Laws (1): 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4, § 4. — I. (0).
forgi(e)fan, grant, allow: U. (1): Bede (1): 486.4 = 360.4 (or final?). — I. (0).
forgieman [-y-], neglect: U. (0). — I. (2): Laws (2): 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1<sup>c, d</sup>.
forgiemeleasian [-y-], neglect: U. (0). — I. (1): \mathbb{E}lf. Hom. (1): II. 102^{b}.
forgyfan: see forgi(e)fan.
forgyman: see forgieman.
forgymeleasian: see forgiemeleasian.
forhogian, despise, neglect: U. (2): Bede (1): 464.10 = 329.29. - Warf. (1): 34.6 = 172 A.
     — I. (3): Werf. (1): 180.18 = 217 \text{ B}^2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 376^{\text{b}} 3. — Chr. (1): 1288.
forhycgan, despise, neglect: U. (2): Bede (2): 76.30^{a}, 33 = 55.9, 12. - I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1):
     41.36.
forieldan [-æ-], delay, defer: U. (1): Bede (1): 440.19 = 313.2. — I. (0).
forlætan, abandon, omit: U. (1): And. (1): 802^{b}. — I. (1): Greg. (1): 393.28 = 310.26.
forsacan, refuse: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 1345.
forseon, despise, neglect: U. (0). — I. (4): Weef. (1): 180.17 = 217 \text{ B}^1. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
     374^{t}. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 290.96. — Wulf. (1): 296.28.
forwiernan, prevent, prohibit; U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 604^{m} · . — Ælf. L. S. (1):
gælan, hinder from: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 445.30 = 374.14.
geceosan, choose: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 200.73.
gedihtan, direct, order: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 10.10.
gedyrstlæcan, presume, dare: U. (0). — I. (8): Bened. (7): 15.13 = 28.3; 55.10 = 104.2;
     56.18^{a, b} = 106.9^{a, b}; 69.19 = 132.5; 86.14 = 154.15; 106.4 = 172.12. — Ælf. Hom. (1):
     II 392<sup>t</sup> 2.
geearnian, deserve, earn: U. (5): Bede (2): 350.23 = 263.20; 470.9 = 345.29. — Ælf. Hom. (3):
     I. 446^{\text{b}} <sup>2</sup>; II. 598^{\text{m}}, 600^{\text{b}}. — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 431.
geeaðmodi(g)an, deign, vouchsafe: U. (1): Bede (1): 98.28 = 81.30(?). — I. (0).
gefon, attempt, undertake, begin: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 148.
gefrignan, learn by inquiry: U. (2): Beow. (1): 74. — And. (1): 1094. — I. (0).
gegiernian [-y-], desire: U. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 497. — I. (0).
gegyrnian: see gegiernian.
gehatan, order, promise: U. (2): Bede (2): 144.27, 28 = 118.11. — I. (2): Bede (1): 316.22.
     = 243.6. - Bl. Hom. (1): 181.26.
geheran: see gehieran.
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gehi(e)ran [-e-, -y-], hear: U. (65): Bede (1): 330.17 = 252.4. — Boeth. (3): 34.3 = 0; 98.26
     = 84.64; 142.26 = 0. — Greg. (1): 427.17 = 350.22. — Solil. (1): 50.6. — Pr. Ps. (1):
     41.3 = 41.4. — Chron. (4): 67^{b}, 855 \text{ F}; 152^{m}, 1016 \text{ E}^{b}; 199^{t}, 1066 \text{ E}; 247^{t}, 1116 \text{ E}^{b}. — Werf.
     (6): 11.17 = 153 D; 163.15 = B. 190 B<sup>2</sup>; 186.1 = 225 C; 190.18 = 232 B; 248.6 = 304
     A; 338.1^{b} = 408 \text{ A}^{3}. — Bl. Hom. (16): 15.28; 55.26^{a, b}; 83.7^{a, b}; 103.19; 105.5; 107.30;
     111.17<sup>a, b, c</sup>, 18<sup>a</sup>; 113.4; 117.2; 137.8; 213.26. — Pr. Gu. (2): II. 106 IV. 2. — Mart. (1):
     128.23. — Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 284<sup>t</sup>; II. 350<sup>t</sup>, 460<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (5): 18.131; 286.62; 500.225;
     XXIII B. 215; XXXI. 694. — Ælf. Hept. (6): Pref. to Gen. 22.10; Gen. 41.15; 42.1, 2; Ex.
     19.13; Judges, Epilogue, p. 265, l. 6. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 5.1. — A. S. Hom. &
     L. S. II (1): 14.60. - L. (1): 19.48. - Wulf. (7): 237.22; 250.15; 255.5, 6^{a.b.c}; 306.16.
     — Læce. (1): 153.9. — Minor Prose (2): Apol. (1): 22.31; Nic. (1): 486.1. — El. (1): 661.
     -Gu. (1): 1095. -Ps. (1): 131.6. -I. (0).
gehogian, think, intend: U. (1): Beow. (1): 1989. — I. (0).
gehyhtan, hope: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 164.21 = 138.1.
gehyran: see gehi(e)ran.
gelefan: see geliefan.
geleornian, learn: U. (1): Bede (1): 404.22 = 292.17. — I. (1): Bede 210.31 = 164.22.
geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe, hope: U. (0). — I. (2): Bede (2): 330.25^{a, b} = 252.13.
gelyfan: see geliefan.
gemed(e)mian [gi-], deign, vouchsafe: U. (5): Laws (2): 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 3, § 2a,
     § 4. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 50^{\text{t}} <sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXIII B. 713, 738. — I. (1):
     Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Æthelw. (1): 51. [See pp. 54–55 above.]
geman: see gieman.
gemyntan, intend, determine: U. (5): Chron. (2): 22b, 616 Fa, b. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 154.127b;
     502.255. - Ex. (1): 199. - I. (7): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 414^{t}; II. 578^{t-2}. - Ælf. L. S. (3):
     154.127°; 212.51; XXV. 769. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 24.11. — Wulf. (1): 277.26.
geseon, see: U. (20): Greg. (1): 49.25 = 26.28. — Oros. (1): 138.26 = 0. — Wærf. (2): 99.9 = B.
     130 A<sup>2</sup>; 273.20 = 33 A<sup>3</sup>. — Mart. (1): 148.3. — Ælf. Hom. (6): I. 146^{t_{1}}, 2, 3; II. 184^{m},
     186<sup>t</sup>, 346^{t} 4. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 112.399; 250.204. — L. (1): 12.55. — A. S. Hom. & L.
     S. II (2): 16.82; 18.84. — Lece. (1): 97.34. — Beow. (2): 231; 1024. — Rid. (1): 57.12.
     — I. (0).
gestihhian [-styohhian], determine, decide: U. (1): Bede (1): 218.9 = 168.2. - I. (1): Solil.
     (1): 38.1 = 0.
gestyohhian: see gestihhian.
geswican, stop, cease from: U. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXIII. 206. — L. (1): 5.4. — I. (9): Ælf.
     Hom. (5): I. 46<sup>t</sup>, 596<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>; II. 126<sup>b</sup>, 156<sup>t</sup>, 206<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXXI. 497, 1049; XXXII.
     246. — Minor Prose (1): Neot (1): 64.
geswutelian [-sweot-], show, explain: U.(0). - I.(1): Mat.(1): 3.7.
geteohhian, think, determine: U. (0). — I. (12): Boeth. (4): 117.21 = 0; 127.27 = 0; 139.29^a
     = 121.10; 143.23 = 0. — Greg. (3): 251.24 = 190.22; 419.13 = 340.23; 445.7 = 372.19. —
     Solil. (1): 37.5. — Pr. Ps. (1): 10.3. — Warf. (1): 54.26 = 188 \text{ B}^2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I.
     198<sup>b</sup>. — \mathcal{E}lf.\ L.\ S.\ (1): XXXI.\ 677.
geteon, determine: U. (1): Bede (1): 332.9 = 253.1. — I. (0).
getilian, strive for, attempt: U. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 35.17.
geografian, allow, permit: U. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 606. — I. (3): Bede (1): 276.31 =
     215.24. - Elf. Hom. (2): I. 4<sup>b</sup>, 604^{\text{m}}<sup>2</sup>.
geometrican, think, strive: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hept. (1): Job, XII (= 6.27). — Minor Prose (1):
     Alex. (1): 11.
georistlæcan [-y-], presume, undertake: U. (5): Laws (1): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9°.—
     Wærf. (1): 207.24 = 253 \text{ A.} - \text{Ælf. L. S.} (3): XXIII B. 277, 645, 745. — I. (6): Laws (2):
     414, Judicium Dei VII, c. 13 A<sup>1, 2</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 721. — A. S. Hom. &
     L. S. II (1): 11.122. — Wulf. (2): 34.14, 15.
georystlæcan: see georistlæcan.
ge\deltayrsti(g)an, presume, undertake: U. (2): Bede (2): 70.16 = 51.8; 78.33^a = 56.10^a. — I. (0).
gewil(1)nian, desire: U. (7): Wærf. (1): 208.14 = 253 C<sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 608^{t}; II. 588^{t}<sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. L.S. (1): XXIII B. 187. — Gosp. (3): Mat. (1): 13.17^{b}; — L. (2): 15.16;
     22.15. — I. (15): Chron. (1): 219<sup>m</sup>, 1086 E<sup>b</sup>. — Laws (1): 45, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 3<sup>b</sup>. —
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 \cancel{Elf} . Hom. (7): I. 550^t, 552^t, 556^t, 596^t, 612^m; II. 154^b ², 588^t. — \cancel{Elf} . L.S. (4): 196.22; XXIII B. 183, 358; XXXVI. 159. — Mat. (1): 13.17^a. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1):

18.17.

gewunian, use, be wont: U. (31): Bede (16): 62.4 = 47.13; 172.16 = 142.19; 188.30 = 152.11; 266.12 = 209.14; $272.8^{a, b} = 212.19^{a, b}$; $336.23^{a, b} = 255.26$; 342.5 = 258.29; 364.3, $4 = 270.5^{a, b}$; 368.32 = 273.17; 386.29 = 283.2; $442.19^{a, b} = 314.6$; 442.21 = 314.9. — Laws (2): 38, Ælfred, Intr., c. 30; 410, Jud. Dei IV, c. 3, § 5. — Wærf. (9): 4.19 = 152 A; 181.3, 4 = 217 C⁵; 183.4 = 221 B; 185.24 = 225 B²; 201.15 = 245 B¹; 206.16 = 252 B²; 207.4 = 252 C⁴; 242.9 = 296 C¹. — Ælf. L. S. (4): XXIII B. $164^{a, b}$, 165; XXXIII. 177. — I. (8): Greg. (1): 273.17 = 206.14. — Oros. (1): 34.5 = 35.3. — Wærf. (3): 161.19 = 18.188 C.; 163.37 = 18.190 B⁵; 289.10 = 349 C²: no Latin. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 368. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 22.4. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 12.45.

gieman [-e-, -y-], care: U. (4): Bede (4): 364.1 = 0; 412.26 = 298.25; 442.2, 3 = 313.19, 20. — I. (3): Bede (2): 208.16 = 162.28; 362.10 = 269.16. — Beow. (1): 2452.

giernan [-y-], desire, yearn for: U. (0). — I. (4): Bede (1): 480.11 = 351.21. — Bl. Hom. (1): 53.25. — Pr. Gu. (2): I. 7; II. 93.

ginnan, begin: U. (1): Bede (1): 60.23 = 46.32. — I. (0).

gyman: see gieman.

gyrnan: see giernan.

habban, have: U. (0). — I. (7): Boeth. (1): 52.27 = 52.10. — Laws (1): 106, Ine, c. 42. — Elf. Hom. (1): II. 78^{m} . — Elf. Hept. (2): Ex. 16.23; Judges 3.20^a. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 15.149. — Mat. (1): 20.22.

hatan, command: U. (1124): Bede (66): $36.3^{a, b} = 19.6$; 38.5 = 20.3; 40.18 = 21.21; 44.8 = 21.2125.10; $46.5^{a, b} = 27.19$; 50.26 = 31.5; 58.19 = 0; 88.28 = 0; 90.20 = 70.20; $104.4^{a, b} = 84.23$; $104.22^{a, b} = 85.18$; 104.26, 27 = 85.26; 110.12 = 90.12; 114.12 = 92.16; 116.7, 8 = 93.12, 13; 116.17 = 93.24; 126.25 = 107.30; 136.12 = 112.25; 140.22 = 115.16; 166.6, 7 = 138.20; 166.28= 139.16; $168.12^{a, b} = 140.4$, 5; 172.7, 8 = 142.7, 8; $188.21^{a, b} = 152.1$; 194.1, 29 = 154.20, 155.27; 196.13 = 156.14; 238.27 = 180.4; 254.5 = 202.11; 308.14 = 237.26; $326.20^a = 250.12^a$; $344.20 = 0; 344.21, 22 = 260.17^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.20 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.20 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 344.34 = 260.29; 366.28 = 272.4; 388.21 = 283.29; 388.25^{a, b}; 388.$ $= 283.32^{a, b}$; 388.27 = 284.2; 388.33 = 284.10; 406.5 = 293.3; $416.28^{a, b} = 300.23$, 24; 418.17, $18 = 301.12, 13; 440.2^{a} = 312.16^{b}; 456.5 = 325.2; 458.8 = 326.2; 460.5^{a, b} = 326.27, 28; 460.30$ = 0; $470.19^{a, b, c} = 346.6^{a, b, c}$; 470.21 = 346.8. — Boeth. (12): 3.3 = 0; 7.11 = 0; $37.8^{a, b}$ =41.35; $39.19 = 43.2^{a}$; $39.22 = 43.2^{b}$; 66.32, 67.1 = 61.30; 99.8 = 0; 144.30^{a} , 0 = 0. — Greg. (3): 3.1 = 0; 3.2 = 0; 9.14 = 0; ---Oros. (81): 1.19 = 0; 3.18 = 0; 5.25 = 0; 44.8 = 45.6; 44.13 $= 0; 52.24^{a, b} = 53.19; 54.31, 32 = 0; 68.10, 11, 12 = 69.8, 9; 76.31, 32 = 77.19, 20; 80.26 = 0;$ 84.4 = 83.34; 96.18 = 0; 108.12 = 0; 114.33 = 0; 120.33 = 121.26; 122.1 = 121.27; 126.21= 127.23; 128.16 = 129.15; 130.17 = 131.15; 132.25 = 133.20; 148.24 = 0; 150.11 = 151.5;156.7 = 157.3; 164.32, 33 = 165.27; 168.27 = 169.25; 174.15, $16^{a, b} = 175.12$; $186.19^{a, b}$ = 187.15; 196.31 = 0; $198.30^{a, b} = 199.30$; $202.23^{a, b} = 203.11$; $212.10^{a, b} = 213.15$, 16; 218.12 $= 219.12; 218.32^{a, b} = 219.31, 32; 224.15, 16 = 225.14; 228.8^{a, b} = 229.7; 242.17, 18 = 243.16;$ 242.23 = 0; 246.1 = 245.32; 246.23 = 247.26; $246.24^{a, b} = 247.28$; 246.32 = 0; 250.13 = 0; 256.4 = 257.2; 258.3 = 259.2; 260.20 = 261.19; 260.23 = 261.22; 260.30 = 261.29; 264.22= 265.20; 266.14 = 267.13; 268.22 = 269.19; 268.28 = 269.29; 270.8 = 271.8; 270.13 = 271.13;274.4 = 275.3; 282.16 = 0; 282.32 = 283.30; $284.7^{a, b} = 285.7$; 286.30 = 0; 288.12 = 289.8; 290.4 = 0; $290.5^{a, b} = 291.2$; 290.30 = 291.28; 290.31 = 0. — Chron. (58): 12^{t} , 449 A^b, c; 25^{m} , 626 E^{a, b}; 26^m, 643 A; 28^b, 650 E; 30^t, 656 E^c; 39^m, 685 E; 54^m, 792 A; 90^m, 897 A^a; 90^b, 897 A^b; 91^m, 897 A^c; 92^t, 901 A; 94^t, 905 A; 96^m, 913 A; 100^m, 919 A; 101^t, 921 A^{a, b, c}; 103^b, 922 A^a; 104^t, 922 A^b, c; 104^t, 923 A^a, b, c; 104^m, 924 A^a, b, c; 112^b, 952 D^a, b; 119^t, 969 E; 121^m, 975 E^a; 127^m, 992 E; 127^b, 993 E; 128^b, 995 F^d; 135^t, 1002 E; 136^m, 1006 E^a; 139^m, 1009 E^b; 145^t 1014 E^a; 145^b, 1014 E^c; 146^t, 1015 E^{a, b}; 155^t, 1017 E; 164^b, 1046 C^a; 190^b, 1065 C^a; 229^m, 1094 E^c; 231^t, 1095 E^a; 231^m, 1095 E^b; 231^b, 1095 E^{c, d, e}; 231^b, 1095 E^{f, g}; 232^t, 1095 E^{h, i}; 232^m, 1096 E^{a, b, c}. — Laws (2): 46, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 9^a; 182, VI Æthelstan, c. 12, § 1. -Werf. (24): 39.10, 11 = 173 D; 50.29, 30 = 185 A; 51.17, 18 = 185 A²; $60.33^a = 192$ B³; 123.19= B. 154 B; 158.16 = B. 184 C; 159.14 = 186 A²; 182.10 = 220 C; 193.22 = 236 C; 195.17 $= 237 \text{ C}^2$; 198.7, 8, $9 = 241 \text{ C}^{1, 2, 3}$; $201.19 = 245 \text{ B}^2$; 201.25, $26 = 245 \text{ B}^{4, 5}$; $202.1 = 245 \text{ B}^6$; $202.7 = 245 \,\mathrm{C}^1$; $202.13 = 245 \,\mathrm{C}^2$; $240.19 = 293 \,\mathrm{B}^2$; $318.10 = 384 \,\mathrm{B}$. — Bened. (3): 15.8 = 26.19; 86.15 = 154.17; 88.18 = 156.20. — Bl. Hom. (20): 15.21; 95.13; 175.1; 177.2; $177.4^{a, b}$; 179.29, 30; 183.3, 16, 19, 26, 27; 187.12, 15; 189.20, 33, 35; 243.30; 247.27. — Pr. Gu. (2): II. 43; XX. 9. — Mart. (145): 4.11; 6.11^{a, b}, 13, 14; 10.5, 16^{a, b}; 20.1; 22.25, 26^{a, b}; 24.19, 22, 23, 27; 26.3, 5, 24; 28.17^{a, b}, 24, 28, 30; 30.18; 38.1; 42.7; 46.25; 54.2; 56.17; 58.6, 8, 19; 60.8; 64.22, 23, 24^a; 66.10, 11^{a, b}; 68.3; 70.18, 25, 26, 27; 78.25; 80.25; 82.8, 13; 90.13, 16; 92.4, 19, 20^{a, b}; 96.5, 6, 21, 22; 98.23, 24; 100.23, 24; 106.5^b, 16, 28; 114.10, 24, 26; 118.8, 18, 26; 120.9; 122.23, 24; 124.3, 4; 130.16; 132.6, 7, 8^b; 134.1, 12; 140.5; 142.2, 3; 144.18, 24; 148.7, 15; 150.20; 152.17,

21; 154.3, 8; 156.1, 12, 13^{a, b}, 23; 158.8, 14; 162.6; 166.15^a, 17,21; 168.4, 18; 170.27; 172.17; 174.6, 22; 178.8, 9; 188.15; 194.16; 196.14^{a, b}, 21, 22; 198.24; 200.7, 8, 11; 202.25, 26; 204.23; 208.20; 22, 173.3, 5, 163.13, 134.10, 130.14 , 21, 22, 133.24, 200.1, 3, 11, 202.25, 20, 204.25, 203.20, 210.6, 7; 212.6, 7; 214.7, 8, 9, 14, 30; 216.21^{a, b}, 22, 25; 218.6, 7, 17, 23. — Ælf. Hom. (153): I. 32^{b} , 58^{b} 1, 2, 60^{m} , 66^{b} , 74^{b} 1, 2, 82^{t} , 86^{b} 1, 2, 3, 88^{t} 1, 2, 142^{t} , 152^{b} , 186^{b} , 190^{t} , 208^{t} 1, 2, 210^{t} , 266^{b} 2, 376^{t} , 380^{t} 2, 3, 382^{t} 1, 2, 416^{t} , 420^{t} , 424^{t} 1, 2, 426^{t} , 426^{m} , 426^{b} 2, 428^{t} 1, 2, 428^{m} , 428^{b} 2, 432^{t} 1, 2, 432^{b} 3, 4, 5, 6, 434^{m} , 442^{t} , 458^{t} , 458^{m} , 464^{m} , 464^{b} , 468^{b} 1, 2, 470^{t} , 478^{t} 1, 2, 484^{t} 2, 508^{b} , 524^{b} 1, 2, 560^{b} 1, 2, 570^{t} 1, 2, 572^{m} , 574^{t} 2, 588^{t} , 590^{t} , 590^{b} 2, 592^{b} , 594^{m} 1, 2, 3, 594^{b} ; II. 20^{t} 1, 2, 3, 484^{t} 2, 484^{t} 2, 484^{t} 3, 486^{t} $40^{t} \stackrel{1.}{\overset{2.}{\overset{3.}{\overset{4.}{\overset{5.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}}}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}{\overset{6.}}}}}{\overset{6.}$ --- Ælf. L. S. (276): 28.74; 30.113; 36.191; 42.298; 46.363, 378; 48.389, 390, 396; 56.94; 58.126; 62.190, 191, 195, 214, 215; 68.297; 74.409; 76.438; 86.606; 96.120, 121; 100.178, 181, 182; 104.243, 249, 251, 263; 106.270; 108.300, 301, 332, 333; 110.334, 353, 363, 364; 112.369, 392, 393; 114.403, 420; 124.134; 128.183; 140.371, 374, 383; 142.410; 144.422, 423, 424; 146.450, 455; 154,112; 156.165; 160.206, 209, 211; 162.237; 174.82, 92; 178.141, 142, 143^{a, b}; 182.218, 219; 184.244; 186.289; 190.365; 194.418^{a, b}; 196.9; 198.39, 69; 200.92, 101; 202.112, 113, 122, 123, 128, 129; 204.154, 168, 170; 206.182; 214.81; 216.104, 106, 117, 118, 126; 218.144; 230.169; 238.280, 291; 240.38; 242.54, 63, 66; 244.99, 111; 246.131; 252.245, 246; 254.260; 278.248; 308.8; 310.42, 43, 44, 45, 46^{a, b}, 48, 49, 60; 312.83, 84^{a, b}, 86, 87, 88^{a, b}; 316.131, 152; 388.92; $390.125; 398.233; 402.317; 404.337, 345,350; 406.365, 369, 377, 378^{a, b}; 410.430; 414.6; 416.33,$ 45; 418.74, 82; 422.130; 438.86; 480.135, 136, 137, 142; 484.194, 203; 488.20; 498.178, 179, 191^{a, b}; 500.228; 502.264; 504.295; 506.316; 514.444; 534.758, 761; XXIV. 9, 29^{a, b}, 40, 41, 47, 51, 63, 133; XXV. 24, 115, 116^{a, b}, 117^{a, b}, 118, 130, 380, 448, 835; XXVI, 96^{a, b}, 162, 163; XXVII. 37, 76; XXVIII. 26, 98; XXIX. 200, 211, 230, 231, 237, 239, 241, 245, 249, 252, 253, 256, 257, 277, 278, 283, 284, 314, 327, 328; XXX. 294, 296, 378, 409^{a, b}, 414, 416, 421^{a, b}, 422, 456, 458; XXXI. 116, 364, 509, 553, 656, 782, 1176, 1409; XXXII. 122, 215, 234; XXXIII. 41, 208, 264; XXXIV. 204, 211, 215, 217, 280, 308, 343^{a, b}; XXXV. 47, 49, 136, 138, 188, 194, 195, 225^{a, b}, 226, 227, 294, 311, 312, 324, 325, 326^{a, b}, 335, 337; XXXVI. 117, 119, 210, 360, 366, 390, 397; XXXVII. 46, 52, 156, 157. — Ælf. Hept. (38): De V. T. 8.26; De N. T. 15.19, 16.16, 16.17, Gen. 12.18, 20.2, 27.42^a, 27.45^a, 37.3, 40.19, 40.22, 41.10; Ex. 2.5, 4.22, 5.1, 8.1, 9.7, 12.31, 15.25^a, 16.33^{a, b}, 19.23^{a, b}, 32.24, 33.7; Num. 21.32, 24.10, 25.5, 31.18; Jos. 2.1, 2.3, 4.9, 7.2, 8.29, 10.18^{a, b}, 10.27. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (8): Ælf. Gr. (1): 125.7; Napier's Ad. to Th. (7): 101.318^b, 321^t; 102.35^b, 38^t, 41^m, 42^b. — Gosp. (10); Mat. (3): 18.25; 27.58; 27.64; — Mk. (4): 5.43° ; 6.17; 8.7; 10.49; — L. (3): 8.55° ; 18.40; 19.15. — A.S. Hom. & L. S. I (15): 5.132, 157; 7.187; 8.10, 76, 103, 125, 189, $210^{a, b}$, 223; $9.153^{a, b}$, 154, 341. — A. S.Hom. & L. S. II (27): 13.102^a ; 15.14; 15.77^a , b = 210.68; 15.88^a , b = 210.80; 15.95, 96 = 210.84; 15.118, $119^{a, b} = 211.100^{a, b}$; $15.152^{a, b} = 212.134$; 15.153 = 212.135; 15.169 = 212.159; 15.280^{a} $= 0; 15.282 = 217.312^{\circ}; 15.287^{\circ} = 0; 15.287^{\circ} = 217.320; 15.304 = 218.342; 16.26^{\circ}, 230, 236^{\circ}, 5, 230^{\circ}, 5,$ 257, 278. — Wulf. (6): 99.8, 25; 148.20, 21; 237.1; 263.2. — Læce. (1): 88.7. — Minor Prose $22.17 = 40^{\circ}$; $26.2^{\circ} = 43^{\circ}$; 27.10, 12° , 19, 22 = 44, 45; 28.23, $29.1 = 46^{\circ}$; 32.25, $26 = 49^{\circ}$; 33.5, 25, 26, 29 = 50; — Benediktiner-Offizium (1): 64.23; — Nic. (7): 472.2, 9, 15; 474.17; 476.24, 482.19, 514.14. - Beow. (18): 199; 386; 391; 674; 1036; 1054; 1115; 1116^{a, b}; 1807; 1808;1920; 2152; 2190; 2337; 2892; 3095; 3110. — Gen. (8): 960; 1060; 1856; 1859; 1867; 2455; 2628; 2666. — Dan. (11): 53; 126; 225; 229; 242; 511; 512; 514; 519; 521; 704. — Chr. (2): 253; 1375. — *El.* (25): 45^{a, b}; 80; 104; 106; 107; 108; 109; 129; 276; 279; 510; 691; 692; 862; 864; 876; 1003; 1023; 1025; 1052; 1160; 1174; 1198; 1204. — Ju. (23): $142^{a, b}$; 143; 161; 187; $188; 228^{a, b}; 231; 254; 265; 303; 309; 333; 532; 575; 577; 579; 580; 584; 603; 604; 613. — Gu.$ (3): 661; 1344; 1348. — And. (8): 587; 1146; 1229; 1230; 1272; 1390; 1633; 1634. — Jud. (1): 35. — Met. (5): 1.43, 73; 9.9, 24, 30. — Ps. (6): $50.18^{a, b}$ (Cot.); 50.21 (Cot.); 54.8; 103.25; 118.138. — Fates of Apostles (2): 46; 69. — Gifts (1): 60. — H. L. (2): 12; 20. — Maldon (3): 30; $102^{a, b}$. — S. & S. (5): 173; 275; 277; 278; 458. — W. C. (1): 15. — I. (0).

heran: see hieran

hieran [-e-, -y-], hear: U. (26): Bede (4): 190.7 = 152.18; 348.26 = 262.20; 426.3 = 305.16; 430.12 = 307.26. — Oros. (3): 138.18 = 139.18; 156.9 = 0; 286.7 = 287.7. — Chron. (7): 30^{t} , 656 E^b; 64^{b} , 851 A; 205^{t} , 1070 E^b, c; 207^{b} , 1070 E; 245^{m} , 1114 E^d; 267^{m} , 1140 E^d. — Wærf. (1): 2.16 = 0. — Minor Prose (1): Cato, Zusätze (1): 53.21. — Beow. (4): 38; 273; 582; 875. — Chr. (1): 73. — El. (2): 671; 853. — And. (1): 1176. — Höl. (1): 83. — Partridge (1): 1. — I. (0).

higian, strive for, be intent on: U. (0). — I. (3): Greg. (1): 105.14 = 72.18. — Wærf. (2): $178.3^{a, b} = B.\ 204\ C^2$. hogian [hohgian], think, intend, determine: U. (6): Solil. (1): 35.19. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXVI. 363. — Gen. (3): 691; $692^{a, b}$. — Jud. (1): 274. — I. (0).

hohgian: see hogian.

hyran: see hieran.

ieldan [e-, y-], delay: U. (0). — I. (5): Bede (3): 132.16 = 110.24; $430.33^{a, b} = 308.13^{a, b}$. — Warf. (1): 119.1 = B. $148 C^1$. — Bl. Hom. (1): 7.33.

læran, teach: U. (0). — I. (4): Bede (2): 258.8 = 204.20; 276.6^{b} = 214.27^{b} . — Boeth. (1): 79.17 = 0. — Læce. (1): 35.10.

lætan, permit, cause: U. (121): Boeth. (3): 38.12 = 42.53; 133.25 = 113.142; 134.31 =114.174. -Greg. (2): 229.1 = 172.16; 349.12 = 270.3. -Oros. (3): 258.18, 19 = 0; 296.29 $= 297.27. - Chron. (56): 28^{m}, 648 F; 36^{b}, 675 E^{a}; 37^{t}, 675 E^{b}; 115^{b}, 963 E^{a}; 116^{t}, 963$ E^c; 157^b, 1023 C^b; 158^m, 1035 C; 159^b, 1036 D; 162^t, 1040 C^{a, b}; 162^t, 1041 C; 162^b, 1043 C; 168^b, 1049 C^{a, b}; 175^m, 1052 D^b; 176^t, 1048 E^e; 178^m, 1052 C^a; 184^m, 1053 C; 185^b, 1055 D^{a, b}; 186^t, 1055C^a; 186^m, 1055 C^b; 192^m, 1065 C^d; 204^b, 1071 D; 209^m, 1073 D; 211^b, 1076 D; 212^t, 1075 E; 214^b, 1079 D; 215^b, 1083 E^b; 216^t, 1085 E^{a, b}; 216^m, 1085 E^{c, d}; 216^b 1085 E^e; 220^b, 1086 E^{d,e}; 225^t, 1087 E^e; 229^t, 1094 E^a; 233^b, 1097 E^b; 236^m, 1100 E^{d, e, f}; 237^b, 1102 E; 243^b, 1112 E^{a, b}; 244^t, 1114 E^a; 246^b, 1116 E^a; 250^t, 1121 E; 251^t, 1123 E^b; 253b, 1124 E^a; 254t, 1124 E^b; 256m, 1126 E^a; 256m, 1126 E^{b, c}; 256b, 1127 E^a; 265m, 1137 E^{e} . — Werf. (1): 341.36 = 416 B. — Bened. (1): 110.19 = 0. — Bl. Hom. (4): 13.9; 33.10; 33.17^{a} ; 85.2. - £lf. Hom. (3): I. 150^{b} , 598^{m} ; II. 488^{b} ⁴; -£lf. L. S. (8): 106.272; 128.204; 130.213; 512.417; 530.680; XXV. 239; XXXI. 523; XXXIII. 22. — Ælf. Hept. (3): Ex. 12.23; Deut. 32.39; Judges 16.18. — Mat. (2): 5.45; 27.26. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I. (4): 8.155, 205, 298; 9.137. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II. (2): 16.231; 17.29. — Wulf. (10): 23.4; 45.25; 110.14, 15; 111.1; 125.13; 195.9; 230.19; 271.5, 7. — Lace. (14): 37.36; 47.4; 80.6; 82.6; 86.27^b; 88.28; 105.24; 106.9; 126.13; 138.2, 3^{a, b, c}, 4. — Minor Prose (2): Benediktiner-Offizium (1): 74.6; — Chad, Anhang (1): 5. — And. (1): 397. — Ps. (1): 103.13. — Whale (1): 65. — I. (0).

lefan: see liefan.

leornian, learn: U. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. $416^{\rm b}$. — I. (7): Bede (1): 246.7 = 194.29. — Greg. (2): 441.17 = 368.15; 441.28 = 368.25. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 132.242; $344.127^{\rm b}$. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (2): $1.253^{\rm b}$, 256.

liefan, allow: U. (0). — I. (4): Greg. (1): 451.29 = 382.10. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 21.22. — Mat. (1): 19.8. — Wulf. (1): 174.7.

lofian, praise, but here allow (?): U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 185b, 1054 D.

lyfan: see liefan.

lystan, desire: U. (1): Weef. (1): $45.22 = 180 \text{ B}^1. - I.$ (0).

murnan, care for, lament: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 474, Judex, c. 3.

mynnan, direct one's course to, intend: U. (0). — I. (2): Gu. (1): 1062. — And. (1): 295.

myntan, think, intend: **U**. (17): Bede (1): 392.20 = 286.1. — Wærf. (3): 12.11 = 15 A²; 123.1 = B. 154 A; 254.35 = 312 A¹. — Bl. Hom. (4): 223.7, 11, 16; 225.12. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (3): 13.57, 167,251. — Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 334. — Beow. (3): 713; 763; 764. — Chr. (1): 1058. — Met. (1): 26.72. — **I**. (1): Chron. (1): 265^m, 1137 E^f.

nytan: see witan.

oferhogian, despise: U. (0). — I. (2): Laws (2): 453, Gerefa, Inscr., c. 3, § 1^{a, b}.

ofseon, see: U. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 184^b. — I. (0).

ondrædan, fear: U. (3): Bede (2): $72.9^{b} = 52.2$; 326.15 = 250.8. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 552. — I. (8): Greg. (1): 49.18 = 26.23. — Solil. (1): 43.3. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 104^{b} . — Mat. (2): 1.20; 2.22. — Wulf. (2): 248.14; 286.27. — Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 500.15^{m} .

onfon, undertake, begin: U. (0). — I. (5): Bede (2): 334.4, 5 = 254.3. — Wærf. (1): 75.33 = 204 A. — Bened. (1): 14.17 = 26.1. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 10.550. ongietan, understand: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 801.

onginnan [an-, -y-], begin, attempt: U. (977): Bede (121): 24.23 = 0; 28.17 = 12.10; 34.19 = 18.18; 40.19 = 21.22; $44.10^{a, b, c} = 25.25$; 48.23 = 29.22; 48.27 = 29.31; $52.17^{a, b} = 32.5$; 54.9 = 33.8; 56.1 = 42.24; $56.2^{a, b} = 42.25$; 56.16 = 43.9; $62.6^{a, b, c, d}$, $7^{a, b} = 47.14^{a, b, c}$, $15^{a, b, c}$; 62.11 = 47.19; $62.14^{a, b} = 47.23^{b}$; 88.2 = 61.13; 98.16, 17 = 81.16; 106.19 = 86.29; 106.25 = 87.6; $106.27^{a, b} = 87.8$; 112.4 = 91.8; 118.10 = 94.26; $122.30^{a, b} = 99.22^{a, b}$; 122.33 = 99.25; $138.25^{a, b} = 114.13$; 148.30 = 125.22; 154.34 = 129.11; 172.31 = 143.6; 174.12 = 143.19; 176.3 = 144.9; $178.19^{a, b} = 145.31^{a, b}$; 178.28, 30 = 146.8, 9; $180.3^{a, b} = 146.17^{a, b}$; $180.16^{a, b} = 147.3$;

180.29 = 147.17; 182.8 = 147.27; 182.30 = 148.24; 184.24, $25^{a, b} = 149.23^{a, b}$; 184.27 = 149.24; 190.14, 15 = 152.28; 198.4, 5 = 157.5, 6; 200.12 = 158.13; 210.21 = 164.11; 242.25 = 193.3; $246.22, 23, 24 = 195.18, 19, 21; 250.10, 11^{a, b} = 199.19^{a, b}; 256.24 = 203.30; 258.26 = 205.13;$ $276.6^{a} = 214.27^{a}$; $284.2^{a, b} = 219.22$; 286.12 = 221.9; 286.22 = 221.21; 286.23 = 221.22; 288.10= 222.12; 290.14 = 223.19; 294.26 = 226.8; 296.18 = 226.33; 318.12 = 244.5; 326.10 = 250.3; $326.20^{\text{b, c}} = 250.12^{\text{b}}; 328.4, 5 = 250.27^{\text{a, b}}; 342.12 = 259.5; 344.30^{\text{a, b}} = 260.25; 352.21$ $= 264.18; \ 354.33, \ 356.1 = 265.29, \ 30; \ 358.13 = 267.11^{a}; \ 362.29 = 269.33; \ 390.9 = 284.18;$ 394.1 = 286.15; 400.1 = 289.23; 400.16 = 290.7; $402.20^{b, c} = 291.9$; 406.29 = 295.4; 414.3 $= 299.3; \ 426.2 = 305.14; \ 426.8^{b} = 305.22^{a}; \ 428.24 = 307.6; \ 428.29 = 307.11; \ 430.11 = 307.25;$ 438.4 = 311.17; 442.27 = 314.14; $444.5^{a, b} = 314.20$; $450.30^{a, b} = 323.4^{a, b}$; 454.4 = 324.3; 454.15 = 324.15; 462.17 = 329.4; 466.22 = 331.34. — Boeth. (80): 3.6 = 0; 3.22 = 0; $7.17^{a, b}$ = 0; 8.5 = 0; 9.9, 10 = 6.48; 9.16 = 0; 9.19 = 0; 9.29 = 0; 14.5 = 22.55; 19.14 = 0; 21.1 = 0; 25.9 = 34.65; 26.22 = 0; 27.15 = 0; 33.21 = 0; 34.11 = 40.30; 39.16 = 0; 41.8 = 0; 45.5 = 46.65; $45.10^{a, b} = 46.70$; $46.2^{a} = 0$; 47.4 = 0; 48.22 = 0; 51.27 = 0; 52.16 = 51.2; 57.2 = 0; 57.12, 13=55.13, 14; 58.5 = 0; 60.27 = 0; 61.2 = 0; 61.23 = 0; 64.24 = 0; 65.2 = 0; 67.26 = 0; 68.7= 0; 69.17 = 0; 70.2 = 0; 71.4 = 0; 71.10 = 0; 73.22 = 0; 74.16 = 0; 79.8 = 70.100; 82.19 = 0; 89.5 = 0; 91.2 = 78.39; 94.26 = 0; 94.29 = 81.3; 101.19 = 0; 101.26 = 0; 102.11, 12 = 0; $102.15^{a, b} = 0$; 102.18 = 0; 102.25 = 0; 102.26 = 87.33; $102.28^{a, b} = 0$; 104.31 = 89.34; 105.4 $= 0; 107.16^{b} = 0; 111.11 = 0; 112.3 = 0; 112.13 = 0; 115.11 = 0; 116.8 = 0; 116.13 = 0; 124.2$ = 0; 125.31 = 0; 126.25 = 0; 127.2 = 107.5; 127.33 = 108.20; 135.23 = 0; 137.14 = 0; 141.10= 0; 147.2 = 0. -Greg. (15): 7.18 = 0; 25.20 = 6.9; 67.3, $4^a = 40.25$, 26; 197.10 = 146.31; 213.8 = 160.2; 225.25, 227.1 = 170.25; $227.11^{a, b} = 172.3$; 333.1 = 256.17; $341.4^{a, b} = 262.26$; 445.27 = 374.12; 447.4 = 374.22. — Oros. (29): 1.3 = 0; 5.12 = 0; 28.27 = 29.26; 52.3 = 0; $56.32^{a, b} = 59.1$; 60.18 = 61.19; 60.30, 31 = 0; 62.2 = 63.4; 74.9 = 75.9; 94.34 = 0; 106.6 = 0; 110.6 = 111.6; 116.28 = 0; 124.30 = 125.27; 142.1 = 141.33; 144.30 = 145.30; $160.9^{a, b} = 0$; 164.25 = 0; 182.7 = 183.6; 204.24 = 205.24; 218.14 = 219.15; 222.25 = 223.26; 232.17 = 233.17; 252.11 = 0; 262.16 = 263.17; 288.1 = 0. — Solil. (1): 10.6. — Pr. Ps. (2): 3.4 = 3.6; 31.3. — Chron. (6): 20^m, 597 A; 28^m, 654 A; 38^m, 685 A; 130^b, 995 F^h; 135^m, 1003 E; 175^t, 1052 D^a. — Laws (1): 306, I Cnut, c. 26, § 1. — Werf. (225): $2.20^{a, b} = 0$; $7.34 = 153 \text{ A}^1$; $11.14 = 153 \text{ C}^2$; $11.27^{a, b} = 156 A^1; 14.14 = 157 B; 14.27, 28, 15.1 = 157 C^{1, 2}; 16.15 = 160 A; 17.27 = 160 B^1;$ $27.3 = 165 \text{ C}^2$; $28.30^{\text{a, b}} = 168 \text{ B}$; 31.13 = 169 A; $32.18 = 169 \text{ B}^2$; 36.18, 19, $20 = 173 \text{ A}^{1,2}$; $37.6 = 173 \text{ A}^5$; 38.4 = 173 B; $38.12 = 173 \text{ C}^2$; $42.28 = 177 \text{ A}^2$; 47.3, $4 = 180 \text{ C}^{1, 2}$; 53.24 = 188 A; $58.21, 22 = 189 \, \mathrm{C}^{3, 4}; 58.33 = 189 \, \mathrm{C}^{5}; 64.2, 3 = 193 \, \mathrm{C}^{1}; 64.23, 24^{a, b} = 193 \, \mathrm{C}^{2}, \mathrm{D}^{1}; 64.34, 65.1$ $= 196 \text{ A}^{1,2}$; $65.10 = 196 \text{ A}^{3}$; $68.27 = 197 \text{ B}^{2}$; $69.1 = 197 \text{ B}^{3}$; 69.18 = 197 C; 72.29 = 201 A; $73.21 = 201 \text{ B}^1$; $73.25 = 201 \text{ B}^2$; $74.4 = 201 \text{ B}^4$; 75.6 = 201 C; $84.10 = 209 \text{ A}^4$; $84.18 = 209 \text{ A}^5$; $88.27 = 212 \,\mathrm{C}^2$; 89.3, $4 = 212 \,\mathrm{C}^4$; $89.18 = 213 \,\mathrm{A}$; $97.10 = \mathrm{B}$. $128 \,\mathrm{A}$; $99.7 = \mathrm{B}$. $130 \,\mathrm{A}^1$; 100.19^{a} , b = B. 132 B¹; 102.4 = B. 132 C; 104.11 = B. 136 A; 104.27^{a, b} = B. 136 A²; 104.29 = B. 136 A³; $106.33 = B. 138 A; 111.2^{b}, 3^{a} = B. 140 C^{2, 3}; 111.7 = B. 140 C^{5}; 111.20 = B. 142 A; 113.11$ = B. 144 A^3 ; $114.8 = B. 144 \text{ C}^3$; 115.33 = B. 146 B; 117.13, $14 = B. 148 \text{ A}^{1,2}$; 118.28, 29= B. 148 $B^{3, 4}$; 123.31^{a, b} = B. 154 $C^{2, 3}$; 126.8, 9 = B. 156 C; 130.4^{a, b} = B. 160 $A^{1, 2}$; 130.28 = B. 160 C^1 ; 143.10 = B. 170 C; 144.5, 6 = B. $172 \text{ A}^{1, 2}$; $144.13^{\text{a, b}} = \text{B}$. $172 \text{ A}^{3, 4}$; $145.17^{\text{a, b}}$ = B. $172 \, \mathrm{C}^{2,3}$; 156.15, $16 = \mathrm{B}$. $182 \, \mathrm{C}^{1,2}$; $163.19 = \mathrm{B}$. $190 \, \mathrm{B}^2$; $164.2^{\mathrm{a, b}} = \mathrm{B}$. $190 \, \mathrm{B}^6$; 164.14= B. 190 C¹; 164.18 = B. 190 C⁴; 165.17 = B. 192 B¹; $165.20^{a, b} = B.$ 192 B²; $168.9^{a, b} = B.$ 194 D, 196 A¹; 168.22 = B. 196 A²; 181.1, 2, 3 = 217 C^{2, 3, 4}; $183.11^{a, b}$, $12^{a, b} = 221$ C^{1, 2, 3}; $184.5 = 224 \text{ B}^3$; $184.11 = 224 \text{ B}^4$; $184.16 = 224 \text{ C}^1$; $184.18 = 224 \text{ C}^2$; $185.2 = 225 \text{ A}^2$; $185.7^{\text{a. b}}$ $= 225 \text{ A}^{3, 4}$; 187.22 = 228 C; $188.24 = 229 \text{ B}^2$; 189.9 = 229 C; 192.22 = 233 D; $195.4 = 237 \text{ B}^3$; $200.12, 13 = 244 \text{ C}^{2, 3}; 200.20^{\text{a, b}} = 244 \text{ D}; 200.27 = 245 \text{ A}^{1}; 200.29^{\text{a, b}} = 245 \text{ A}^{2}; 206.28$ $= 252 \text{ C}^2$; $207.3 = 252 \text{ C}^3$; $207.6 = 252 \text{ C}^5$; $207.10 = 252 \text{ C}^6$; $211.12 = 257 \text{ B}^1$; $211.15 = 257 \text{ B}^2$; $211.16 = 257 \text{ C}^1$; 213.22 = 260 D; 214.17 = 261 B; $216.14^{\text{a, b}} = 264 \text{ B}^{\text{1, 2}}$; $216.21^{\text{a, b}}$, $22 = 264 \text{ B}^{\text{1, 2}}$ $C^{1, 2, 3}$; $219.6 = 268 A^1$; $219.10^{a, b} = 268 A^3$; $221.23 = 269 D^1$; 221.26, $27 = 272 A^{1, 2}$; 222.22, $28 = 272 \text{ B}^3$, C^2 ; $224.25 = 273 \text{ C}^2$; $228.18 = 280 \text{ B}^1$; $229.1 = 280 \text{ B}^2$; 229.20 = 281 A; 232.14 B^2 = 284 B; 234.12 = 285 C¹; 237.2 = 289 A²; $237.23^{a, b}$, 24 = 289 C^{1, 2}; 238.4, 5 = 289 C^{3, 4}; $240.12 = 293 \text{ B}^1$; $242.14 = 296 \text{ C}^2$; $243.4 = 297 \text{ A}^1$; $244.8 = 297 \text{ C}^2$; $245.6 = 300 \text{ B}^2$; 250.28= 308 A²; 251.18 = 308 B; 255.1 = 312 B^{1, 2}; 255.11 = 312 B³; 266.28 = 325 B; $276.23^{a, b}$ = $337 \text{ A}^{1,2}$; $278.8^{a, b} = 340 \text{ A}^{1,2}$; $278.11 = 340 \text{ A}^{3}$; 279.9 = 340 C; 282.3 = 341 D; 285.9= 345 C; 286.22, 23 = 348 $B^{2,3}$; 288.13^{a, b} = 349 $A^{2,3}$; 289.15^{a, b} = 349 C^{4} ; 290.7 = 349 D^{2} ; $290.9 = 352 \text{ A}^{1}$; 292.14 = 353 A; 293.11 = 353 C; 298.18 = 360 C; 298.29 = 360 D; 299.4 C= 361 A; $308.20 = 372 \text{ C}^2$; $308.22 = 372 \text{ C}^3$; $309.1 = 372 \text{ C}^4$; 312.3, $4 = 376 \text{ C}^{1, 2}$; 314.8 = 380 A^2 ; $317.2 = 381 C^1$; 320.12 = 385 B; $321.27 = 388 B^2$; $322.4 = 388 B^3$; $324.20 = 392 A^1$; 324.22, $23^{a, b} = 392 \text{ A}^{3, 4}$; $325.2 = 392 \text{ A}^{8}$; $325.7 = 392 \text{ B}^{1}$; $325.8^{a, b} = 392 \text{ B}^{2, 3}$; $325.29 = 392 \text{ C}^{2}$;

325.30, $31^{a, b, c, d} = 392 \text{ C}^{3, 4, 5, 6, 7}$; 326.12^{b} , $13 = 393 \text{ A}^{2}$; 331.5 = 397 D; 341.31 = 416 A; $342.9^{a, b} = 416 \text{ C}^1$; $343.34 = 417 \text{ C}^3$; $344.23^a = 420 \text{ B}^1$; 345.18, $19^{a, b} = 421 \text{ A}^{3, 4}$; $345.20^{a, b}$ $=421 \text{ A}^5$. — Bl. Hom. (24): $55.10^{a, b}$; 105.6; 113.15, $31^{a, b, c}$; 143.8; 149.29, 33; 151.1, 4; $157.18; 165.22; 187.28; 199.19^a; 201.22; 221.6, 8, 12^{a, b}, 18; 229.22; 239.19. — Pr. Gu. (10): II.$ 100, 105; III. 17, 34; IV. 27, 34; XIV. 16; XVII. 13; XX. 33, 45. — Mart. (21): 10.24; 26.23; 34.12; 70.16, 24; 80.22; 82.5; 88.7; 92.27; 98.13; 106.4°, 25; 120.11; 140.22; 152.27, 28; 154.15; 170.6; 178.15; 206.22; 214.6. — Ælf. Hom. (32): I. 48^t, 50^t, 62^b, 380^m, 414^t ^{2, 3, 4, 5}, 428^t ², 534^b; II. 8^t, 32^b ², 130^m ², 138^b, 140^m, 170^b, 294^b, 296^t ^{1, 2}, 298^b, 300^m ³, 300^b, 414^b, 472^b, 488^b ⁸, $494^{\text{m'}}$ 1. 2, 494^{b} , 496^{t} , $502^{\text{b'}}$ 2, $514^{\text{b'}}$ 2, $518^{\text{t'}}$ 2. — Ælf. L. S. (47): 32.118; 34.153; 118.48, 49, 51; 124.118; 252.247; 426.199; 488.27; 520.546; XXIII B. 65, 190, 234, 243, 249, 265, 275, 322, 323^{a, b}, 326, 402, 405, 407, 410, 411, 420, 427, 428^{a, b}, 508, 532, 615, 687^{a, b}, 723, 736, 748, 767, 777; XXVIII. 92; XXXI. 157, 1365; XXXIII. 178, 202, 239, 311. — Ælf. Hept. (2): Gen. 4.26; Deut. 3.23a. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.35b 2. Gosp. (55): Mat. (12): 4.2, $17^{a, b}$; 11.7^{a} , 20; 12.1; 16.21^{a} ; 20.11; 22.15; $26.37^{a, b}$; 27.3; — Mk. (27): 1.45^{a, b}; 2.23; 4.1; 5.18, 20; 6.2, 34; 8.11, 31^a, 32; 10.32, 47^{a, b}; 11.15; 12.1; 13.5; 14.19^{a, b}, $33^{a, b}$, 69, $71^{a, b}$, 72; 15.8, 18; — L. (16): 3.8; 4.21; 7.15, 38; 11.38^{a, b}, 53^{a, b}, 54; 13.26; 14.18; 15.24, 28; 19.37, 45; 20.9. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (17): 10.62, 100, 159, 566, 567; 13.102b, 103, 113, 259; 18.152, 160, 225, 271, 311, 330, 331, 345. — Wulf. (23): 9.5^a, b; 44.26, 27; 141.3^{a, b}, 20; 191.9; 206.19; 210.15; 213.11, 13; 217.29; 222.2; 236.2, 3; 237.20; 250.17; 255.9; 262.11, 12; 277.18^{a, b}. — Lace. (3): 14.27; 60.31; 63.36. — Minor Prose (14): Alex. (5): 535, 536, 640, 641, 728; — A pol. (6): 23.35 = 42^t; 27.12^b, 14, 28 = 45; 31.28^{a, b} = 48^b; — Chad.(1): 1; — Neot (2): 58, 59. — Beow. (19): 101; 244; 872; 873; 874; 1607; 1985; 2045; 2046; 2112; 2211; 2312; 2313; 2702; 2713^{a, b}; 2791; 2879; 3144. — Gen. (58): 21; 30; 31^{a, b}; 77; 259; 262; 275; 294; 298; 408; 442; 495; 590; 592; 649; 650; 706; 717; 863; 966; 995; 1057; 1118; 1132; 1171; 1228; 1239; 1249; 1302; 1316; 1355; 1413; 1498; 1556; 1557; 1594; 1681; 1823; 1880^{a, b}; 1881^{a, b}; 1899; 2238; 2241; 2282; 2405; 2635; 2716; 2750; 2811; 2846; 2860; 2866; 2887; 2901^{a, b}. — Ex. (1): 584. — Dan. (7): 49; 170; 190; 468; 539; 599; 750. — Chr. (2): 1363; 1414. — El. (21): 157; 199; 226; 287; 303; 306; 311; 385; 559; 560; 570; 697; 828; 849; 900; 1067; 1093; 1148; 1156; 1163; 1205. — Ju. (14): 27; 270; 271; 291; 298; 346; 537^{a, b}; 538; 595; 630; 631; 638a b. — Gu. (16): 73; 261; 533; 542; 699; 975; 983; 1035; 1083; 1088; $1089^{a,b}$; 1119; 1130; 1175; 1214. — And. (20): 13; 353; 428; 450; 469; 671; 764; 850; 1022; 1127; 1128; 1170; 1315; 1342; 1419; 1556; 1607; 1608; 1698^{a, b}. — Met. (12): 1.60; 7.1; 8.3; 13.29^{a, b}; 14.12; 25.50, 69; 26.73, 80, 84; 28.77. - Ps. (25): 68.27; 75.5; 76.1, 6, 9, 10; 77.2, 11; 97.8^a;101.6; 104.21, 24; 105.12, 14, 17^{a, b}, 27^{a, b}; 106.36; 118.145, 148, 161; 128.2; 138.16; 146.7. Rid. (5): 10.4; 23.8; 29.11; 32.9; 55.10. — Jud. (6): 42; 81; 270°, b; 271; 281. — Ph. (3): 188; 189; 225. — Cal. (1): 73. — Charms (2): VI. 13, 14. — Doomsday (1): 97. — D. R. (6): 20; 27; 65; 67; 73; 116. — Fallen Angels (2): 78; 248. — F. I. (4): 33; 44; 60; 76. — Gnomic Sayings (1): 52. — Har. (2): 279; 280. — Höl. (2): 2; 36. — H. L. (1): 25. — Maldon (8): 12; 17; 86; 90; 91; 228; 261; 265. — Pharao (1): 3. — Prayers (1): III. 16. — S. & S. (1): 451. — Song of Runes (2): 92^{a, b}. — Versuchung (2): 67^{a, b}. — Wald. A (1): 27. — W. C. (1): 11. — I. (37): Boeth. (1): 127.23 = 108.16. — Greg. (1): 423.8 = 344.29. — Pr. Ps. (1): 48.7. — Chron. (2): 30^{t} , $656 E^{a}$; 147^{t} , $1016 E^{a}$. — Bened. (1): 62.5 = 116.9. — Ælf. Hom. (13): I. 50^{m} ; 140^{m} , 150^{t} , 314^{t} , 448^{b} ; II. 78^{b} , 128^{b} , 160^{t} , 178^{b} , 486^{b} , 488^{b} , 488^{b} , 488^{b} , .— Ælf. L. S. (4): 228.154; 328.112; 538.820; XXVI. 45. — Ælf. Hept. (3): Jos. 3.7, 16; Judges 13.5. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (5): Ælf. Gr. (3): 212.3, 4, 7; — Napier's Ad. to Th. (2): 102.31b, 37b 2. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 12.143, 146. — Wulf. (3): 195.1; 199.8; 200.1. — Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 476.25.

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ongynnan: see onginnan.
onmedan, presume, undertake: U. (1): Rid. (1): 56.16. — I. (0).
onscunian, shun, fear: U. (0). —I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 346<sup>t3</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 8.26.
reccan, care (for): U. (0). —I. (2): Laws (1): 40, Ælfred, Intr., c. 40. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 440.122.
secan, seek: U. (5): Bl. Hom. (1): 167.2. — Gosp. (2): Mat. (1): 12.46; — L. (1): 20.19. — Wald.
A. (2): 18; 20. — I. (11): Pr. Ps. (2): 34.4; 36.32. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 2.15. — Gosp.
(8): L. (1): 6.19; — J. (7): 5.18; 7.19, 20, 25, 30; 8.37, 40.
sellan [-ie-, -y-], grant, allow: U. (1): Beow. (1): 3056. — I. (1): Schöpf. (1): 30.
seon, see: U. (2): Rid. (2): 14.1; 53.1. — I. (0).
siellan: see sellan.
sirwan, plot: U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 31.34 = 48<sup>b2</sup>.
smeagan [smean], think upon, meditate: U. (0). — I. (3): Greg. (1): 55.22 = 32.10. — Pr. Ps. (1): 18.12 = 0. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 146<sup>t</sup>.
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smean: see smeagan.
swerian, swear: U. (0). — I. (2): Chron. (2): 268<sup>m</sup>, 1140 E<sup>f, g</sup>.
syllan: see sellan.
tacan, take: U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 263<sup>m</sup>, 1135 E.
tæcan, teach, direct: U. (0). — I. (2): Greg. (1): 165.10 = 120.12. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 216<sup>b</sup>.
tellan, account, consider: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 158b.
teohhian: see tih(h)ian.
teolian: see tilian.
teon, accuse: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 102, Ine B, c. 30.
tih(h)ian [tioh(h)-, teoh(h)-], think, determine: U. (0). — I. (8): Boeth. (3): 51.6 = 51.15^{b};
       116.12 = 0; 143.19 = 0. — Greg. (3): 305.4 = 232.12; 305.5 = 232.13; 445.8 = 372.20. —
       Solil. (1): 36.12 = 0. — Pr. Ps. (1): 39.16 = 39.15.
tiohhian: see tih(h)ian.
tilian [teolian], strive after, attempt: U. (8): Bede (1): 230.26 = 175.23. — Greg. (1): 233.22 =
       176.20. — Pr. Ps. (1):25.5. — Bl. Hom. (2): 165.31<sup>a, b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 403<sup>a</sup>.
       — Met. (2): 10.22; 11.79. — I. (28): Bede (4): 210.32 = 164.23; 372.12 = 275.2; 372.14 = 275.2
       275.4; 486.13 = 8.17. — Boeth. (5): 23.1^b = 32.22; 31.16 = 37.60; 43.15 = 45.33; 133.14 = 37.60;
       0; 135.5 = 114.180. - Greg. (11): 61.18 = 36.20; 273.3^a = 206.2; 363.1 = 280.19; 363.10 = 280.19; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 363.10 = 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36.20; 36
       282.1;393.26 = 310.24;419.24 = 342.8;423.2,3 = 344.26;453.23 = 384.18;453.26 = 384.21;
       463.5 = 398.11. - Pr. Ps. (4): 25.3; 34.14^{a, b}; 48.12. - Bl. Hom. (1): 219.18. - Mart.
        (1): 104.11. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 686. — Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 131.
tweogan [tweon], doubt: U. (1): Bede (1): 308.26 = 238.7. - I. (0).
\sigma dealti(g) an [smeagan and —], think upon, meditate: U. (1): Greg. (1): \sigma = 32.10. — I. (0).
Tencan, think: U. (92): Bede (2): 36.8 = 19.11; 456.2 = 324.32. — Boeth. (3): 93.31 = 80.99;
       93.32 = 80.100; 103.20 = 0. — Greg. (2): 55.12 = 32.2; 343.21 = 266.1. — Oros. (17): 44.32
        =45.30; 54.21 = 55.18; 78.30 = 79.26; 132.12 = 0; 150.12 = 151.7; 182.25 = 183.23; 200.17
        =201.9;212.3=213.5;230.2=0;236.12=0;242.6=0;258.15=259.14;258.29=0;282.9
        = 283.8; 286.6 = 0; 292.3 = 293.2; 292.29 = 293.29. — Werf. (1): 239.6 = 292. B^2. —
       Bened. (1): 23.3 = 46.4. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 1059. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 48.17^{\circ}.
       — L. (1): 1.1. — Minor Prose (2): Benediktiner-Offizium (1): 62.24; — Cato (1): 46. —
       Beow. (8): 355; 448; 541; 739; 800; 801; 964; 1535. — Gen. (5): 401; 1274; 1275; 2437; 2891.
       -Ex. (1): 51. -Ju. (1): 637. -El. (1): 296. -Gu. (4): 260; 274; 277; 298. -And. (5):
       150; 151; 152; 213; 693. — Met. (1): 1.12. — Ps. (17): 61.4; 63.3; 88.22, 30; 93.20<sup>a, b</sup>;
       102.13; 107.8; 118.91, 107, 109; 131.15; 141.3; 149.7<sup>a, b</sup>, 8<sup>a, b</sup>. — Jud. (2): 59; 208. —
       Charms (2): V. C. 16, 17. — D. R. (1): 121. — Fallen Angels (5): 183; 184; 208; 209; 364.
       — Gnomic Sayings (1): 116 (Exeter). — L. P. (1): II. 25. — Maldon (3): 258; 316; 319. — Seaf. (1): 52. — Wald. B. (2): 5; 7. — I. (34): Boeth. (1): 53.11 = 0. — Greg. (3): 11.14
       = 32.6; 433.31^{b} = 360.1; 447.17 = 376.5. — Oros. (5): 56.22 = 0; 212.29 = 0; 282.9^{a} = 0
       283.8; 292.28^{b} = 293.29; 296.4 = 297.6. — Solil. (1): 42.23 = 0. — Chron. (5): 190^{b}, 1065
       C<sup>b</sup>; 222<sup>b</sup>, 1087 E<sup>a</sup>; 224<sup>m</sup>, 1087 E<sup>c</sup>; 229<sup>b</sup>, 1094 E<sup>d</sup>; 233<sup>m</sup>, 1097 E<sup>a</sup>. — Laws (1): 206, IV
       Edgar, c. 1, § 2. — Wærf. (3): 119.9 = B. 148 C^3; 252.4 = 308 C; 253.7 = 309 A^2. — Ælf.
       Hom. (1): II. 454^{\rm b}<sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (5): Gen. 27.41, 42^{\rm b}; 37.18, 21; 48.17^{\rm a}. — A. S.
       Hom. & L. S. I (2): 1.261; 5.30. — Ps. (1): 118.59. — Charms (6): V. C. 4<sup>a, b, c, d</sup>,
underfon, undertake: U. (0). — I. (6): Greg. (4): 77.4 = 50.6; 161.12 = 116.25; 293.3^{a, b} =
       220.26. - Werf. (2): 113.22 = B. 144 C; 325.10 = 392 B<sup>4</sup> (or final?).
understandan [-o-], understand: U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 19.19. wandian, hesitate, be neglectful: U. (0). — I. (6): Chron. (1): 178<sup>t</sup>, 1052 E<sup>b</sup>. — Laws (1): 138,
       I Eadweard, Prol. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 554<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXXI. 699, 1036. —
       Wulf. (1): 191.6.
warenian, shun: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 474.20 = 348.9.
weddian, contract, agree: U. (0). — I. (1): L. (1): 22.5.
wenan, hope, expect: U. (3): Beow. (1): 934. — Met. (1): 1.83. — Ps. (1): 123.4. — I. (1):
       Chron. (1): 267<sup>b</sup>, 1140 E<sup>e</sup>.
wi(e)rnan, desist from: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 381.6 = 296.9.
wil(1)nian, desire: U. (45): Bede (14): 182.17 = 148.9; 208.9 = 162.20; 218.6 = 167.31; 234.1a
       = 176.29; 274.3 = 213.21; 294.23 = 226.6; 324.10 = 246.33; 358.12 = 267.9; 404.20 = 246.33
       292.15; 406.14 = 294.10^a; 418.28 = 301.26; 420.5^{a, b} = 302.2^{a, b}; 456.8 = 325.5; — Boeth. (9):
       5.1 = 0; 14.19 = 23.22; 31.24 = 38.66; 52.19 = 52.5; 52.20 = 0; 118.10 = 0; 118.11, 12 = 0;
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135.24 = 115.2, — Greq. (14): 11.13 = 32.5; 17.19 = 246.11; 27.5 = 6.13; 43.1 = 20.25; 49.16

= 26.21; 55.14 = 32.5; 63.20 = 38.15; $101.22^{a, b} = 70.10$; 129.5 = 90.15; 143.6 = 102.12; 147.22 = 106.21; 149.7 = 108.1; 241.3 = 182.5. — Solil. (1): 13.1. — Pr. Ps. (2): 13.9 = 13.4; 14.6 = 14.5. — Elf. Elf.

witan [nytan], know [know not]: U. (0). — I. (7): Oros. (1): 220.9 = 0. — Chron. (1): 224^m , 1087 E^d. — Laws (2): 166, V Æthelstan, Prol., 3; 180, VI Æthelstan, c. 8, § 8. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. $506^b.$ — Gen. (1): 243. — Ju. (1): 557.

wiöcweðan, refuse: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. $516^{\rm b}$. wiðsacan, refuse: U. (0): — I. (1): Greg. (1): 383.19 = 298.17. wunian, use, be wont: U. (1): Bede (1): 230.23 = 175.19. — I. (0). yldan: see ieldan.

2. With Passive Verbs.

Given in full in Chapter II, pp. 59-60.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

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aginnan [-y-], begin (1): L. (1): 12.45^{\rm d}. geearnian, earn, merit (2): Bede (2): 372.34 = 275.21; 406.16 = 294.10^{\rm b}. gewilnian, desire, wish (2): Wærf. (1): 204.4 = 249 A¹. — Mat. (1): 20.28^{\rm b}. habban, have (1): L. (1): 12.50. onginnan [-y-], begin (15): Bede (3): 88.3 = 61.14; 128.12 = 108.18^{\rm a}; 358.14 = 267.11^{\rm b}. — Wærf. (11): 48.6 = 181 B; 74.3 = 201 B³; 160.12 = B. 186 C²; 175.16 = B. 202 A¹; 201.6 = 245 A⁴; 206.14 = 252 B¹; 206.24 = 252 B³; 222.13 = 272 B¹; 222.27 = 272 C¹; 223.7 = 272 C³; 284.23 = 345 B. — Mk. (1): 13.4. wil(1)nian, desire, wish (2): Bede (1): 234.1^{\rm b} = 176.30. — Greg. (1): 302.18 = 230.1. witan, know (1): Bede (1): 402.24 = 291.13.
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2. With Passive Verbs.

Given in full in Chapter II, p. 72.

III. Other Substantival Uses of the Infinitive.

Given in full in Chapter III, pp. 73-78.

IV. The Predicative Infinitive with Auxiliary Verbs.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

A few illustrative examples of the uninflected predicative infinitive with auxiliary verbs are given in Chapter IV, p. 80; and the examples of the inflected predicative infinitive are given in full in the same chapter, pp. 80–82.

B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

1. The Infinitive Made Up of "Beon" + a Past Participle.

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cunnan, know (1): Greg. (1): 113.22 = 78.26. dear(r), dare (2): Warf. (2): 132.17 = B. 162 A^3; 232.7 = 284 A.
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gedafenian, be fitting (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 743. gewunian, be wont (4): Bede (3): 172.28 = 143.3; 270.33 = 212.9; 474.14 = 348.4. — Wærf. (1): 183.17 = 224 A.

magan, may, can (269): Bede (36): 20.14 = 243.2; 44.34 = 27.12; 50.7 = 30.14; 68.2 = 50.2; 76.2 = 54.17; 76.26 = 55.4; 78.8 = 55.20; 80.28 = 57.18; 90.23 = 70.22; 92.6 = 71.13; 92.11=71.19; 114.5, 6=92.9, 10; 120.23=98.10; 186.25=151.3; 230.11=175.5; 250.12=199.20; 254.21 = 202.28; 254.32 = 203.5; 288.18 = 222.20; 296.30 = 227.15; 300.28, 29 = 230.6, 7° ; 308.12 = 237.25; 320.26 = 245.19; 328.30 = 251.17; 328.34 = 251.19; 334.18^b = 254.21; 336.20= 255.22; 350.17 = 263.14; 366.18 = 271.26; 388.19 = 283.26; 400.26 = 290.16; 428.18=306.31; 442.4 = 313.21; 472.10 = 346.31. — Boeth. (3): 15.17 = 0; 38.10 = 42.51; 100.31= 85.96. - Greg. (6): 85.20 = 56.27; 87.20 = 58.18; 147.14 = 106.13; 153.23 = 112.2; 225.22= 170.21; 393.10 = 310.11. — Oros. (1): 238.4 = 0. — Chron. (1): 229^{t} , 1094 Eb. — Wærf. (103): 13.7, 8 = 156 C²; 40.17 = 176 B; 54.30 = 188 B³; 55.2 = 188 B⁴; 60.20 = 192 B²; $60.33^{b} = 192 \text{ B}^{4}$; 65.19 = 196 B; 78.1 = 204 C; $84.2 = 209 \text{ A}^{2}$; $90.23 = 213 \text{ B}^{2}$; $90.26 = 213 \text{ C}^{1}$; $91.1 = 213 \text{ C}^2$; $100.21 = \text{B. } 132 \text{ B}^2$; $111.2^a = \text{B. } 140 \text{ C}^1$; $118.25 = \text{B. } 148 \text{ B}^2$; $123.4 = \text{B. } 154 \text{ A}^2$; $129.5 = B. 158 D^{1}; 131.27 = B. 160 D; 134.28 = B. 164 A; 139.24 = B. 166 D^{1}; 139.26 = B.$ 166 D²; 145.11 = B. 172 C¹; 163.13 = B. 190 B¹; 164.16^{a, b} = B. 190 C^{2, 3}; 174.8, 9 = B. 200 B; $177.8 = B. 204 A^{1}$; $184.3 = 224 B^{2}$; 191.18 = 233 A; $195.5 = 237 B^{4}$; 210.21 = 257 A; $213.1 B^{2}$ $= 260 \text{ B}^{1}$; $213.8 = 260 \text{ C}^{1}$; $219.9 = 268 \text{ A}^{2}$; $220.25 = 269 \text{ A}^{3}$; 223.25 = 273 A; 226.14 = 276 C; 231.22 = 284 A; 238.8 = 289 D; $239.27^{\circ} = 292 \text{ C}^{\circ}$; 247.10 = 301 C; 256.23 = 313 C; 263.8 = 313 C; $263.8 = 313 \text{ C$ $=321 \text{ A}^3$; 264.7 = 321 B; 268.12 = 328 B; $269.15^{a, b}$, $16^a = 329 \text{ A}^{1, 2, 3}$; $270.12 = 329 \text{ B}^2$; $270.17 = 329 \text{ B}^3$; $290.18 = 352 \text{ A}^2$; $291.21 = 352 \text{ C}^2$; $294.26 = 356 \text{ C}^1$; 295.10 = 356 D; 295.16 = 356 $=357 \text{ A}^1$; $301.24 = 364 \text{ C}^1$; $303.8 = 365 \text{ B}^3$; 303.22 = 365 D; 304.1, $3 = 368 \text{ A}^{1, 2}$; $304.26^{a, b}$ $=368 B^{1,2}; 312.6 = 376 C^{3}; 313.22 = 377 B; 314.19 = 380 B^{1}; 314.28 = 380 B^{3}; 315.1^{6} = 380 B^{6};$ 315.19 = 380 D; $318.5 = 384 \text{ A}^1$; 319.7 = 384 C; $320.17 = 385 \text{ B}^2$; $321.15 = 388 \text{ B}^1$; 321.23 B^2 ; $321.15 = 388 \text{ B}^2$; $321.15 = 388 \text{ B}^2$; $321.23 \text{$ = 388 B^2 ; $322.14 = 388 \text{ C}^1$; $322.25^a = 388 \text{ D}^1$; $323.6 = 389 \text{ A}^1$; $323.12 = 389 \text{ B}^1$; $326.12^a = 393 \text{ B}^2$; $326.12^a = 389 \text{ B}^2$; 326.12 A^1 ; $327.12 = 393 \text{ C}^2$; $327.14 = 393 \text{ C}^3$; $328.9 = 396 \text{ A}^2$; 328.10, $11 = 396 \text{ B}^1$; $328.13 = 396 \text{ B}^2$; $330.14 = 396 \text{ B}^3$; $333.12 = 401 \text{ A}^1$; $336.5 = 404 \text{ C}^4$; $336.6 = 404 \text{ C}^5$; 339.13^{b} , $14^{\text{b}} = 412 \text{ A}^1$; $340.27^{a} = 413 \text{ A}^{1}$; 340.27^{b} , $28 = 413\text{A}^{3}$; 341.1 = 413 B; $344.2^{a, b} = 417 \text{ C}^{4}$; $344.15 = 420 \text{ A}^{3}$; $344.23^{b} = 420 \text{ B}^{2}$; $345.17^{a} = 421 \text{ A}^{2}$; $348.31 = 428 \text{ A}^{1}$; $348.33 = 428 \text{ A}^{2}$; $348.34 = 428 \text{ A}^{3}$. Bened. (4): 5.16 = 10.26; 18.19 = 36.8; 65.1 = 122.14; 136.27 = 0. — Bl. Hom. (6): 19.22; 69.7^b, 8; 73.15^b; 111.1; 161.20. — Pr. Gu. (1): V. 266. — Mart. (4): 74.13, 14; 110.21; 176.25. — Ælf. Hom. (44): I. 26^m, 48^b, 94^b, 130^b, 176^t, 236^t, 280^t, 282^m, 286^t, 286^b, 292^b, 314^b, 320^b, 342^{t} , 346^{b} , 500^{t} , 544^{t} 1, 2, 552^{m} , 582^{b} 3, 588^{b} 3, 594^{t} 2; II. 28^{t} , 48^{t} , 120^{t} , 204^{b} , 234^{t} , 236^{m} , 268^{t} , 284^{b} , 336^{m} , 344^{b} 3, 362^{t} , 366^{b} , 388^{t} 2, 3, 406^{b} , 410^{b} , 428^{t} 2, 560^{m} , 562^{b} 2, 576^{m} , 590^{b} , 606^{b} . — Ælf. L. S. (15): 22.207; 98.137; 174.85; 196.31; 198.68; 202.119; 214.71; 282.287; 286.44; 524.604; XXIII B. 722; XXXI. 735, 736, 1213; XXXV. 10. — Ælf. Hept. (2): Deut. 3.23°; — Lev. 10.8. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (17): Ælf. Gr. (15): 5.12, 12.17, 99.2, 107.10; 130.2, 4; $223.2, 242.11, 246.4^{\circ}, 250.17, 257.17, 267.15, 273.9, 278.1, 280.1;$ — Ælf. Int. (2): 160; 336. — Gosp. (11): Mat. (4): 5.14; 26.9^{a, b}, 54^a; — Mk. (3): 10.38; 14.5^{á, b}; — L. (1): 8.43; — J. (3): $3.4^{a, b}$; 10.35. - A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 8.72, -A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (3): <math>10.207; 11.54; 13.236. — Wulf. (1): 96.8. — Læce. (4): 48.5; 52.15; 56.30; 83.40. — Minor Prose (6): Alex. (3): 34, $55^{a, b}$; — A pol. (1): 23.32; — Neot (2): $9^{a, b}$.

mot, may, must (24): Bede (7): $70.2 = 50.28^{\rm b}$; 72.11 = 52.6; 74.16 = 53.30; 182.31 = 148.26; 290.2 = 223.7; 290.24 = 223.28; 374.3 = 275.23. — Boeth. (1): $121.19^{\rm b} = 103.93^{\rm b}$. — Greg. (1): 171.18 = 126.13. — Wærf. (3): 35.19 = 172 B³; 112.25 = B.144 A¹; 276.9 = 336 C². — Bl. Hom. (1): 185.4. — Ælf. Hom. (6): I. $56^{\rm t}$, $292^{\rm b}$, $414^{\rm b}$ ², $546^{\rm b}$; II. $46^{\rm b}$, $602^{\rm t}$. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 270.142. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): $246.4^{\rm b}$. — Wulf. (3): 32.9, 10; 228.22.

nyllan: see willan.

sculan, shall (275): Bede (37): 18.16 = 219.10; $44.28^{a, b} = 27.5$; $68.28 = 50.28^{a}$; $74.1^{a, b} = 53.4$; 74.11 = 53.26; 74.23 = 54.7; 76.5 = 54.19; 78.2 = 55.15; 78.7 = 55.19; 78.29 = 56.6; 80.21 = 57.13; $80.26^{a, b} = 57.17$; 84.9; = 59.10; 96.28, 29 = 80.18, 19; $110.32^{a, b} = 90.34^{a, b}$; 156.10 = 129.23; 190.16 = 152.29; 194.30 = 155.28; 230.9 = 175.3; 246.8 = 194.30; 270.8 = 211.14; 288.22 = 222.24; 308.20 = 238.2; 350.15 = 263.12; $354.30^{a, b} = 265.26$; 374.8 = 275.30; 380.4 = 278.23; 396.20 = 288.9; $396.28^{b} = 288.16^{b}$; 442.23 = 314.12; 468.22 = 333.2. — Boeth. (3): 36.32 = 41.34; 43.27 = 45.40; 95.15 = 81.12. — Greg. (25): 77.6 = 250.8; $77.9^{a, b} = 50.11$; 77.11 = 50.13; 81.20, 21 = 54.14; 83.8 = 54.28; 83.22, 24 = 56.10; 91.17 = 62.5; 93.4 = 62.17; 93.7 = 62.20; 107.10 = 74.6; 117.20 = 82.10; 137.13 = 98.14; 161.24, 25 = 118.11; 169.1 = 124.3; 171.15 = 126.10; 251.1 = 190.1; 253.18 = 192.8; 305.9 = 232.17; 308.4 = 236.14; 329.9 = 254.10; 395.22 = 312.29. — Oros. (3): 20.33 = 0; 148.23 = 0; 206.4 = 207.2. — Pr. Ps.

(5): 22. Intr.; 26. Intr.; 26.2; 28. Intr.; 29. Intr. — Chron. (4): 129b, 995 Fe; 145t, 1014 Eb; 181^b, 1051 F; 261^t, 1130 E. — Laws (3): 106, Ine, c. 40; 448, Rectitudines, c. 5, § 3; 449, Rectitudines, c. 6, § 3. — Warf. (43): $13.6 = 156 \, \text{C}^1$; $33.14 = 169 \, \text{C}$; $38.10 = 173 \, \text{C}^1$; 46.4= 180 B^3 ; $54.18 = 188 \text{ B}^1$; $55.28 = 188 \text{ C}^1$; $55.34 = 188 \text{ C}^2$; 118.12 = B. 148 B; 123.30 = B. 154 B C^1 ; $181.7 = 220 \text{ A}^2$; $184.27 = 225 \text{ A}^1$; $208.12 = 253 \text{ C}^1$; $213.4 = 260 \text{ B}^2$; 220.20 = 269 A; $225.2^{a, b} = 273 \text{ C}^3$; $227.27 = 277 \text{ D}^2$; $239.3 = 292 \text{ B}^1$; $245.5 = 300 \text{ B}^1$; $253.9 = 309 \text{ A}^3$; 259.4 B^2 = 317 A; 267.22 = 325 D; 282.5 = 344 A; $288.19 = 349 \text{ B}^1$; $294.14^{a, b} = 356 \text{ B}$; $297.16 = 360 \text{ A}^3$; $302.15 = 365 \text{ A}^2$; 310.4 = 373 B; $314.6 = 380 \text{ A}^1$; $314.23 = 380 \text{ B}^2$; $314.29 = 380 \text{ B}^4$; 315.1^a = 380 B^5 ; 316.17 = 381 B; $317.12 = 381 \text{ C}^2$; $324.21 = 392 \text{ A}^2$; 331.22 = 400 A; 335.11 = 404 B; $336.33 = 405 \text{ B}^1$; $337.16 = 405 \text{ C}^1$; 338.40, 41 = 409 A; 339.13^a , $14^a = 412 \text{ A}^1$. — Bened. (12): 6.21 = 72.17; 6.22 = 74.10; 6.23 = 76.1; 31.11 = 58.15; 39.13 = 72.17; 40.3 = 74.10; 40.18= 76.1; 43.20 = 80.24; 43.25 = 82.2; $112.22^{a, b} = 180.2$; 127.4 = 194.11. — Bl. Hom. (25): 5.17, 23; 9.3, 6, 8; 19.14; 21.20; 33.23^{a, b}; 69.7^a, 19^{a, b}; 71.16, 17, 20; 73.16; 85.17; 95.20; 101.20^b; 163.11; 183.20; 189.27; 191.5, 6, 7. — Pr. Gu. (1): XX. 28. — Mart. (7): 24.8; 80.15; 96.27; 112.16; 176.23^{a, b}; 220.1. — Ælf. Hom. (39): I. 24^{b,} 88^b, 96^m, 124^{b 2}, 152^t, 152^{b 2}, 172^t, 180^m, 188^b, 202^b 1, 2, 204^t, 204^b, 214^b, 236^b, 248^b, 262^t, 266^t, 322^t, 428^b, 594^t 1, 596^b 2, 604^t 5; II. 12^b, 18^b, 38^b ³, 48^b ², 130^m, 200^t, 212^t ¹, ², 278^t, 338^b ¹, ³, 422^b, 424^m, 464^b, 532^t ¹, ². — Ælf. L. S. (14): 30.82; 46.372; 176.120^{a, b}; 204.156; 368.74; 512.428; XXIV. 120; XXX. 20, 21, 198; XXXI. 667, 1160; XXXIV. 98. — Ælf. Hept. (3): De V. T. 4.29; Gen. 27.45^b; Lev. 6.21. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (6): Ælf. Gr. (3): 255.12, 14^a; 279.8; — Napier's Ad. to Th. (3): 101.315^{b} , 102.29^{b} 1, 2. — Gosp. (3): Mat. (1): 3.14; — Mk. (1): 2.22; — L. (1): 22.37. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (2): 9.408, 409. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (8): 10.560; 11.99^{a, b}; 12.100, 142; 13.109, 143; 18.266. — Wulf. (16): 96.5, 6, 17; 135.21; 141.2; 192.17; 194.6; 196.16; 218.15; 241.3; 248.16; 261.11^{a, b}; 291.16; 295.15; 300.17. — Læce. (5): 58.21; 60.38; 61.18; 89.12; 127.8. — Minor Prose (10): Alex. (1): 658; — Neot (3): 6, 7, 146; — Nic. (6): 474.5, 500.23, 504.8; 510.8, $10^{a, b}$. — Chr. (1): 213.

ðurfan, need (9): Greg. (2): 83.16 = 56.3; 413.16 = 334.8. — Warf. (4): 222.15 = 272 B²; $269.16^{b} = 329$ A⁴; 336.28 = 405 A; $345.17^{b} = 421$ A². — Bl. Hom. (1): 135.25. — Elf. Hom. (1): II. $48^{b}.$ — Elf. L. S. (1): 176.130.

weordan, become (1): Wulf. (1): 217.9.

willan [nyllan], wish [not], will [not] (53): Bede (4): 112.12 = 91.16; 112.18 = 91.22; 308.3 = 237.16; 366.5 = 271.12. — Boeth. (2): 36.2 = 41.17; $51.8 = 51.15^a$. — Greg. (1): 135.26 = 96.29. — Oros. (1): 128.5 = 129.3. — Wærf. (6): 83.2 = 208 B²; 88.34 = 212 C³; 110.14 = B. 140 B; 243.22 = 297 B; 279.3 = 340 B¹; 279.4 = 340] B². — Bened. (2): 112.14 = 178.16; 112.16 = 178.20. — Bl. Hom. (2): 33.13; 217.14. — Pr. Gu. (1): XX. 65. — Ælf. Hom. (16): I. 32^{t} ³, 34^{t} , 62^{t} , 80^{b} , 84^{b} ¹, ², 196^{t} , 480^{t} , 484^{t} , 522^{b} ², 598^{t} , 604^{b} ; II. 38^{b} , 40^{b} , 506^{t} , 512^{b} . — Ælf. L. S. (2): 444.58; XXXII. 88. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (5): Ælf. Gr. (5): 119.3; 143.19, 20; 144.5, 6. — Gosp. (5): Mat. (3): 2.18; 16.21^{b} ; 19.21; — Mk. (1): 12.38^{b} ; — L. (1): 7.6. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (3): 16.200; 18.134, 297. — Wulf. (3): 105.32; 194.3; 277.3.

wunian, be accustomed (1): Bede (2): 340.7°; b = 257.10°.

- 2. The Infinitive Made Up of "Weorðan" + a Past Participle. Given in full in Chapter IV, pp. 84 ff.
- 3. The Infinitive Made Up of "Wesan" + a Past Participle. Given in full in Chapter IV, pp. 84 ff.
- V. The Predicative Infinitive with Verbs of Motion and of Rest.¹ Only the uninflected infinitive, active, is found.

1. Verbs of Motion.

becuman [bi-], come (4):

— blican, shine (1): And. (1): 789.

— hlynnan, resound (1): Beow. (1): 2553.

- rinnan, run (1): Chr. (1): 1114.

¹ In this section, besides the finite verb (the initial word) I cite the infinitive, also.

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becuman sneowan, hasten (1): And. (1): 1668.
bicuman: see becuman.
cuman, come (70):
— astigan, descend (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 15.329.
— blican, shine, beam (4): Chr. (1): 903. — Ju. (1): 564. — And. (1): 838. — Ph. (1): 95.
— drifan [-y-], drive (1): Bede (1): 400.28 = 290.19.
— dryfan: see drifan.
— faran, go (3): Beow. (2): 2915; 2945. — And. (1): 1279.
— feran, go (5): Gen. (2): 852; 2759. — Dan. (1): 698. - Jud. (1): 12. - Fallen \ Angels (1):
— fleogan, fly(7): Pr. Gu. (1): X. 5. -Mart. (2): 26.10; 200.12. -A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1):
     15.292 = 217.326. - Gen. (1): 1479. - Ps. (1): 104.35. - Charms (1): IV. 53.
— gan [gangan, gongan], go, walk (16): Boeth. (1): 8.16 = 4.2. — Mart. (1): 90.14. — A. S.
     Hom. & L. S. II (1): 15.178 = 0. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 29.10. — Beow.
     (6): 324; 711; 1163; 1642; 1644 (or final, as Shearin, l. c., p. 237, holds?); 1974. — Dan.
     (1): 737. — Ps. (1): 104.30. — Rid. (2): 55.1; 86.1. — Charms (2): VI. 9, 15.
— gengan [geongan], go(2): And. (2): 1095; 1311.
— geongan: see gengan.
— glidan, glide (1): Ph. (1): 102.
— hweorfan [-u-], wander, go(1): Dan.(1): 110.
— hwurfan: see hweorfan.
— iernan [yrnan], run (3): Pr. Gu. (1): I. 26. — Mart. (1): 182.4. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI.
— liðan, go by water, sail (4): And. (1): 256. — Met. (1): 26.60. — Rid. (1): 34.1. —
     Gnomic Sayings (1): 109.
— lixan, shine, glisten (2): Ph. (1): 94. — Ps. (1): 76.15.
— ridan, ride (1): Rid. (1): 23.2.
- sc(e)acan, shake, move quickly (1): Beow. (1): 1803.
— scinan [-y-], shine (2): Chr. (1): 901. — Gu. (1): 1257.
— scrifan, glide, go (3): Beow. (2): 650; 703. — Cal. (1): 77.
— scynan: see scinan.
— sigan, descend, go(1): Chr.(1): 550.
— sidian, travel, go (4): Beow. (1): 720. — Gen. (3): 154; 1577; 1844.
— slidan, slide (1): Pr. Gu. (1): V. 7.
— sneowan, hasten (1): And. (1): 242.
— snican, creep (1): Charms (1): IV. 31.
— stigan, descend (1): Dan. (1): 510.
— swimman [-y-], swim (1): Beow. (1): 1624.
— swymman: see swimman.
— Tringan, crowd, throng (1): Gu. (1): 868.
— wadan, advance, go (2): And. (1): 1271. — Schöpf. (1): 61.
dælan, distribute (1):
— scinan, shine (1): Gen. (1): 2192 (or final?).
fleon, fly (1):
- slincan, creep (1): Doomsday (1): 240.
gewitan, go(49):
— drefan, stir up (water) (1): Beow. (1): 1904 (or final?).
— faran, go (3): Beow. (1): 124. - S. & S. (1): 501^{b}. - Sch\"{o}pf. (1): 69.
— feran, go (12): Wærf. (1): 63.28 = 193 \text{ B}^4. — Beow. (2): \overline{27}; 301. — Gen. (5): 1211; 1731;
    1779; 2398; 2849. — And. (1): 786; — Rid. (2): 30.11; 40.6. — W. C. (1): 9^a.
— ferian, carry (1): Gen. (1): 2154 (or final?).
— fleogan, fly (2): Gen. (1): 1471. — Ph. (1): 163.
— gan [gangan, gongan], go, walk (13): Warf. (2): 84.20 = 209 \text{ A}^6; 84.25 = 209 \text{ A}^7 — Gen. (6):
    858; 1050; 1345; 1487; 2574; 2592. — Az. (1): 180. — Chr. (1): 533. — And. (2): 238;
    1059. — Finns. (1): 45.
— glidan, glide (2): And. (2): 1248; 1304.
— lecgan lastas, travel (1): Gen. (1): 2850.
— ridan, ride (2): Beow. (2): 234; 855.
— sc(e)acan, shake, move quickly (3): Gen. (1): 135. — And. (1): 1594. — Jud. (1): 291.
— scridan, glide, go (2): Beow. (1): 2569. — And. (1): 1457.
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gewitan scyndan, hasten (2): Beow. (1): 2570. — Doomsday (1): 238.
— siðian, travel, go (3): Gen. (2): 2018; 2161. — Dan. (1): 632.
— Sringan, throng (1): Rid. (1): 4.61.
— wadan, go (1): Gen. (1): 2886.
                                        2. Verbs of Rest.
licgan, lie (1):
— slapan, sleep (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 512.417.
standan, stand (3):
— geomrian, mourn (1): Pr. Gu. (1): V. 274b.
— reotan, weep (1): And. (1): 1712.
— wepan, weep (1): Pr. Gu. (1): V. 274a.
                        The Predicative Infinitive with "(W)uton."
                 VI.
  Only the uninflected infinitive is found.
                                  THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.
acerran: see acierran.
acierran [-e-], turn, go (1): Fallen Angels (1): 217.
acræftan, devise (1): Oros. (1): 82.1 = 0.
acsian [ahsian], ask (3): Bened. (1): 3.13 = 6.16. - Elf. Hom. (1): II. 318^{t}. - Wulf. (1):
     150.14°.
acwellan, kill (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 149.34b.
adon, destroy (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 95.27<sup>a</sup>.
adylgian [-i-], destroy (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.106°.
ælan, burn (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 11.3b.
ændian: see endian.
afierran [-y-], remove (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 95.28.
agan, own^*(1): Fallen Angels (1): 253.
agifan [-y-], give (2): Boeth. (1): 103.5 = 87.42. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.151.
ahebban, raise, lift (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 124<sup>m</sup> 5.
ahieldan [-y-], bend, incline (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.150.
ahsian: see acsian.
alesan: see aliesan.
aliesan [-e-, -y-], release (2): Wulf. (2): 119.9; 209.6.
alysan: see aliesan.
andbidian, expect, wait for (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 9.219.
andettan, confess (3): Laws (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1. — Wulf. (2): 115.12; 150.9.
arisan, arise (2): Bl. Hom. (1): 149.34^{a}. — Ælf. L. Š. (1): 534.747.
ascunian, shun (3): Wulf. (3): 115.11<sup>b</sup>; 145.33<sup>b</sup>; 188.15.
asendan, send (1): Minor Prose (1): Nic. 488.32.
asettan, set aside (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 125.6.
aspendan, spend (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 52.51.
astandan, stand up (1): Bened. (1): 2.4 = 4.9.
awendan, turn (3): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 124<sup>b</sup> 1. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 260.362; XXVIII. 174.
aweorpan [-worp-, -wurp-, -wyrp-], throw away, reject (7): Pr. Ps. (1): 2.3<sup>b</sup>. -Laws (1): 269,
    IX Æthelred, Expla. — Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 602^{t} <sup>2</sup>, 604^{t} <sup>1. 3</sup>. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1):
     11.112. — Wulf. (1): 272.29<sup>b</sup>.
aworpan \
           : see aweorpan.
awurpan /
axian: see acsian.
bebyrian, bury (2): Wulf. (2): 119.11; 209.8.
began: see biegan.
begitan, get, acquire (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 85<sup>b</sup>.
behavian, look carefully (1): Bened. (1): 40.21. = 76.4.
behealdan, behold, consider (3): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 160<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>; II. 240<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 18.123.
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beon, be (22): Laws (1): 300, I Cnut, c. 20b. — Bl. Hom. (3): 95.26, 28b; 131.1. — Ælf. Hom.

belucan, lock up (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 70.328.

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(7): I. 414<sup>b</sup>; II. 22<sup>b</sup>, 36<sup>m</sup>, 50<sup>t</sup>, 292<sup>b</sup>, 328<sup>b</sup>, 408<sup>b</sup>.—A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.105.—
       Wulf. (10): 109.12; 112.1; 119.3, 4, 12b; 129.10b; 145.33c; 182.2b; 209.1; 268.30b.
 beorgan [beorhgan], preserve, protect (8): Wulf. (7): 94.11a; 144.25; 145.17; 166.2; 167.7;
       178.6^{\circ}; 188.12^{\circ}. — Chr. (1): 771.
 beorhgan: see beorgan.
 besceawian, consider (2): Bened. (1): 45.9 = 84.10. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 84^{t}<sup>2</sup>.
 betan, amend (5): Laws (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1<sup>d</sup>. — Bl. Hom. (1): 125.4. — Wulf. (3):
       115.13<sup>a</sup>; 166.5<sup>a</sup>; 303.5.
 bidan, abide, await (1): Bede(1): 348.16 = 262.9.
 biddan, ask, pray (37): Bede (2): 98.27a = 81.29a; 154.30 = 129.8. — Solil. (1): 64.27. — Laws
       (1): 246, V Æthelred, c. 35<sup>c</sup>. — Bl. Hom. (5): 125.5; 159.32; 205.29; 209.26; 211.7. — Ælf.
      Hom. (15): I. 158<sup>b 2, 3</sup>, 204<sup>b 2</sup>, 364<sup>t</sup>, 434<sup>b</sup>, 500<sup>b</sup>, 556<sup>m</sup>, 562<sup>t</sup>, 564<sup>m</sup>, 598<sup>b</sup>; II. 302<sup>b</sup>, 380<sup>m 2</sup>, 444<sup>b 3</sup>, 498<sup>m</sup>, 518<sup>b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (3): 80.516; 390.107; XXVI. 20. — A. S. Hom. & L. S.
      II (2): 10.700; 11.114b. — Wulf. (6): 80.6; 115.7; 142.13; 175.2; 299.17b; 306.7. — Minor
      Prose (1): Neot (1): 217. — Chr. (1): 774.
began: see biegan.
 biegan [-e-], bend (1): Bede(1): 154.29 = 129.6.
 blissian, rejoice (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 292<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
 bringan, bring (2): Bede (1): 234.30<sup>b</sup> = 177.26. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 116<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>.
brucan, enjoy (2): Oros. (1): 86.1 = 85.33. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 618^{b_1}.
bugan, bow (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): 52.52. — Wulf. (1): 272.26<sup>a</sup>.
cestian [ciest-, cyst-], put in coffin (2): Wulf. (2): 119.10; 209.7b.
cierran [-y-], turn (1): Wulf. (1): 265.4b.
ciestian: see cestian.
cigean, call (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 247.3^{a}.
clænsian, cleanse, purify (2): Wulf. (2): 144.23; 167.4.
clipian
             : see clypian.
clipigan J
clypian [clip-, -igan], cry out (4): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 452b; II. 84t 3. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 242.81;
      XXV. 349.
cuman, come (6): Greg. (1): 415.6 = 336.4. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 11.7. — A. S. Hom. & L. S.
      II (1): 11.114a. — Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 494.8b. — Ps. (2): 73.8a; 82.4.
cunnian, try (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 450<sup>m</sup>. — Ps. (1): 70.10.
cweman, please (2): Laws (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84, § 3. — Ps. (1): 94.1<sup>a</sup>.
cwefan, say, speak (3): Bened. (1): 31.16 = 58.20. — Bl. Hom. (1): 247.3b. — A. S. Hom. &
      L. S. II (1): 16.153b.
cyrran: see cierran.
cystian: see cestian.
cyŏan, make known (1): Fallen Angels (1): 298.
dælan, deal out, distribute (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 241.22.
don, do, make, cause (47): Boeth. (1): 75.16<sup>a</sup> = 68.22. — Laws (3): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43<sup>a</sup>;
      300, I Cnut, c. 20°; 354, II Cnut, c. 68°. — Bened. (2): 21.9 = 42.7; 40.4 = 0. — Bl. Hom.
      (2): 205.28; 241.21^{b}. - \text{$\it Elf. Hom.} (4): I. 180^{b_{1,2}}; II. 52^{b}, 100^{b_{2}}. - \text{$\it Elf. L.S.} (2): 362.364;
      XXX. 368. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 37.20b. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 13.199b. —
      Wulf. (31): 20.1<sup>a</sup>; 28.20<sup>a</sup>; 29.2<sup>b</sup>; 38.14<sup>a</sup>; 40.23; 94.10; 109.5<sup>a</sup>, 11; 112.1<sup>a</sup>, 14; 115.13<sup>c</sup>;
      119.12; 122.4<sup>a</sup>; 124.11<sup>a</sup>; 125.17<sup>a</sup>; 127.9<sup>a</sup>; 129.10<sup>a</sup>; 134.24<sup>a</sup>; 136.26<sup>a</sup>, 28<sup>a, b</sup>; 143.19; 150.10<sup>b</sup>;
      152.2; 166.1, 3; 169.9; 178.6<sup>a</sup>; 182.1<sup>a</sup>; 189.1<sup>a</sup>; 268.30<sup>a</sup>.
earnian, earn, merit (2): Wulf. (1): 155.30. — Partridge (1): 13<sup>b</sup>. efstan, hasten (7): Bl. Hom. (1): 109.9. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 526<sup>b</sup>. — Wulf. (4): 40.24<sup>b</sup>;
      75.21; 141.29^{\circ}; 145.7. — Beow. (1): 3101.
endian [ændian], end, finish (1): Solil. (1): 49.10<sup>a</sup>.
etan, eat (1): L. (1): 15.23a.
fadian, arrange (3): Wulf. (3): 143.22; 144.22; 167.3.
fægnian, rejoice (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 292<sup>b</sup> 3.
faran, go (13): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 422b. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXX. 85a, 160b. — Ælf. Hept. (4): Gen.
     33.11; Ex. 5.8^a; 14.5^b; Num. 13.31^a. — Gosp. (4): Mat. (1): 26.46; — Mk. (1): 4.35; —
      L. (1): 2.15^a; — J. (1): 11.7. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.106^a. — Minor Prose
      (1): Nic. (1): 488.27<sup>b</sup>.
feallan, fall, bow (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXVI. 19a.
feligian: see folgian.
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feogan [feon], hate (1): Partridge (1): 13<sup>a</sup>.
 feohtan, fight (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 661.
 feran, go (1): Beow. (1): 1380.
fleon, fly (1): \mathcal{E}lf. Hom. (1): II. 124^{m} 1.
 folgian [feligian, fylian, fyligean], follow (6): Bl. Hom. (1): 169.17. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I.
      160<sup>b</sup> 4. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Deut. 13.2<sup>b</sup>. — Wulf. (3): 143.21<sup>c</sup>; 146.2<sup>c</sup>; 166.6<sup>b</sup>.
fon, seize upon, begin (3): Solil. (1): 55.4b. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 114b, 148b.
forbugan, avoid, turn away from (3): Wulf. (3): 112.2b; 134.24; 188.14.
 fordrencan, intoxicate (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 19.32<sup>a</sup>.
 forfleon, avoid (3): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 602<sup>b</sup> · Wulf. (2): 115.8; 145.19.
 forgeofan: see forgiefan.
 forgiefan [-geofan], give up (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 13.201b.
 forhradian, hasten (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 124<sup>m</sup> 4.
 forlætan, leave, forsake (7): Solil. (1): 49.12. — Bl. Hom. (1): 247.2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
      380^{\mathrm{m}} 3. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 13.201^{\mathrm{a}}; 14.112. — Wulf. (2): 141.28^{\mathrm{a}}; 166.4^{\mathrm{b}}.
forstandan, oppose, withstand (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 336<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
 frefrian, comfort (2): Wulf. (2): 119.8<sup>a</sup>; 209.5.
fridian, protect (1): Laws (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2b (uton to be supplied).
 fylian
             : see folgian.
 fyligean )
 gan [gangan], go (18): Bl. Hom. (1): 247.1. — Mart. (1): 166.3. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 534.748. —
      Ælf. Hept. (4): Gen. 4.8; Deut. 13.2a, 6a; Judges 3.20b. — Gosp. (6): Mat. (1): 21.38a;
      — Mk. (2): 6.37<sup>b</sup>; 14.42; — J. (3): 11.15, 16<sup>a</sup>; 14.31. — Minor Prose (2): Nic. (2): 494.4,
      8^{a}. — Beow. (1): 2648. — Gen. (1): 839. — And. (1): 1356.
 gangan: see gan.
 geagnian [geahnian], possess (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 13.31b.
 geahnian: see geagnian.
 gearcian, prepare (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 606b.
 gebeodan, offer (1): Ps. (1): 94.1^{c}.
 gebeorgan, protect (1): Wulf. (1): 141.26.
 gebetan, amend (1): Solil. (1): 55.4^{a}.
 gebiddan, pray (3): Solil. (1): 45.22<sup>a</sup>. — Bl. Hom. 139.30. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 22<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
 geblissian, rejoice (1): Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 496.26.
 gebugan, turn, incline (5): Wulf. (5): 112.3<sup>a</sup>; 129.11<sup>b</sup>; 155.30<sup>a</sup>; 166.4<sup>a</sup>; 268.31.
 geceosan, choose (1): Minor Prose (1): Nic. 488.27<sup>a</sup>.
 geci(e)rran [-y-], turn (4): Laws (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1<sup>a</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 14.4<sup>b</sup>.
      — Wulf. (2): 115.6; 174.29.
 gecnawan, know (1): Wulf. (1): 189.3.
gecuman, come (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 126<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
gecyrran: see gecierran.
gedon, do, cause (3): Wulf. (1): 188.13. — Gen. (1): 404b. — Ps. (1): 136.7.
geearnian, earn, merit (7): Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 294<sup>t</sup>, 618<sup>b</sup><sup>2</sup>; II. 332<sup>t</sup>. — Wulf. (4): 76.3;
      112.14; 144.26; 167.8.
geedlæcan, repeat (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 380<sup>m</sup> 4.
geefenlæcan, imitate (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 52b, 158b 1.
gefaran, go (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 40^{t_1}.
gefremman, assist (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 602^{b}<sup>2</sup>.
gegearwian, prepare (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 11.107.
gehealdan, keep, preserve (1): Wulf. (1): 253.3.
gehienan [-y-], oppress (1): \mathcal{E}lf. Hept. (1): Ex. 1.10.
gehieran [-y-], hear (4): Bl. Hom. (2): 83.28; 165.16. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 280<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>; II. 272<sup>b</sup>.
gehyran: see gehieran.
geinseglian, seal (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 70.329.
gelædan, lead (1): Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 494.9<sup>a</sup>.
gelæstan, perform, pay (3): Wulf. (3): 38.14b; 116.1; 144.21b
geliefan [-y-], believe (3): Solil. (1): 55.6. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 134<sup>t</sup>, 228<sup>b</sup>.
gemunan, remember (5): Bl. Hom. (2): 125.3, 7. — Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 84<sup>t</sup>, 124<sup>m</sup><sup>2</sup>. — Wulf.
     (1): 283.18.
geneosian, visit (2): Wulf. (2): 119.9b; 209.7a.
geniman, take (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 149.34°.
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geoffrian, offer (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 116<sup>b</sup> 1.
 geomrian, mourn (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 348<sup>b</sup> 3.
 gereccan, account, consider (1): Boeth. (1): 75.16^{b} = 68.22.
 gesceawian, see, examine (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 167.4.
 gescieldan [-y-], protect (1): Wulf. (1): 145.17.
 gescyldan: see gescieldan.
 geseon, see (4): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 40<sup>t</sup>, 40<sup>b</sup>. — Gosp. (2): Mat. (1): 27.49; — L. (1): 2.15<sup>b</sup>.
 gesettan, provide (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 14.4a.
 geswican, cease, desist from (10): Laws (1): 298, I Cnut, c. 18, § 1c. — Wulf. (9): 29.4;
      112.2<sup>a</sup>; 115.13<sup>b</sup>; 129.11<sup>a</sup>; 130.7; 150.10<sup>a</sup>; 174.30<sup>a</sup>; 188.12<sup>b</sup>; 268.30<sup>b</sup>.
 geoencan [-dencean], think, consider (19): Laws (1): 146, I Æthelstan, c. 2a. — Bl. Hom. (6):
      83.29; 91.13, 18; 97.1; 115.5<sup>a</sup>, 20. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 13.262; 14.113. — Wulf.
      (9): 109.14; 112.6; 135.14, 19; 136.9, 26^{b}; 144.20; 182.2; 272.29^{b}. - Har. (1): 278.
 gedencean: see gedencan.
 geoedan, attack, join (1): Wulf. (1): 147.19.
 gewistfullian, feast (1): L. (1): 15.23<sup>b</sup>.
 gewitnian, punish (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 124<sup>m</sup> <sup>3</sup>.
gewrecan, avenge (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.106b.
 gewyrcan, make, do (3): Laws (1): 300, I Cnut, c. 20<sup>d</sup>. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 16<sup>t</sup>, 288<sup>t</sup>.
gi(e)man [-y-], take care (of), observe (2): Laws (1): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43, § 1b. — Wulf.
      (1): 112.15.
 gladian, rejoice (2): Wulf. (2): 112.12; 169.10<sup>a</sup>.
 gridian, protect (1): Laws (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2<sup>a</sup> (uton to be supplied).
gyman: see gi(e)man.
habban, have (17): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 512<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>; II. 46<sup>m</sup>. — Mat. (1): 21.38<sup>c</sup>. — Wulf. (13): 28.20<sup>b</sup>;
      101.23; 112.12<sup>b</sup>; 122.4<sup>b</sup>; 124.11<sup>b</sup>; 125.17<sup>b</sup>; 127.9<sup>b</sup>; 137.20; 151.9; 167.5; 282.5; 299.17<sup>a</sup>;
      306.8. - Ps. (1): 73.8^{b}.
halsian, entreat (1): Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 494.9b.
healdan, hold (16): Boeth. (1): 138.5 = 118.30. — Laws (4): 181, VI Æthelstan, c. 8, § 5; 246,
      V Æthelred, c. 35<sup>a</sup>; 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 44, § 1; 269, IX Æthelred, Expl<sup>c</sup>. — Ælf.
      L. S. (1): XXXV. 21.— A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 13.199<sup>a</sup>.—Wulf. (8): 20.2; 29.2<sup>a</sup>;
      144.24^{a}; 152.3^{b}; 167.5; 169.10^{a}; 189.2; 272.27^{b}. — Ps. (1): 117.25^{b}.
hebban, raise (1): Boeth. (1): 146.26 = 0.
helpan, help (8): Laws (1): 354, II Cnut, c. 68b. — Wulf. (6): 40.24a; 94.11b; 119.5; 129.13;
      155.29; 209.2. — Beow. (1): 2649.
heran: see hieran.
herian [herigean], praise, honor (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 380<sup>m</sup> 1. — Ps. (1): 94.1<sup>b</sup>.
herigean: see herian.
hieran [-e-, -y-], hear (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 115.22a.
hiertan [-y-], encourage (1): Wulf. (1): 119.8b.
hleotan, cast lots (1): J. (1): 19.24.
hliewan [-y-], warm (2): Wulf. (2): 119.6<sup>a</sup>; 209.3<sup>a</sup>.
hlywan: see hliewan.
hogian, reflect, consider (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 38<sup>b</sup>.
hycgan, reflect, consider (3): Har. (1): 229. — Predigtbruchstück über Psalm 28 (1): 44a. — Seaf.
hyhtan, hope (1): Predigtbruchstück über Psalm 28 (1): 44<sup>b</sup>.
hyran: see hieran.
iecan [ecan], increase (1): Boeth. (1): 75.15 = 68.21.
1ætan, allow, leave (3): Boeth. (1): 88.32^a = 0. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 14.5^d. — Wulf. (1):
      145.33a.
latian, delay (1): Wulf. (1): 75.22b.
libban [-y-], live (1): Wulf. (1): 150.13b.
licgan, lie, recline (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 19.32b.
lufian, love (22): Laws (2): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43, § 1<sup>a</sup>; 269, IX Æthelred, Expl<sup>a</sup>. — Ælf. Hom.
      (2): I. 52^{b}{}^{2}; II. 316^{b}{}^{3}. — Wulf. (17): 20.2^{b}; 29.1; 94.13; 109.6; 115.11^{a}; 124.12; 127.10;
     143.4, 20; 145.32; 146.2^{a}; 150.13^{a}; 152.3^{a}; 166.6^{a}; 189.1^{b}; 239.6; 272.26^{b}. - Hymn~(1): 3.
lybban: see libban.
niman, take (4): Laws (1): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 43b. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 164t 2. — Ælf. L. S.
      (1): XXX. 160<sup>a</sup>. — Wulf. (1): 174.9.
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oferhogian, despise (1): Laws (1): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 44b.
oferhycgan, despise (1): Fallen Angels (1): 252.
offrian, offer (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 116<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 5.8<sup>b</sup>.
ofslean, slay (5): Ælf. Hept. (2): Gen. 37.20°; Ex. 14.5°.—Gosp. (3): Mat. (1): 21.38°; —Mk.
     (1): 12.7; -L. (1): 20.14.
oliccan, please (1): Partridge (1): 12.
oncnawan, know, understand (2): Bl. Hom. (1): 115.5.b — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 254b.
ondrædan, fear (1): Wulf. (1): 136.28b.
onettan, hasten (1): Wulf. (1): 141.29<sup>a</sup>.
obwendan, take away (1): Gen. (1): 403a.
ræran, raise (2): Laws (1): 300, I Cnut, c. 20°. — Wulf. (1): 119.14°.
rihtan, rectify (1): Wulf. (1): 75.22a.
rihtlæcan, correct (1): Wulf. (1): 174.30b.
sceawian, examine (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 58<sup>t</sup>.
sceofan [scufan], shove, push (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 300<sup>m</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
sceotan, refer (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 338<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
scieldan [-y-], shield, guard (3): Laws (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84, § 3b. — Wulf. (2): 115.10;
     134.19.
scyldan: see scieldan.
scyndan, hasten (1): Reimlied (1): 84.
secan [secean], seek (6): Laws (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2<sup>c</sup> (uton to be supplied). — A. S. Hom. &
     L. S. II (1): 10.450. — Wulf. (2): 146.2^{\rm b}; 150.14^{\rm a}. — Ps. (1): 94.2. — Whale (1): 87.
secean: see secan.
secgan, say (4): Solil. (1): 49.10b. — Bl. Hom. (1): 115.22b. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 330b. — Ælf.
     Hept. (1): Gen. 37.20^{\circ}.
seglian, sail (1): L. (1): 8.22.
sellan [-y-], give (5): Bede (1): 234.30^a = 177.26. - \text{Elf. Hept.} (1): Gen. 31.44. - A. S. Hom.
     & L. S. II (1): 16.153<sup>a</sup>. — Wulf. (2): 119.7; 209.4.
sendan, send, put (2): Bl. Hom. (1): 241.20. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Deut. 1.22.
settan, set (1): Ps. (1): 117.25<sup>a</sup>.
singan, sing(1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 126<sup>t</sup> <sup>3</sup>.
smeagan [smeagean], reflect, consider (4): Laws (2): 254, VI Æthelred, c. 31; 314, II Cnut, c. 8.
     — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 348<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — Wulf. (1): 169.11.
smeagean: see smeagan.
spirian: see spyrian.
sprecan, speak (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 216<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
spurian: see spyrian.
spyrian [-i-, -u-], follow (2): Solil. (1): 45.22b. — Wulf. (1): 130.11.
standan, stand, arise (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 126<sup>t</sup>.
stabelian, establish (1): Chr. (1): 864.
suwian, be silent (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 348<sup>b</sup> 1.
sweltan, die (1): J. (1): 11.16^{b}.
syllan: see sellan.
teolian: see tilian.
teon, draw (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 241.21a.
tilian [teolian, tiligean], strive, attempt (6): Bl. Hom. (2): 111.18b; 129.36. — A. S. Hom. &
     L. S. II (2): 13.197, 265. — Wulf. (1): 109.5b. — Ps. (1): 138.17.
tiligean: see tilian.
timbrian, build (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 11.4a.
tobrecan, break, destroy (1): Pr. Ps. (1): 2.3a.
todælan, confound (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 11.7b.
toweorpan [-wurp-, -wyrp-], disperse, destroy (2): Ps. (2): 73.8°; 82.4°.
towurpan
             : see toweorpan.
towyrpan J
tylian: see tilian.
dencan, think (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXVIII. 119. — Wulf. (1): 232.20.
Seowian, serve (2): Ælf. Hept. (2): Deut. 13.2°, 6b.
öingian, intercede (1): Wulf. (1): 130.8.
understandan, understand (7): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 160<sup>b</sup>; II. 58<sup>t</sup>. — Wulf. (5): 38.8; 112.3<sup>b</sup>;
     144.24<sup>b</sup>; 167.6, 11.
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upastigan, ascend (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 300^{m_1}.
wæfan, clothe (2): Wulf. (2): 119.6<sup>b</sup>; 209.3<sup>b</sup>.
warnian, take warning, beware of (4): Wulf. (4): 80.4; 130.14; 147.18; 188.11.
wendan, wend, turn (3): Wulf. (3): 141.27; 142.9; 265.4a.
wenian, accustom, train (1): Wulf. (1): 76.1.
weorðan, become (1): Wulf. (1): 169.11b.
weorðian [wurð-], honor (7): Laws (2): 268, VIII Æthelred, c. 44a; 269, IX Æthelred, Expla.
      -Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 446<sup>b</sup>.—Ælf. L. S. (1): 260.363. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 11.4<sup>b</sup>. —
     Wulf. (2): 143.21<sup>a</sup>; 272.27<sup>a</sup>.
werian, defend (2): Laws (1): 246, V Æthelred, c. 35b. — Wulf. (1): 143.22b.
wilnian, wish, desire (1): Chr. (1): 773.
wircean: see wyrcean.
wistfullian, feast, delight (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. 263.16.
wiðstandan, withstand (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 604<sup>t</sup> 4.
wuldrian, honor, glorify (1): Hymn (1): 1.
wurcæn: see wyrcan.
wurdian: see weordian.
wynsumian, rejoice(1): Bl. Hom.(1): 91.8.
wyrcan [-i-, -u-, -cean], work, make, do (21): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 160b 2. — Ælf. Hept. (6): Pref.
    to Gen. 23.25, 26; — De V. T. 11.41; — Gen. 1.26; 2.18b; 11.3a. — Ælfric's Minor Prose
    (4): Ælf. Int. (4): 163, 169, 170, 173. — Gosp. (3): Mat. (1): 17.4b; — Mk. (1): 9.5; — L.
     (1): 9.33. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 7.322. — Wulf. (6): 41.1; 94.14; 109.7; 119.14b;
    124.13<sup>b</sup>; 127.11.
wyrcean: see wyrcan.
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B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

Given in full in Chapter VI, p. 95.

Note 1. "Ute" and the Infinitive: given in full in Note 4 to Chapter VI, p. 96.

Note 2. "(W)uton" with the Infinitive to Be Supplied: see Note 6 to Chapter VI, p. 96.

VII. The Predicative Infinitive with "Beon" ("Wesan").

A. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES NECESSITY OR OBLIGATION.

I. THE INFINITIVE PASSIVE IN SENSE.

Sporadically the infinitive is uninflected, but normally it is inflected.

1. The Infinitive Uninflected.

Given in full in Chapter VII, p. 98.

2. The Infinitive Inflected.

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aberan, bear with: P.^1 (1): Wærf. (1): 108.32^a = B. 138 C^1. - I. (0). ademan, judge: P. (1): Bede (1): 430.32^a = 308.12^a. - I. (0). adreogan, tolerate: P. (1): Wærf. (1): 108.32^b = B. 138 C^1. - I. (0). agietan, consider: P. (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 12.31. - I. (0). ahabban, abstain: P. (0). -I. (1): Bede (1): 82.6 = 57.31. ahsian, ask, inquire: P. (1): Bened. (1): 22.1 = 44.5. - I. (0). aleogan, deny: P. (1): Laws (1): 46, Ælfred, c. I. § 1. -I. (0). aliesan [-y-], redeem: P. (2): Laws (2): 14, Wihtraed, c. 28^c; 98, Ine, c. 20^c. - I. (0). alysan: see aliesan. anlætan, continue: P. (1): Bened. (1): 66.1 = 124.10. - I. (0). anscunian: see onscunian. apinsian, ponder, weigh: P. (0). -I. (1): Wulf. (1): 245.9^b. aræfnan, tolerate: P. (1): Bede (1): 72.7 = 51.34. - I. (0). aræran, raise, erect: P. (2): Bened. (1): 23.4 = 46.5. - Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 498^{t.1}. - I. (0).
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¹ Throughout this section, P. indicates that the subject is personal; I., that the subject is impersonal.

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areccan, relate: P. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 330. — I. (0).
arian, honor: P. (3): Boeth. (2): 72.25 = 0; 72.27^a = 0. -Werf. (1): 98.27 = 244 A. - I. (0).
arisan, arise: P. (0). — I. (1): Bened. (1): 32.12 = 60.9.
arweorðian [-wurð-], honor: P. (1): Warf. (1): 13.25^a = 157 \text{ A.}^1 - \text{I.} (0).
arwurðian: see arweorðian.
asmeagan, consider: P. (1): Bede (1): 86.23 = 61.1. — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 245.9^a.
aðwean, wash: P. (1): Bede (1): 84.31 = 59.32. — I. (0).
baðian [beðian], bathe: P. (1): Lace. (1): 62.11. — I. (0).
bebeorgan, avoid: P. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 63.32. — I. (0).
begangan: see began.
began [-gangan, -gongan], practise, exercise: P. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 100<sup>b</sup>. — S. & S. (1):
     54. — I. (0).
beginnan, begin: P. (3): Bened. (3): 33.2 = 0; 33.7 = 0; 37.10 = 70.7. — I. (0).
begongan: see began.
behealdan, consider: P. (1): Bened. (1): 75.11 = 142.19. — I. (1): Greg. (1): 139.4 = 100.1.
belean, forbid, destroy: P. (1): Greg. (1): 203.9 = 152.7. — I. (0).
bemænan, lament: P. (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 12.119. — I. (0).
beran, bear, carry: P. (1): Weef. (1): 84.1 = 209 A<sup>1</sup>. — I. (0).
besceawian, consider: P. (1): Lace. (1): 63.22^a. — I. (2): Bened. (1): 116.16 = 184.2. — Ælf.
     Hom. (1): I. 486^{\rm m}.
besceawigan: see besceawian.
bescerian [bi-, -scyrian, -igan], deprive: P. (2): Bede (2): 70.31 = 51.24; 72.6 = 51.33. — I. (0).
bescyrian: see bescerian.
betan, improve, correct: P. (1): Laws (1): 474, Judex, c. 2<sup>a</sup>. — I. (1): Laws (1): 274, Cnut, c. 14
     (or with adjective?).
beðian: see baðian.
biddan, pray, request, seek: P. (2): Solil. (1): 30.8 = 0. — Bened. (1): 55.19 = 104.12. — I. (0).
biscergan: see bescerian.
blinnan, cease: P. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 178.1 = B. 204 C^1.
blissian [-igan], rejoice: P. (0). — I. (2): Greg. (1): 409.11 = 328.21. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 82^{t}.
blissigan: see blissian.
bodian, announce: P. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 120.3 = B. 150 A.
bregan, terrify: P. (2): Greg. (2): 181.7 = 134.22; 183.3^b = 136.15. - I. (0).
celan, cool: P. (1): Lace. (1): 25.30^a. - I. (0).
clænsian [-igan], cleanse: P. (4): Bede (1): 430.32b = 308.12b. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 552t 2. —
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 12.123. - Lace. (1): 78.19. - I. (0).
clænsigan: see clænsian.
cuman, come: P. (0). — I. (1): Weef. (1): 185.19 = 225 \text{ B}^1.
cwe\deltaan, say, call: P. (4): Bede (1): 370.16 = 274.6. — Bened. (2): 6.25 = 78.4; 41.19 = 78.4.
     — Wulf. (1): 185.7. — I. (4): Bede (2): 88.23 = 62.1; 334.28 = 254.28. — Ælf. L. S. (1):
    228.133. — Wulf. (1): 158.16.
cyŏan, make known: P. (3): Greg. (3): 187.16 = 140.11; 263.9 = 198.12; 287.3 = 216.19. — I.
     (17): Greg. (17): 189.1 = 140.20; 201.15 = 150.15; 201.18 = 150.18; 201.19 = 150.19; 253.8
     = 192.4; 281.23 = 212.25; 299.2 = 226.4; 299.5 = 226.5; 301.14 = 228.6; 305.13 = 232.21;
    305.15 = 232.23; 305.18 = 232.25; 306.2 = 234.2; 311.14 = 238.27; 315.20 = 242.27;
    349.5 = 268.27; 441.11 = 368.8.
deman, judge: P. (1): Bede (1): 78.34 = 56.11. — I. (0).
don, do: P. (26): Bede (10): 50.10^a = 30.16; 72.26 = 0; 112.27 = 91.32; 124.20 = 100.12;
    124.23^{a} = 100.15 (or with adjective?); 128.13 = 108.18^{b} (or with adjective?); 132.18 = 100.18^{b}
    110.26 (or with adjective?); 162.30 = 137.10; 216.11 = 167.4; 248.5 = 196.7. — Chron.
    (1): 215^{t}, 1083 E<sup>a</sup>. — Laws (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84^{a}. — Bened. (2): 15.4 = 26.14; 39.5
    = 72.12. — Bl. Hom. (1): 199.30. — Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 314^{b}<sup>2</sup>, 502^{b}, 506^{b}. — Ælf. L. S.
     (1): XXXVI. 206. — Wulf. (5): 51.20^{a}; 57.15; 123.15^{a}; 150.15; 290.4^{a}. — Lace. (2): 9.27;
    62.21. - I. (2): Bede (1): 68.7 = 50.7. - Wulf. (1): 173.4.
drohtnigan, pass life, live: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 130<sup>b</sup>
eadgian, bless: P. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 11.11^b. — I. (0).
efstan, hasten: P. (0). — I. (4): Bede (1): 98.30 = 81.32. — Bened. (1): 5.8^a = 10.16^a. —
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 12.135. — Wulf. (1): 36.1.
eri(g)an, plough: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose: Ælf. Gr. (1): 135.5.
fæstan, fast: P. (1): Mart. (1): 72.24. — I. (0).
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findan, find: P. (1): Warf. (1): 8.6 = 153 \text{ A}^2. — I. (0).
fleogan, flee: P. (1): Læce. (1): 9.19. — I. (0).
fleon, flee: P. (1): Lace. (1): 63.31. — I. (0).
forbeodan, forbid: P. (1): Læce. (1): 63.28. — I. (0).
forberan, bear with, tolerate: P. (2): Bede (1): 70.11 = 51.3. — Greg. (1): 153.1 = 110.8. — I.
        (1): Greg. (1): 151.10^{b} = 108.21.
forbugan, avoid: P. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 234<sup>m</sup>. — I. (0).
foreseon, foresee; P. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 66.4^b = 49.8^b.
foreswigian: see forswigian.
forgan, forego: P. (11): Laws (1): 368, II Cnut, c. 84b. — Wulf. (1): 123.15b. — Læce. (9): 5.27;
        44.20^{a}, 21; 48.44; 50.20^{b}, 38; 63.17, 24; 76.35. — I. (0).
forgiefan [-y-], forgive: P. (1): Laws (1): 474, Judex, c. 2b. — I. (0)
forgietan [-y-], forget: P. (1): Chron. (1): 220^{m}, 1086 E^{c}. — I. (0).
forgyfan: see forgiefan.
forgytan: see forgietan.
forlætan, pass over: P. (15): Bede (3): 70.12 = 51.3; 82.21^b = 58.27; 292.14 = 224.20. — Greg.
        (1): 23.1 = 388.21. — Weef. (3): 23.18 = 164. B<sup>2</sup>; 67.3 = 196 C<sup>2</sup>; 109.18 = B. 140 A<sup>1</sup>. —
        Pr. Gu. (2): XVII. 1; XIX. 1. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 463. — Wulf. (3): 51.20b;
        57.16^{\rm b}; 290.4<sup>b</sup>. — Lace. (2): 5.28; 60.12. — I. (0).
forseon, despise: P. (1): Boeth. (1): 75.12 = 67.18. — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 56.3 = 53.58<sup>a</sup>.
forseon, foresee, provide: P. (1): Bede (1): 76.24 = 55.1. — I. (0).
forswigian [fore-, -u-, -y-], pass over in silence: P. (8): Bede (4): 96.3 = 79.25; 326.2 =
        249.23; 380.28 = 279.19; 398.14 = 289.6. — Werf. (4): 157.2 = B. 184 A; 248.10 = 304
        B; 301.15 = 364 B; 344.3 = 420 A<sup>1</sup>. — I. (2): Bede (2): 182.9 = 147.30; 308.5 = 237.18.
forswugian: see forswigian.
for Syldigan, bear patiently: P. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 552<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — I. (0).
forwiernan [-y-], forbid: P. (0). - I. (1): Lace. (1): 16.12.
forwyrnan: see forwiernan.
frefran, comfort: P. (1): Greg. (1): 181.6^a = 134.22. — I. (0).
fylgan, follow: P. (1): Bede (1): 98.29 = 81.31. - I. (0).
gan, go: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Æthelw. (1): 113.
gebeodan, offer: P. (1): Bened. (1): 130.12 = 200.20. - I. (0).
gebeoran: see geberan.
geberan [-beoran], bring: \mathbf{P}. (1): Bede(1): 76.25^a = 55.2. - I. (0).
gebetan, reform: P. (2): Bede (1): 74.3 = 53.5. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 635. — I. (0).
gebiddan, pray: P. (1): Wulf. (1): 197.24<sup>a</sup>. — I. (1): Warf. (1): 336.2 = 404 C<sup>a</sup>.
gebindan, bind: P. (1): Greg. (1): 275.11 = 208.6. - I. (0).
gefaran, travel: \mathbf{P}. (1): Bened. (1): 5.22 = 12.2. - \mathbf{I}. (0).
geferan, go, travel: P. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 603.
gefremman, perform, administer: P. (2): Bede (2): 76.25^{b} = 55.2; 86.10^{b} = 60.8. — I. (0).
gegearwian, prepare: P. (1): Bened. (1): 130.11 = 200.20. - I. (0).
gehælan, heal: P. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 498^{t}<sup>2</sup>. — I. (0).
gehealdan, observe: P. (1): Wulf. (1): 102.13. — I. (0).
geheran: see gehieran.
gehieran [-e-, -y-], hear: P. (4): Greg. (1): 315.23 = 244.1. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 302^{t}. —
       Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 255.13. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 1.101. — I.
        (4): W erf. (1): 177.9 = B. 204 A^2. — Greg. (1): 439.31 = 366.16. — Elf. Hom. (1): II.
       518<sup>m</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 540.831.
gehycgan, think, consider; P. (0). — I. (2): Wærf. 63.4 = 193 \text{ B}^1; 348.9^{\text{b}} = 425 \text{ C}.
gehyran: see gehieran.
gelæstan, perform, do: P. (1): Laws (1): 46, Ælfred, c. 1, § 1b (or with adjective?). —I. (0).
gelefan: see geliefan.
geleoran, depart, die: P. (2): Bede (2): 286.29 = 221.30; 318.27 = 244.20. — I. (0).
geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe: P. (5): Bede (2): 224.22 = 172.6; 372.27 = 275.16. — Boeth. (1): 84.2
       = 73.32. — W \alpha r f. (1): 328.6 = 396 A<sup>1</sup>. — Elf. L. S. (1): 100.176. — I. (21): Bede (2):
       228.23 = 174.9; 234.13 = 177.4. — Chron. (1): 158<sup>b</sup>, 1036 C. — Wærf. (11): 146.2 = B.
       174 A; 246.19^{b} = 301 \text{ A}^{2}; 275.18 = 336 \text{ A}^{2}; 288.21 = 349 \text{ B}^{2}; 288.23 = 349 \text{ B}^{3}; 303.5 = 349 \text{ B}^{2}; 288.23 = 349 \text{ B}^{3}; 303.5 = 349 \text{ B}^{3}; 303
       365 B^2; 303.17 = 365 C; 327.20 = 393 C^4; 328.14 = 396 B^3; 332.10 = 400 C^1; 333.13 = 401
       A<sup>1</sup>. — Bl. Hom. (3): 29.15; 31.2; 209.18. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 442^{b}. — Ælf. L. S. (1):
       XXII B. 108.—A. S. Hom. L. S. II (1): 11.66 — Seizure and Death of Alfred (1): 13.
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gelyfan: see geliefan.
 geopenian, reveal: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 104.
 geortriewan [-y-], despair of: P. (1): Bede (1): 316.26 = 243.19. — I. (0).
 gerestan, rest: P. (0). — I. (1): Werf. (1): 178.2 = B. 204 C<sup>1</sup>.
 gerihtan, correct: P. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 634. — I. (0).
 geswencan, mortify: P. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 408b. — I. (0).
 geðafian, allow, tolerate: P. (1): Greg. (1): 135.21 = 96.24. — I. (0).
 geoencan, think, consider: P. (7): Boeth. (1): 52.2 = 0. - Greg. (2): 29.6 = 0; 385.24 =
        302.1. - Bl. Hom. (3): 19.31; 27.26; 29.2. - Rid. (1): 42.8. - I. (16): Bede (1): 84.3<sup>b</sup>
        = 59.5. - Boeth. (1): 76.1 = 0. - Greg. (4): 53.17 = 30.15; 59.21^a = 34.27; 119.3 = 82.17;
        302.20 = 230.3. - Werf. (6): 239.27^a = 292 C<sup>2</sup>; 270.11 = 329 B<sup>1</sup>; 328.26 = 396 C<sup>1</sup>;
        348.9^{a} = 425 \text{ B}; 349.19 = 428 \text{ B}; 349.27^{b} = 428 \text{ C}. — Bl. Hom. (4): 31.20; 33.25; 35.10;
        39.1.
 gewiscan: see gewyscan.
 gewitan, know: P. (0). — I. (3): Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 538<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>; II. 556<sup>b</sup>, 562<sup>b</sup>.
 gewyscan [-i-], wish, desire: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 612b.
 gieman [-y-], take care: P. (0). — I. (3): Greg. (3): 123.24 = 86.17; 455.10 = 386.15; 455.28 = 86.17
        388.7.
 gi(e)rnan, yearn for: P. (0). — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 90.13 = 77.20.
 gyman: see gieman.
 habban, have, keep: P. (7): Boeth. (1): 68.26 = 63.17. — Greg. (2): 249.7 = 188.11; 351.16 =
        272.4. - Werf. (1): 8.7 = 153 \text{ A}^3. - \text{Elf. Hom.} (1): I. 2^b. - \text{Elf. L. S.} (1): 270.131.
        — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 255.14^{b}. — I. (0).
 haldan: see healdan.
 halgian [haligian], hallow, consecrate: P. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 29.5. - I. (0).
 halsian [heals-], supplicate: P. (1): Bened. (1): 45.17 = 84.19. — I. (0).
 healdan [haldan], hold, preserve: P. (28): Bede (3): 68.15^{b} = 50.14; 124.23^{b} = 100.16; 132.19 = 100.16
        110.27. - Greg. (1): 119.2^a = 82.16. - Bened. (17): 6.16 = 64.10; 6.17 = 66.1; 6.18 = 66.1
        68.13; 6.19 = 70.1; 6.20 = 72.9; 7.4 = 90.13; 12.18 = 0; 34.5 = 64.10; 35.1 = 66.1; 36.9 = 68.1
        68.13; 37.4 = 70.1; 37.5 = 70.4; 39.2 = 72.9; 48.14 = 90.13; 49.3 = 92.1; 60.11 = 112.14;
        110.5 = 176.11. — Mart. (1): 74.3. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Æthelw. (1): 6. —
        Wulf. (3): 270.16; 282.7; 295.7. — Lece. (2): 49.1; 63.18. — I. (0).
helan, conceal: P. (1): Warf. (1): 278.22 = 340 \text{ B}^1. — I. (0).
herian [herigan], praise: P. (8): Bede (1): 78.33^b = 56.10^b. — Boeth. (2): 32.28 = 39.89;
       69.3 = 0. — Greg. (2): 237.7 = 178.22; 353.25 = 274.6. — Bl. Hom. (2): 63.21^a; 223.27. —
       Wulf. (1): 197.24^{\circ}. — I. (2): Boeth. (1): 64.19 = 60.44. — Greg. (1): 53.19 = 30.17.
hiersumian [-y-], obey, serve: P. (0). — I. (1): Bened. (1): 1.15 = 4.3.
hogian, think, consider: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 558^{\rm m}.
hopi(g)an, hope: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Int. (1): 270.
hradian, hasten: P. (0). — I. (1): Bened. (1): 5. 8^a = 10.16^a.
hycgan, think, consider: P. (2): Rid. (2): 29.12; 32.23. — I. (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II
       (1): 12.2.
hyrsumian: see hiersumian.
ieldan [yldan], delay: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 350<sup>m</sup>.
lacnian, treat medically: P. (3): Leece. (3): 25.30<sup>b</sup>; 73.36<sup>a</sup>; 78.22. — I. (0).
læran, teach: P. (9): Greg. (9): 25.15 = 6.1; 119.2^b = 82.17; 179.21 = 134.24; 205.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24; 179.21 = 134.24
       154.13; 233.23 = 176.21; 277.3 = 208.21; 341.15 = 264.7; 409.24 = 330.3; 441.6 = 368.1.
       — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 127.25 = 108.15.
1ætan, let (blood): P. (4): Læce. (4): 26.1; 44.20b; 76.26; 77.3. — I. (0).
laðian, invite: P. (1): Wærf. (1): 263.4 = 321 \text{ A}^1. — I. (0).
lean, blame: P. (2): Laws (1): 254, VI Æthelred, c. 29a. — Bl. Hom. (1): 63.21b. — I. (0).
libban [lifigan], live: P. (0). — I. (2): Bede (1): 424.4 = 304.14. — Weef. (1): 317.15 =
       381 D.
liefan [-y-], believe: P. (0). — I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 11.12.
lifigan: see libban.
lufian, love: P. (12): Bede (2): 66.24, 25 = 49.29. — Boeth. (2): 108.21 = 0; 113.14 = 97.25. —
      Greg. (2): 133.15 = 94.18; 441.15 = 368.12. — Pr. Ps. (1): 18.9 = 18.11. — Laws (1):
      254, VI Æthelred, c. 29<sup>b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 310.38<sup>a</sup>. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1):
      \mathscr{E}lf.\ Gr.\ (1): 144.11.\ -A.\ S.\ Hom.\ \&\ L.\ S.\ I\ (1): 3.573.\ -Wulf.\ (1): 73.8^a.\ -I.\ (0).
mærsian [-igan], glorify, praise: P. (2); Bl. Hom. (1): 161.6a.—Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 324t.—I. (0).
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manian [monian], admonish: P. (243): Bede (2): 70.26 = 51.19; 72.4 = 51.31. — Greg. (241):
15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 17.3, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 24 = 130.23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 132.1,
3, 6; 19.1, 3, 7, 12, 17, 20, 23 = 132.7, 8, 11, 15, 18, 20, 21; 21.1, 4, 7, 11, 15, 18 = 132.23, 25, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1, 19.1
27, 29, 134.1, 3; 177.11 = 132.8; 179.14, 15, 19 = 134.10, 14; 181.3, 5 = 134.20, 21; 187.12,
14 = 140.8, 9; 189.12, 14 = 142.2, 3; 191.12, 16, 19, 21 = 142.21, 23, 24; 195.15, 25 = 146.13,
22; 197.4 = 146.26; 201.7, 9, 10, 11, 13 = 150.8, 9, 10, 11, 13; 203.3, 5, 6, 8^a = 152.2, 3, 4,
5; 205.19 = 154.12; 209.1, 4 = 156.13, 14; 215.3, 5 = 162.2, 3; 220.18 = 166.28; 229.3, 10,
12, 13 = 172.19, 26, 27, 28; 231.15 = 174.24; 237.4, 6, 14 = 178.20, 21, 23; 247.3, 5, 6, 11,
14 = 186.17, 18, 19, 24, 27; 251.20 = 190.20; 253.23 = 192.12; 255.13 = 192.25; 257.19 = 192.25
194.19; 261.1 = 196.15; 263.1, 6, 7, 14 = 198.7, 9, 10, 17; 265.14 = 200.10; 271.6, 9 = 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.19; 194.
204.12, 13; 273.2 = 206.1; 275.2 = 206.23; 281.16, 18, 19, 21 = 212.20, 21, 22, 23; 287.20,
22 = 218.5, 6; 289.4 = 218.11; 291.3, 4 = 218.26, 220.2; 299.1, 3 = 226.2, 3; 302.13, 15 = 226.2
228.27, 28; 305.10, 12 = 232.19, 20; 307.4, 7, 19 = 234.21, 24, 236.8; 308.13, 16 = 236.21,
33; 313.6, 18 = 240.21, 29; 315.8 = 242.15; 319.11, 14, 16 = 246.11, 13, 15; 321.5 = 246.26;
227.12, 24 = 252.18, 29; 335.1, 5, 9 = 258.13, 16, 19; 337.5 = 260.16; 339.6, 22, 24 = 262.7,
21; 341.8 = 262.29; 345.4, 6, 7 = 266.8, 9, 10; 349.18 = 270.10; 351.3, 18 = 270.20, 272.6;
355.8, 11 = 274.14, 16; 357.12, 14, 15 = 276.18, 19, 20; 361.5 = 278.30; 363.8 = 280.27;
365.1, 5, 7, 13 = 282.16, 18, 20, 26; 369.1, 22, 25 = 286.3, 24, 27; 371.28 = 286.27, 288.7;
375.12, 17, 21, 22 = 292.2, 5, 7, 8; 383.20, 31, 34 = 298.19, 27, 30; 387.1, 5, 8, 16 = 302.16,
18, 21, 304.1; 389.28 = 306.16; 393.13, 20, 22, 23 = 310.13, 20, 21, 22; 395.31 = 314.7;
397.8 = 314.20; 399.36 = 318.23; 401.1 = 318.23; 401.22, 31 = 320.12, 21; 403.7, 10, 11,
18, 27 = 322.5, 7, 8, 15, 24; 405.7 = 324.10; 407.19, 22, 27 = 326.25, 27, 328.3; 409.22, 28 = 326.25, 27, 328.3;
330.3, 8; 411.20 = 332.4; 413.3, 5, 6, 14, 22, 32 = 332.21, 23, 24, 334.6, 15, 26; 415.8 = 336.6;
417.3, 31 = 338.8, 340.5; 419.17, 20, 22 = 342.2, 4, 6; 421.24, 36 = 344.13, 23; 423.29 = 342.2
346.23; 427.8, 11, 12, 17, 20 = 350.13, 16, 18, 23, 25; 429.2, 7, 29, 33 = 352.18, 24, 354.19,
21; 431.1, 11 = 354.23, 356.4; 433.31^a = 360.1; 435.29 = 362.6; 437.1, 5, 7, 23, 32, 33 = 360.1; 435.29 = 362.6; 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1, 437.1,
362.11, 14, 17, 364.14; 439.7, 9, 17 = 364.21, 366.2; 441.1, 4 = 366.25, 27; 445.4, 26 = 372.17,
374.11; 447.22, 26, 28, 31 = 376.10, 12, 15, 18; 449.11, 20, 22 = 378.7, 19. — I. (0).
manigan manigean : see manian.
metan, measure, compare: P. (3): Boeth. (2): 29.4 = 36.28; 72.12 = 0. — Met. (1): 21.42 (or
          absolute?). — I. (0).
midligan, bridle: P. (1): Greg. (1): 275.10 = 208.5. - I. (0).
monian: see manian.
myndgian, remind: P. (1): Greg. (1): 303.7 = 230.5 - I. (0).
nemnan, name: P. (1): Bened. (1): 139.29 = 0. — I. (0).
niman, take: P. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Æthelw. (1): 5. — I. (0).
oferbugan, deceive: P. (1): Greg. (1): 295.21 = 224.2. — I. (0).
offrian [-igan], offer: P. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 310.38b. — I. (0).
offrigan: see offrian.
onbærnan, incite: P. (1): Bede (1): 74.2 = 53.5. — I. (0).
ondrædan, dread, fear: P. (8): Bede (1): 86.9 = 60.7. — Greg. (1): 105.25 = 72.26. — Werf.
          (1): 63.14 = 193 B<sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. Hom. (4): I. 322^{t_1}, 522^{b_1}, 592^{t_1}, 592^{t_1}, 2. — A. S. Hom. &
          L. S. II (1): 18.283. - I. (2): Greg. (2): 139.3 = 98.31; 383.26 = 298.24.
ongeotan: see ongietan.
ongietan [-eo-, -i-, -y-], understand, consider: P. (5): Bede (3): 224.24 = 172.7; 230.21 =
          175.18; 440.30 = 313.16. — Warf. (2): 295.22 = 357 A<sup>2</sup>; 322.25^{b} = 388 D<sup>2</sup>. — I. (8):
          Greg. (1): 377.22 = 294.6. — Wærf. (5): 66.26 = 196 C<sup>1</sup>; 245.21 = 300 C<sup>1</sup>; 270.10 = 329
          B^1; 323.7 = 389 A^2; 342.18 = 416 C^2. — Bl. Hom. (1): 81.20. — Læce. (1): 61.32.
ongitan: see ongietan.
ongytan: see ongietan.
onherian, imitate: P. (1): Warf. (1): 13.25^{b} = 157 \text{ A}^{2}. — I. (0).
onscunian [an-], shun: P. (3): Boeth. (1): 41.9 = 44.4. - Bl. Hom. (1): 65.13. - Wulf.
          (1): 242.2. - I. (0).
profian, assume to be: P. (2): Laws (2): 14, Wihtræd, c. 28<sup>a</sup>; 98, Ine, c. 20<sup>a</sup>. — I. (0).
rædan, read: P. (0). — I. (2): Chron. (1): 128b, 995 Fa. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr.
          (1): 135.6.
reccan [-cean]. give, direct, explain: P. (2): Bede (1): 66.11a = 49.15. — Greg. (1): 265.22 =
          200.16. - I. (1): Greg. (1): 441.12 = 368.9.
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reccean: see reccan.
retan. cheer: P. (2): Greq. (2): 181.6^{b} = 134.23; 181.19 = 136.6. — I. (0).
rihtan, correct: P. (1): Wærf. (1): 263.3<sup>a</sup> = 320 D. — I. (0).
sceawian, consider, seek: P. (1): Warf. (1): 122.21 = B. 152 C^2. - I. (2): Warf. (2): 239.26
      = 292 \text{ C}^2; 349.27^a = 428 \text{ C}.
secan [-cean], seek: P. (6): Bede (2): 50.10^{b} = 30.17; 78.24 = 56.2. — Greg. (1): 171.8 =
     126.5. — Laws (1): 320, II Cnut, c. 17, § 1. — Warf. (1): 91.17<sup>a</sup> = 216 A. — Ælf. Hom.
     (1): I. 120^{t}. — I. (2): Greg. (1): 151.11^{a} = 108.22. — Warf. (1): 245.23 = 300 \text{ C}^{2}.
secean: see secan.
secgan, say: P. (5): Boeth. (1): 41.3 = 0. — Warf. (1): 139.32 = B. 168 A. — And. (1): 1481.
     — Gu. (2): 502; 510. — I. (14): Bede (3): 208.32 = 163.17; 298.12 = 228.6; 334.30 =
     = 254.31. - Boeth. (1): 39.10 = 42.63. - Greg. (8): 215.6 = 162.4; 215.12 = 162.9; 220.24
     168.5; 231.4 = 174.11; 231.10 = 174.18; 233.16 = 176.14; 235.10 = 178.2; 261.3 = 196.16.
     — Bl. Hom. (1): 63.16. — Wulf. (1): 204.2.
sellan [-ie-, -y-], give, distribute: P. (9): Bede (1): 66.11b = 49.15. — Bened. (1): 55.18 =
     104.11. — Mat. (2): 17.22; 20.23<sup>b</sup>. — Lace. (5): 62.22, 28; 63.33; 64.2; 68.31. — I. (1): Lace.
     (1): 63.22^{b}.
sendan, send, put: P. (1): L. (1): 6.38. - I. (0).
singan, sing: P. (4): Greg. (1): 409.10 = 328.21. — Bened. (3): 6.15 = 62.1; 33.6 = 62.1;
     33.12 = 62.10.
siellan: see sellan.
slean, slay: P. (2): Laws (2): 14, Wihtred, c. 28<sup>b</sup>; 98, Ine, c. 20<sup>b</sup>. — I. (0).
smeagan [-gean], consider, weigh: P. (6): Greg. (1): 153.13 = 110.20. — Bened. (1): 16.9 =
     28.20. — Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 254<sup>t</sup>, 340<sup>b</sup>; II. 280<sup>m</sup>. — Wulf. (1): 185.6<sup>a</sup>. — I. (10): Bede (1):
     84.3^{a} = 59.5. - Greg. (1): 59.21^{b} = 34.27. - Bened. (1): 15.6 = 26.16. - Bl. Hom. (1):
     33.17. - \text{#H} Hom. (4): I. 308^{\text{m}}, 328^{\text{b}}, 342^{\text{m}}; II. 276^{\text{m}}. - #H. L. S. (1): 282.284. -
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 12.1.
smi(e)rwan, anoint: P. (1): Læce. (1): 73.36b. — I. (0).
sorgian, lament: P. (2): Bede (1): 86.10^a = 60.8. — Wulf. (1): 185.6^b. — I. (0).
sparian, spare: P. (1): Greg. (1): 141.9 = 100.29. - I. (0).
sprecan, speak: P. (4): Bede (1): 66.8 = 49.14. — Greg. (1): 59.7 = 34.17. — Werf. (1): 263.6
     = 321 \text{ A}^2. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 19.16. — I. (0).
stillan, make calm: \mathbf{P}. (1) Læce. (1): 54.4. — \mathbf{I}. (0).
swingan, chastise: P. (1): Greg. (1): 265.16 = 200.10. — I. (0).
syllan: see sellan.
tæcan, teach: P. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 151.12.
tælan, blame: P. (0). — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 64.18 = 60.44.
talian, consider: P. (2): Boeth. (1): 56.7 = 54.61. - Wulf. (1): 25.6. - I. (0).
tellan, account, reckon: P. (6): Boeth. (5): 54.11 = 53.34; 56.66 = 53.60; 56.10 = 54.63;
     110.20 = 95.125; 111.2 = 0. — Bened. (1): 77.5 = 144.23. — I. (0).
teweorpan [to-], cast aside: P. (1): Greg. (1): 443.33 = 372.10. — I. (0).
tilian, strive: P. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 349.6 = 428 \text{ A}^4.
trahtnigan, expound: P. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 332<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — I. (0).
trymman, strengthen: P. (1): Greg. (1): 203.10 = 152.8. — I. (0).
tweogian, doubt: P. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 234.12 = 177.4.
Safian, allow: P. (1): Laws (1): 128, Ælfred and Guthrum, c. 5. — I. (0).
Tencan, think, consider: P. (1): Boeth. (1): 16.19 = 26.43. — I. (4): Bede (1): 66.4^a = 49.8^a. —
     Greg. (2): 275.17 = 208.11; 463.32 = 400.14. — Laws (1): 146, I Æthelstan, c. 3.
öicgan, take, eat: P. (7): Læce. (7): 50.20°, 37; 63.27, 34; 74.7; 76.34; 79.17. — I. (0).
Straffan, reprove, correct: P. (0). — I. (1): Greg. 151.12 = 108.23.
*Treagean, rebuke: P. (4): Greg. (3): 157.24 = 114.15; 159.17 = 116.1; 265.15 = 200.10. —
     Weef. (1): 263.3^{b} = 320 \text{ D.} - \text{I.} (0).
Treagian: see Treagean.
Freatian [-gan]: P. (1): Greg. (1): 183.3^a = 136.15. — I. (1): Greg. (1): 151.11^b = 108.22.
Treatigan: see Treatian.
underfon, receive: P. (2): Bede (1): 182.25 = 148.19. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 336.222. — I. (0).
undersecan [-cean], investigate: P. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 209.12 = 156.21.
understandan, understand: P. (17): Bened. (1): 23.7 = 46.9. — Ælf. Hom. (14): I. 92<sup>m</sup>,
    262<sup>b</sup> 1, 2, 3, 264<sup>b</sup>; II. 80<sup>t</sup>, 210<sup>t</sup>, 244<sup>m</sup>, 270<sup>b</sup> 1, 2, 362<sup>b</sup>, 554<sup>t</sup> 5, 564<sup>b</sup>, 566<sup>m</sup>. — Ælfric's Minor
    Prose (1): Ælf. Int. (1): 17°. — Wulf. (1): 192.21. — I. (9): Ælf. Hom. (5): I. 132b, 492b;
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II. 204<sup>t</sup>, 458<sup>t</sup>, 538<sup>m</sup>. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (3): Ælf. Int. (3): 18, 145, 152. — Wulf. (1): 113.8.
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wafian, wonder at: **P**. (5): Wærf. (5): 82.24 = 208 B¹; 120.12 = B. 150 B; 172.22 = B. 198 C; 187.8 = 228 B; $240.24 = 293 \text{ C}^2$. — **I**. (0).

wanian, reduce: P. (1): Lace. (1): 153.1. — I. (0).

warnian, take care: **P**. (0). — **I**. (9): Laws (1): 444, Wifmannes Beweddung, c. 9. — Bened. (2): 25.18 = 50.15; 129.4 = 198.12. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 536^{t} . — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (4): 11.24, 62, 119; 12.90. — Wulf. (1): 147.9.

wenan, expect, hope: P. (2): Boeth. (2): 39.9 = 42.62; 148.27 = 0. — I. (3): Boeth. (1): 37.30 = 42.43. — Solil. (1): 65.25. — Ps. (1): 77.10.

weorŏian [wurŏ-], honor: P. (10): Boeth. (3): $72.27^{\circ} = 0$; 75.13 = 67.18; 75.14 = 0. — Greg. (1): 181.20 = 136.6. — Oros. (1): 126.32 = 0. — Bl. Hom. (2): 161.6° ; 197.5° . — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 462. — Wulf. (2): 73.8° ; 197.24° . — I. (0).

weotan: see witan.

wiernan [-y-], forbid: P. (0). — I. (1): Lace. (1): 100.37.

wilnian, wish, desire: P. (2): Boeth. (1): 31.3 = 37.53. — Wærf. (1): $91.17^b = 216$ A. — I. (2): Boeth. (2): 39.11 = 43.64; 110.25 = 95.128.

witan [weotan], know: P. (5): Bede (1): 76.10 = 54.23. — Warf. (1): 329.4 = 396 C². — Bl. Hom. (1): 129.26. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 11.86; 12.140. — I. (46): Bede (1): 334.26 = 254.27. — Greg. (8): 135.15 = 96.13; $151.8^a = 108.18$; 157.14 = 114.9; 269.19 = 204.1; 293.14 = 222.4; 306.18 = 234.16; 306.20 = 234.16; 459.6 = 392.4. — Laws (1): 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, Inscr., c. 2. — Warf. (6): 281.3 = 341 B¹; 291.24 = 352 D; 323.25 = 389 C; 339.1 = 409 B¹; 348.4 = 425 B; 349.18 = 428 B. — Bl. Hom. (2): 63.35; 209.19. — Ælf. Hom. (4): I. 110^t ; II. 292^b , 546^t , 608^b . — Ælf. L. S. (7): 424.155; 458.284; 460.307; 466.403; 470.464; XXV. 812; XXVII. 143. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Pref. to Gen. 24.16. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (10): Ælf. Gr. (10): 18.20; 31.15; 60.2; 75.4; 113.13; 118.18; 154.1; 179.6, 16; 198.4. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (3): 11.49; 12.21, 33. — Wulf. (2): 201.23; 218.6. — Minor Prose (1): Neot (1): 195.

widmeotan: see widmetan.

wiömetan [-meotan], compare: P. (5): Bede (1): 408.5 = 295.24. - Elf. Hom. (4): I. $486^{\text{b}_{1,2}}$, 596^{b} ; II. $230^{\text{b}}. - \text{I.}$ (0).

wuldrian, glorify: P. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 197.5b. — I. (0).

wundrian [wynd-], wonder at, admire: P. (13): Bede (2): 178.11 = 145.23; 188.2 = 151.16. — Boeth. (2): $72.27^{b} = 0$; 104.4 = 88.12. — Oros. (2): 34.31 = 0; 134.24 = 0. — Solil. (1): 12.24. — Wærf. (3): 67.31 = 197 A; 90.19 = 213 B¹; 240.23 = 293 C¹. — Bl. Hom. (1): 33.12. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 18.322. — Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 26. — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): Nic. (1): 492.30.

wyndrian: see wundrian.

wyrcan, work, make: P. (2): Læce. (2): 5.30; 70.28. — I. (0).

wyrnan: see wiernan. yldan: see ieldan.

II. THE INFINITIVE ACTIVE IN SENSE.

Given in full in Chapter VII, pp. 102–104.

B. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES FUTURITY.

Given in full in Chapter VII, pp. 104-105.

C. THE INFINITIVE DENOTES PURPOSE.

Given in full in Chapter VII, pp. 105-106.

VIII. The Predicative Infinitive with Accusative Subject. AS OBJECT.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Normally the infinitive is uninflected, but sporadically it is inflected.

1. Uninflected.

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æteawan, show, demonstrate (1): Bede (1): 84.2 = 59.4.
afindan, find (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 9.364.
alætan, allow, permit (2): Beow. (1): 2666. — Dan. (1): 591.
andettan: see ondettan.
bebeodan [bi-], command (16): Pr. Ps. (2): 41.9<sup>a</sup>; 43.6. — Ex. (6): 217<sup>a, b</sup>; 218<sup>a, b</sup>; 219<sup>a, b</sup>. —
     El. (1): 980. — And. (7): 729; 730; 773; 775<sup>a, b</sup>; 777; 779.
began [biegan], urge, force (1): Ps. (1): 143.14 (?).
behealdan [bi-], behold, see (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 32<sup>m</sup>.
bibeodan: see bebeodan.
biddan, bid, request, command (12): Bede (1): 6.13 = 16.3. — Chron. (1): 173<sup>t</sup>, 1048 E<sup>a</sup>. —
     \mathcal{E}lf.\ L.\ S.\ (3): 76.439,\ 440;\ 266.70.\ --- Gen.\ (1):\ 2031.\ --- Dan.\ (2):\ 359;\ 542.\ --- El.\ (1):
     1101. -Gu. (1): 1133. -And. (1): 1614. -Maldon (1): 170.
bihealdan: see behealdan.
cweŏan, say (1): Wærf. (1): 203.23 = 248 D.
don, make, cause (14): Bede (1): 98.27<sup>b</sup> = 81.29<sup>b</sup>. — Laws (1): 410, Judicium Dei IV, c. 4,
     § 1. — Ælf. Hom. (9): I. 64^{\rm m}, 468^{\rm m} 1, 2, 3, 4; II. 216^{\rm m}, 296^{\rm b}, 442^{\rm b}, 600^{\rm m}. — Wulf. (2):
     196.1, 2. — Ps. (1): 103.30.
eowan, show (1): Werf. (1): 200.14 = 244 C^4.
findan, find, discover (10): Oros. (1): 128.14 = 129.12. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 452^{t}. — L. (1):
     19.32. -Beow. (5): 119; 1268; 1415; 2271; 3034. -Jul. (1): 364. -Jud. (1): 278.
forbeodan, forbid (1): Mat. (1): 19.14.
foresecgan, foretell, predict (1): Bede(1): 406.21 = 294.23.
forlætan, allow, permit (53): Bede (1): 318.4 = 243.28. - Greg. (1): 467.11 = 404.1. - Oros.
     (1): 212.17 = 213.22. — Solil. (3): 5.6; 21.22; 62.27. — Chron. (1): 5^{t}, Intr. E. — Wærf.
     (1): 294.5 = 356 \text{ A}^1. — Bl. Hom. (6): 59.29; 75.26; 87.14; 127.22; 227.21; 249.15. —
    Mart. (1): 156.21. — Ælf. Hom. (4): II. 192<sup>t</sup> 2, 194<sup>t</sup>, 396<sup>b</sup> 1, 2. — Ælf. L. S. (6): 144.429;
    XXIII B. 389, 703; XXXI. 1062; XXXIII. 304; XXXIV. 355. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Judges
    3.21.—Ælf. Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.38<sup>t</sup>. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I
    (1): 9.101. — Wulf. (5): 232.17; 254.21; 256.4<sup>a</sup>, b, 5. — Beow. (1): 3167. — Gen. (2):
    1406; 1450. — El. (2): 598; 794. — Ju. (1): 489. — Gu. (1): 1148. — And. (2): 836;
    1589. — Rid. (2): 39.4°, b. — Ps. (1): 124.3. — D. R. (1): 62. — F. I. (1): 75. — Mal-
    don (3): 150; 156; 322. — Prayers (1): IV. 49. — S. & S. (1): 456. — Schöpf. (1): 101.
geacsian [geaxian], learn by asking (4): Bl. Hom. (2): 109.2<sup>a, b</sup>. — Wulf. (2): 2.2, 5.
geaxian: see geacsian.
gecy\deltaan, make known (1): Wærf. (1): 137.7 = B. 166 A.
gedon, make, cause (2): Bl. Hom. (1): 239.16. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXIII. 316.
gefelan, feel, perceive (2): Bede (1): 156.32 = 130.30. — Wærf. (1): 236.1 = 288 B.
gefricgan: see gefrignan.
gefrignan [gefricgan], learn by inquiry, hear (41): Beow. (9): 1012; 1029; 1970; 2485; 2695;
    2754^{a, b}; 2773; 2775. — Gen. (5): 1961; 2060; 2242; 2483; 2540. — Ex. (3): 7; 99; 286. —
     Dan. (6): 1; 2; 3; 57; 459; 739.—Chr. (1): 79.—And. (1): 1706.—Rid. (5): 46.1,
    2<sup>a, b, c</sup>; 49.1. — Jud. (4): 8; 9; 247; 249. — Har. (1): 161. — Fallen Angels (1): 226. —
    Finns. (2): 40; 41. — S. & S. (2): 179; 181. — Wids. (1): 10.
gehatan, promise (4): Bede (3): 122.34 = 99.25; 316.29 = 243.22; 394.27 = 287.15. — Ælf.
    L. S. (1): XXIII B. 693.
gehawian, see (1): W \text{ erf. } (1): 250.26 = 305 \text{ C.}
geheran: see gehieran.
gehieran [-e-, -y-], hear (53): Bede (11): 156.21 = 130.19; 174.17 = 143.22; 212.9^{a, b} = 120.19
    164.31; 264.21 = 208.22; 264.28 = 208.29; 322.3 = 245.28; 352.10^{a, b} = 264.7, 8; 400.18 = 264.7
    290.8; 470.17 = 346.3. — Warf. (3): 117.22 = B. 148 A^3; 153.22 = B. 180 B; 329.9 = B
    396 D. — Bl. Hom. (4): 15.15; 19.18; 73.36; 75.1. — Pr. Gu. (1): XX. 74. — Ælf.
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Hom. (4): I. $142^{\rm b}$, $314^{\rm m}$, $420^{\rm m}$; II. $518^{\rm t}{}^3$. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXXI. 80, 1397. — Mk. (1): 14.58. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (3): 10.371; 15.297 = 217.337; 18.381. — Minor Prose (5): Chad (5): 103; 105; 111; 142; 145. — Beow. (2): 786; 787. — Gen. (3): $508^{\rm a, \, b}$; 2409. — Chr. (2): 797; 798. — El. (2): $443^{\rm a, \, b}$. — Ju. (2): 609; 629. — Ps. (1): $61.11^{\rm a}$. — Met. (2): 9.15; 13.47. — Fallen Angels (1): 134. — Fates of Apostles (1): 24. — H. L. (1): 22. — S. & S. (2): $425^{\rm a, \, b}$.

gehihtan: see *gehyhtan*.

gehyhtan [-i-], hope (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 557.

gehyran: see gehieran. gelefan: see geliefan.

geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe (1): $W \alpha rf$. (1): 207.25 = 253 B.

gelyfan: see geliefan.

gemetan, meet, find (26): Bede (2): 386.3 = 282.5; 398.19 = 289.12. — Boeth. (1): 61.18 = 58.7. — Greg. (1): 415.23 = 336.22. — Chron. (1): $124^{\rm b}$, 982 C. — Wærf. (6): 99.23 = 8. 130 B; 124.11 = 8. 154 C⁴; 156.10 = 8. 182 B²; 206.6 = 252 A⁴; $330.3^{\rm a, \ b} = 397$ B^{1, 2}. — Bl. Hom. (2): 237.18; 239.23. — Pr. Gu. (1): XX. 49. — Mart. (1): 112.5. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. $502^{\rm m}$; II. $180^{\rm b}$. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXX. 164; XXXIII. 185. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): Napier's Ad. to Th. (2): $102.31^{\rm t}$, $31^{\rm m}$. — Minor Prose (2): Apol. (1): 22.28; Nic. (1): 494.18. — And. (3): 145; 247; 1062.

gemittan, meet, find (2): Gen. (1): 2426. — Spirit of Men (1): 46.

gemunan, remember, recall (4): Bede (1): 322.19 = 246.9. — Wærf. (2): 281.9 = 341 B²; 283.1 = 344 B. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 48^m.

geseon, see (319): Bede (25): 102.32 = 84.7; $112.8^{a, b} = 91.10$, 11; 128.16 = 108.22; 144.4= 117.13; 174.7 = 143.14; 174.18 = 143.26; 184.33 = 149.30; 214.14 = 166.7; 270.24 = 211.32;270.25 = 211.33; 296.6 = 226.21; 340.9 = 257.12; 342.23 = 259.16; 354.2 = 264.28; 418.11 $=301.7;\ 426.8^{a}=305.22^{b};\ 426.33^{a,\ b}=306.15;\ 430.31=308.11;\ 432.24^{a,\ b}=308.19^{a,\ b};\ 434.24^{a,\ b}=308.19^{a,\ b}$ = 309.14; $474.19^{a, b} = 348.10^{a, b}$. — Boeth. (4): 97.18 = 0; 105.27 = 90.30; 106.16 = 91.17; 111.13 = 95.1. - Greg. (3): 101.19 = 70.7; 255.24, 25 = 194.5. - Oros. (11): 3.24 = 0; $3.26^{a.b}$ = 0; 42.33 = 43.33; 44.2 = 43.33; 142.15 = 143.15; 154.5 = 155.2; 162.6, 7 = 163.5; 188.25= 189.23; 262.27 = 263.27. — Pr. Ps. (1): 48.8 = 48.11. — Wærf. (30): 26.25 = 165 C¹; 95.15= B. 126 A; 101.13 = B. 132 B^4 ; 116.15 = B. 146 C; $119.6^{a, b} = \text{B}$. 148 C^2 ; 122.11 = B. 152 C^1 ; 156.28 = B. 182 C³; 171.2, 4 = B. 198 B^{1, 2}; $181.22^{a, b} = 220$ B^{1, 2}; 217.1 = 264 C⁴; 225.21, 22 = 276 B; $250.27 = 308 \text{ A}^1$; $267.27^a = 328 \text{ A}^1$; $271.24 = 332 \text{ B}^1$; $273.10 = 333 \text{ A}^1$; 273.15 $= 333 \text{ A}^2$; $275.16 = 336 \text{ A}^1$; 280.5 = 340 D; $286.21 = 248 \text{ B}^1$; $288.10 = 349 \text{ A}^1$; $289.15^a = 349 \text{ A}^2$ C^3 ; 298.6 = 360 B; $304.7 = 368 A^3$; $322.18 = 388 C^2$; $325.28 = 392 C^1$; 347.8 = 424 C.Bened. (1): 25.20 = 50.18. — Bl. Hom. (19): 129.5, 7, 22; 177.15^{a, b, c}, 16^{a, b}, 17^{a, b}; 187.34; 191.23; 199.19^b, 26; 217.21; 227.24; 237.23; 239.21; 245.17. — $Pr.\ Gu.\ (11)$: II. 55, 56, 57; V. 181, 196, 198, 273; VIII. 4; IX. 8; XI. 17; XXI. 23. — Mart. (18): 2.13, 15; 8.1; 16.25; **24**.16, 18; 38.21^{a, b}; 56.9, 10, 19; 70.15; 82.11; 84.11; 96.9; 158.21; 168.20; 172.5. — Ælf. Hom. (29): I. 42^b, 48^t ³, 48^b ², 68^t, 72^t ¹, ², 72^b, 74^b ³, 238^m, 310^t ¹, ², 330^m, 422^m, 562^t ², 578^b, 584^b ¹, ², ³, ⁴; II. 28^{b} , 150^{b} , 272^{m} , 304^{t} , 468^{t} , 468^{m} , 514^{t} , 516^{t} , 518^{t} . — \cancel{Elf} . L. S. (20): 64.242; 80.503; 184.250; 394.164; 518.508; XXIII B. 174, 180, 401, 773; XXVI. 156; XXVII. 92; XXXI. 357, 682, 1091, 1184, 1314, 1315, 1364; XXXIII. 303; XXXIV. 272. — Ælf. Hept. (10); Gen. 28.12^a; 37.25; 41.2, 3, 5; — Ex. 2.13; 20.18; 23.5; — Jos. 5.13; 8.20. — Ælfric's Minor Prose $(2): \textit{Alf. Gr.}\ (1): 150.16; Napier's Ad. to Th.\ (1): 102.34^{b}. — Gosp.\ (16): Mat.\ (1): 20.3; — Mk.$ (5): 5.15; 7.2; 13.14; 14.62^a ; 16.14;.— L. (3): 21.1, 2; 24.39; — J. (7): 5.6, 19; 6.19; 20.5, 6, 12; 21.9. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (3): 2.115; 3.476; 5.134. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (7): 10.228; 13.127; 15.129, 130 = 211.116, 117; 15.207; 18.361, 376. - Wulf. (4): 140.12; 187.11a,b;199.14. — Minor Prose (7): Alex. (2): 255, 642; — Apol. (3): 18.19; 24.15, 36; — Chad (1): 214; — Nic. (1): 504.30. — Beow. (18): 222; 729; 1348; 1426; 1427; 1517; 1586; 1662; 2545;2546; 2605; 2758; 2760; 2767; 2824; 3040; 3128; 3129. — Gen. (13): 109; 134; 548; 669; 773; 1321; 1822; 2088; 2403; 2578; 2778; 2877; 2927. — Ex. (7): 104; 156; 157^{a, b}; 160^{a, b}; 571. — Dan. (8): 22; 23; 24; 545; 553; 602; 603; 727. — Chr. (10): 498; 507; 513; 522; 741; 925; 1129; 1249; 1253; 1291. — El. (5): 244^{a, b}; 245; 246; 1111. — Gu. (2): 28^{a, b}. — And. (9): 495; 849; 882; 993; 1006; 1448; 1494; 1502; 1691. — Rid. (6): 30.2; 37.1; 57.2; 69.1; 75.1; 76.1. — Jud. (1): 137. — Ps. (1): 127.7. — D. R. (6): 5; 15; 22; 34; 36; 52. — Fates of Men (1): $47. - H\ddot{o}l$. (2): 51; 53. - S. & S. (2): $235^{a, b}$. - Versuchung (1): 51. - Wald. A. (3): 15^{a, b}; 16. — Wand. (3): 47^{a, b}; 48.

getreowan: see getriewan.

getriewan, trust, hope (1): Bede (1): 190.30 = 153.14. geoafian, allow (4): Bl. Hom. (1): 45.19. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 92^t. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 108.323, 324. geőolian [gi-], allow (1): Laws (1): 412, Judicium Dei V, c. 2, § 4b. geunnan, grant (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Æthelw. (1): 53. gewitan, perceive, observe (1): And. (1): 802^a. giðolian: see geðolian. habban, have (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 440^{m} . hatan, command, order (448): Bede (26): $34.25^{a, b} = 18.25$; 58.9 = 45.17; 58.20 = 45.29; 58.28 = 46.5; 118.8, 9 = 94.22; $138.11^{a,b} = 113.19^{a,b}$; $186.4^{a,b} = 150.6$, 7; 232.8 = 176.1; 260.32=206.27;266.2=209.5;320.3,4=244.31;340.23=257.28;350.30=263.27;366.17=271.24;388.24 = 283.31; 388.28 = 284.3; 388.31 = 0; 392.28 = 286.8; 398.8 = 288.27^b; 438.2 = 311.15; 462.19 = 329.5. — Boeth. (2): 36.21 = 41.26; 136.26 = 116.39. — Greg. (1): 279.19 = 210.26.— Oros. (9): 3.13 = 0; 68.23 = 0; 80.30 = 0; $202.2^{a, b} = 201.32$, 33; 202.8 = 203.1; 212.6= 213.10; 222.3 = 0; 280.12 = 281.13. - Solil. (1): 49.1 = 0. - Chron. (9): 12^t, 449 A^a; 22^m,616 A^{a, b}; 104^t, 923 A^{d, e, f}; 121^b, 975 D; 130^m, 995 F^f; 130^b, 995 F^g. — Werf. (12): 2.7 = 0; 10.4 = 0; 34.22 = 172 B¹; 58.13 = 189 C¹; 58.17 = 189 C²; 59.3 = 189 D; 80.13 = 205 C¹; $144.20 = B. 172 A^5$; $175.18 = B. 202 A^2$; $297.9^{a, b} = 360 A^{1, 2}$; 337.37 = 408 A. - Bened. (1): 70.18 = 134.7. - Bl. Hom. (10): 21.30; 41.34; 139.13; 173.11; 181.5; 217.26; 219.16^{a, b}; 229.15; 247.26. — Mart. (25): 24.29; 32.5; 58.14, 15; $80.1^{a, b}$; 82.6^{a} ; 94.3; 96.14; 108.19, 20, 25; 114.20^{a, b}; 118.9; 120.4; 132.8^a; 136.16; 166.15^b; 170.13; 184.23^{a, b}; 214.10; 216.23, 24.— Ælf. Hom. (61): I. 28^t, 58^t, 234^m, 450^b ², 460^b, 466^m, 526^b ¹, ²; II. 32^t ², 32^b, 36^t, 66^t ¹, ², 106^m, 136^t ¹, ², ³, 146^b, 162^t, 168^b ³, 170^b ⁵, 178^t ², 178^m, 178^b ², 180^b ², ³, 190^b, 196^t, 196^m, 198^b, 234^{b 1, 2}, 242^{b 1, 2}, 244^{t 2}, 246^{b 1, 2}, 248^m, 304^{b 3}, 310^{b 4}, 330^t, 338^t, 346^{t 1, 2}, 384^{m 1, 2}, 388^{b 2}, $390^{\rm b}$, $398^{\rm b}$, $416^{\rm t}$, $440^{\rm t}$, $470^{\rm b}$, $474^{\rm b}$, 2, $476^{\rm b}$, $486^{\rm t}$, $500^{\rm b}$, $510^{\rm b}$, $516^{\rm m}$, 2, $548^{\rm b}$. — Ælf. L. S. (94): 38.215; 46.361; 64.235; 78.465, 474; 84.577; 94.66; 96.112; 98.142; 104.230; 108.329; 114.409; 116.14; 146.464^{a, b}, 467; 148.13; 190.357^{a, b}, 360; 194.411; 234.241, 242, 245^{a, b} 236.258; 240.15; 302.277; 308.24; 310.56; 314.104^{a, b, c}; 320.12, 13, 16, 17; 344.127^a, 128; 354.262; 388.72; 390.96; 392.145; 394.163^{a, b}; 406.375^{a, b}; 462.342; 506.308; XXIV. 16, 62^{a, b}, 170^b, 174; XXV. 21, 23, 135, 217, 218^{a, b}, 689, 792, 848; XXVIII. 41, 55^{a, b}, 65, 105; XXIX. 79; XXX. 410; XXXI. 214, 538, 541, 554, 632, 914, 931, 1044, 1110, 1133, 1156^{a, b}; XXXII. 52; XXXIV. 59, 86, 222, 223, 352; XXXV. 172^a, 277, 308, 309; XXXVI. 229; XXXVII. 122. — Ælf. Hept. (21): De V. T. 8.30, 38; Gen. 15.5; 22.6; — Ex. 7.25; 14.5°; 32.5°, Num. 13.28; 25.4; 31.17; — Jos. 1.11^a; 4.3; 8.4^{a, b}; 23.2; — Judges 4.22^b; 7.16^{a, b}; 16.21, 25. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (11): Ælf. Gr. (3): 125.3^{a, b}; 227.8; — Ælf. Int. (3): 493, 494^{a, b}; — Napier's Ad. to Th. (5): 101.321^{t_2} (or objective?), 321^{b_1} ; 102.36, 37^{b_1} (?), 38^{t_2} . — Gosp. (9): Mat. (8): 8.18; 14.19, $22^{a, b}$, 28; $20.28^{c, d}$; 22.34; — Mk. (1): 8.6. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I $(13): 1.123, 124, 241, 253^a, 257; 2.84; 8.129; 9.19, 266, 267, 268, 291, 303. — A. S. Hom. & L.$ S. II (5): 10.217; 15.49; 16.274, 280; 18.101. — Wulf. (3): 2.19; 235.16; 287.24. — Læce. (3): 55.25^{a, b}; 126.9. — Minor Prose (22): Alex. (13): 186; 187; 212^{a, b}; 237; 253; 276; 388; 485; 495^{b} ; $496^{a, b}$ (?); 558; — Apol. (3): $18.14 = 37^{m}$; $26.2^{b} = 43^{b}$; $33.13 = 50^{m}$; — Nic. (6): 472.1, 13; 476.22; 478.21; 480.3; 510.32. — Beow. (8): 69; 71; 296; 1045; 1869^{a, b}; 2802; 2812. — Gen. (28):39; 45; 122; 145; 158; 346^{a, b}; 517; 525; 537^{a, b}; 538; 830; 832; 865; 942; 943; 1047; 2040; 2228; 2234; 2370; 2506^{a, b}; 2508; 2783; 2785; **27**99. — Ex. (3): 65; 177; 254. — Dan.(4): 79; 431; 515; 516. — Az. (1): 183. — Chr. (8): 295; 297; 888; 1024; 1026; 1227; 1342; 1343. - El. (4): 215; 216; 999; 1006. - Ju. (6): $60; 76^{a.b}; 77^{a.b}; 523. - Gu.$ (1): 676. - And.(16): 330; 365; 366; 367; 792; 795; 796; 809; 810; 822; 824; 931; 1467; 1576^{a, b}; 1623. — Rid. (4): 7.5; 41.8, 39; 91.11. — Jud. (5): 54; 149; 150; 173; 174. — Met. (1): 1.71. — Ps. (7): $77.25^{a, b}$, 68; 80.12; 104.34, 36; 118.4. — Har. (3): 156; 158; 237. — Creed (1): 32. — D. R. (1): 31. — Gnomic Sayings (1): 165 (Ex.). — Maldon (7): 2; 3^{a, b}; 4; 62^{a, b}; 74. — W. C. (1): 27.heran: see hieran. hieran [-e-, -y-], hear (13): Bede (1): 190.1 = 152.15. — Chron. (1): 258^{m} , $1127 E^{n}$. — Beow. (3): 1346; 1843; 2023. — El. (2): 241; 540. — Ju. (1): 1. — Met. (1): 8.32. — Cal. (1): 102. — Panther (3): 9; 11^{a, b} hyran: see hieran. læran, teach (4): Bede (1): 460.3 = 326.27. - A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): $14.108^{a.b}. - L.$ (1): 11.1.

lætan, allow, permit (occasionally cause) (414): Bede (2): 156.30 = 130.28; 256.29 = 204.4. — Boeth. (14): 6.10 = 0; 8.23 = 5.39; 23.7 = 33.31; 23.9 = 0; 26.7 = 34.83; 49.27 = 0; 49.30

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= 0; 72.19 = 65.17; 88.32^{b, c} = 0; 104.2 = 88.11; 117.6 = 100.4; 123.27 = 104.137; 136.9 = 0.
--Greg. (17): 65.14 = 0; 139.8 = 100.4; 139.13 = 100.9; 139.25 = 100.20; 141.1 = 100.25;
171.1 = 124.24; 193.25 = 144.29; 279.14 = 210.22; 283.14 = 214.11; 287.12 = 216.26; 289.2
= 218.9; 306.9 = 234.6; 321.13 = 248.6; 327.6 = 252.12; 457.13 = 390.3; 457.23 = 390.15;
469.5 = 0. — Oros. (3): 126.15 = 0; 168.24 = 0; 290.23 = 0. — Solil. (5): 14.2; 48.19; 53.16;
59.23;67.10. - Pr. Ps. (8):15.10^{a,b};29.1 = 29.2;30.21 = 30.20;35.11 = 35.12;37. Intr. = 0;
41.11 = 41.10; 42.2. - \hat{C}hron. (9): 133^{t}, 999 E; 139^{t}, 1009 E<sup>a</sup>; 161^{b}, 1038 D; 163^{b}, 1043 D;
164<sup>b</sup>, 1046 C<sup>b</sup>; 199<sup>m</sup>, 1066 D; 216<sup>m</sup>, 1085 E<sup>c</sup>; 241<sup>m</sup>, 1106 E; 256<sup>b</sup>, 1127 E<sup>b</sup>. — Laws (4): 160,
II Æthelstan, c. 20, § 6; 236, V Æthelred, c. 1, § 1; 270, X Æthelred, c. 2; 454, Gerefa, c. 7. -
Weef. (10): 24.13 = 164 C; 132.29 = B. 162 B; 188.21 = 229 B<sup>1</sup>; 206.1 = 252 A<sup>1</sup>; 234.3^{a, b}
= 285 \text{ B}; 239.20^{\text{a, b}} = 292 \text{ C}^{\text{1}}; 276.3 = 336 \text{ C}^{\text{1}}; 289.26 = 349 \text{ D.} — Bened. (1): 120.8 = 186.13.
— Bl. Hom. (10): 23.15; 51.3; 67.31; 69.11, 17; 75.31; 159.17<sup>a, b</sup>; 181.33, 34. — Pr. Gu. (2):
V. 153<sup>a, b</sup>. — Mart. (2): 8.3; 10.25. — Ælf. Hom. (17): I. 10<sup>m</sup>, 12<sup>t, 1, 2</sup>, 20<sup>m</sup>, 276<sup>t</sup>, 292<sup>b 3</sup>, 406<sup>b 2</sup>, 522<sup>b</sup>; II. 208<sup>b</sup>, 358<sup>b 2</sup>, 408<sup>t</sup>, 416<sup>b 2</sup>, 426<sup>b</sup>, 466<sup>t</sup>, 486<sup>m</sup>, 508<sup>b</sup>, 594<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (34): 18.147;
20.173; 70.353, 354; 120.80; 130.231, 232<sup>a, b</sup>, 233, 234; 176.113, 114; 250.187; 348.167, 168,
176, 177; 402.290; 530.681; XXVII. 72; XXVIII. 112; XXX. 134, 433, 442; XXXI. 387, 1004,
1452; XXXIII. 120, 293; XXXIV. 70; XXXV. 265, 275; XXXVI. 192; XXXVII. 48.—
Ælf. Hept. (24): De N. T. 17.10; — Gen. 30.25; 38.16; 44.33; 45.24; — Ex. 5.17<sup>a, b</sup>; 6.10, 27;
7.13; 8.15; 9.24; 14.5°; 22.18; 23.11; — Lev. 1.15; 19.29; 23.10; — Num. 11.24; — Deut. 15.13;
Jos. 2.18; 7.3; Judges 4.18<sup>a</sup>; 7.2. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1):
102.39. - Gosp. (13): Mat. (2): 8.22; 13.30^{a}; -Mk. (4): 1.34; 5.37; 7.12; 10.14; -L. (5):
8.51; 9.60, 61; 10.40; 18.16; — J. (2): 11.44; 18.8. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 8.233. —
A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (5): 15.67^{\text{a.b}}, 68 = 209.56, 57; 15.97 = 0; 15.176 = 213.172. — Wulf.
(12): 10.7, 8; 14.3<sup>a, b</sup>, 12; 84.11<sup>a, b</sup>; 185.14; 213.30; 224.16; 272.24<sup>a, b</sup>. — Læce. (96): 6.31, 36;
7.5; 8.26, 36; 11.1, 4, 16, 23; 12.2, 6, 16; 13.2<sup>a, b</sup>; 14.20; 16.31; 21.3, 9; 23.20; 24.14; 27.21;
31.7; 32.18, 22; 33.28, 29; 35.36; 36.18, 31; 37.1; 38.8; 41.1<sup>a</sup>, 37; 43.27; 54.16; 57.31; 61.15;
61.20°, 62.20; 65.36; 72.19; 79.42; 81.6, 16, 18, 30; 82.10; 86.19; 87.26; 94.29; 95.7; 95.25;
97.22; 99.23°, 30; 100.2; 101.18; 102.27, 34°; 104.1; 105.7, 34; 106.1, 3; 108.3, 11, 13; 121.7,
13; 122.1; 127.19, 20, 34; 128.12, 19; 129.9, 22a, 27a, 29; 130.5; 131.8, 19; 135.22; 136.8, 15,
26; 138.5; 140.5; 141.21; 142.7; 144.30; 145.5, 21; 146.26; 150.15; 151.22. — Minor Prose (6):
Apol. (1): 25.13; — Cato (2): 38, 69; — Chad (Anhang) (1): 21; Nic. (2): 480.18, 490.27.
— Beow. (16): 48; 397; 864; 865; 1490; 1728; 1996; 2389; 2390; 2551; 2980; 3082; 3083; 3084;
3132; 3133. -Gen. (19): 239; 253; 258; 438^a; 955; 1198; 1349; 1373; 1375^a, 1441; 2111; 2112^a, b; 3132; 3133. -Gen. (19): 239; 253; 258; 438^a; 955; 1198; 1349; 1373; 1375^a, 1441; 2111; 2112^a, b; 3132; 3133. -Gen. (19): 239; 253; 258; 438^a; 955; 1198; 1349; 1373; 1375^a, 1441; 2111; 2112^a, b; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132; 3132
2130; 2167; 2231; 2471; 2664; 2796. — Dan. (2): 683; 722. — Chr. (3): 159; 344; 1596. -
El. (3): 237; 253; 820. — Ju. (3): 200; 275; 622. — Gu. (7): 336; 491; 749; 921; 924; 1029;
1030. — And. (9): 832; 833; 957; 1099; 1181; 1293; 1295; 1331; 1503. — Rid. (10): 4.39;
4.46^{b}, 56; 14.11^{a}; 21.14; 35.8, 9^{a,b,c}; 51.10. — Jud. (1): 221. — Met. (4): 1.67; 4.50; 5.31;
11.80. — Ps. (6): 65.8; 77.21, 46; 104.12; 118.126; 140.4. — Brun. (2): 60; 63. — Fates of
Apostles (1): 95. — Fates of Men (1): 83. — F. I. (3): 72; 83; 85. — Har. (2): 42; 78. — Höl.
(1): 125. -H. L. (2): 23; 24. -L. P. (5): I. 9; III. 104, 105^{a, b}; 112. -Maldon (3): 7;
109; 140. — Prayers (5): III. 56, 57, 58; IV. 44, 52. — Ruin (1): 43. — S. & S. (2): 100;
130. — Song of Runes (1): 33. — Spirit of Men (4): 11; 38; 41; 42. — Wald. A. (2): 7<sup>a, b</sup>.
niedan [-y-], compel, force (1): Mk. (1): 6.45.
nydan: see niedan.
ofseon, see (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 508<sup>m</sup>.
ondettan, confess, declare (1): Bede(1): 84.17 = 59.16.
onfindan, find (1): Beow. (1): 2842.
ongietan, understand, perceive (7): Bede (2): 178.32 = 146.12; 266.27 = 209.30. — Warf. (4):
       74.20 = 201 \text{ B}^5; 130.6 = \text{B}. 160 \text{ A}^3; 139.14 = \text{B}. 139 \text{ C}; 285.1 = 345 \text{ B}. — Beow. (1):
       1432.
sceawian, see (2): Wærf. (2): 206.27^{a, b} = 252 \text{ C}^1.
secgan, say, relate (3): Bede (2): 340.20, 22 = 257.24, 27. — L. (1): 24.23.
seon, see (14): Mart. (3): 2.18, 19; 144.4. — Rid. (11): 20.3; 32.3; 33.3, 4a, b; 43.2; 52.2; 54.1;
       60.2; 65.1, 2.
tali(g)an, consider, account (2): Minor Prose (2): Alex. (2): 39a. b
tellan, tell, consider (1): Bede(1): 82.4 = 57.29.
todælan, distribute (2): Oros. (2): 46.16, 17 = 47.16, 17 (but the infinitive phrase is probably
       used absolutely; hence I have put these, also, in Chap. XII).
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wenan, hope, expect (3): Bede (1): 430.24 = 308.4. — Wærf. (1): 181.25 = 220 B³. — Ælf. Hom.

(1): I. 590^b.

witan, know (10): Bede (2): 36.17 = 19.19; 408.21 = 296.13. — Læce. (1): 105.32. — Ju. (1): 92. — Gu. (1): 1312. — And. (1): 183. — Rid. (3): 50.1; 55.2; 59.1. — Wids. (1): 102.

2. Inflected.

Given in full in Chapter VIII, pp. 118-119.

B. .THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

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bebeodan, command (2): Bede (2): 14.13 = 0; 172.9 = 142.8<sup>b</sup>.
biddan, request (1): Bede (1): 38.31 = 21.1.
cweban, say, maintain (1): Bede (1): 64.24 = 49.1.
don, make, cause (1): Wulf. (1): 196.2.
forlætan, allow (2): Bl. Hom. (1): 33.11. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 18.237.
gefelan, feel, perceive (1): Bede (1): 378.24 = 278.14.
gefeon [and blissian], rejoice (2): Bede (2): 470.24, 25 = 346.12<sup>a, b</sup>.
gehieran [-i-, -y-], hear (2): Bede (1): 310.4 = 238.28. — Minor Prose (1): — Chad (1): 112.
geleornian, learn (1): Bede (1): 90.16 = 70.13.
geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe (1): Bede (1): 208.1 = 162.10.
gemetan, meet, find (2): Bede (1): 354.17 = 265.10. — Wærf. (1): 68.24 = 197 B<sup>1</sup>.
gemunan, remember (3): Bede (3): 440.24, 25, 26 = 313.11, 12, 13.
geomrian, lament (1): Bede (1): 88.15 = 61.23.
geseon, see (16): Bede (9): 24.4 = 311.1; 34.17 = 18.16; 80.33 = 57.23; 340.12 = 257.16; 386.9
     = 282.11; 440.21 = 313.9; 444.2 = 314.17; 444.3 = 314.19; 444.8 = 314.24. — Warf. (6):
    171.22 = B. 198 B^3; 204.24, 25 = 249.B^{1, 2}; 272.15 = 332 C^1; 319.17 = 385 A; 335.23 =
    404 B<sup>2</sup>. — Mart. (1): 186.9.
hatan, command (2): Bede (1): 18.2 = 204.11. — Wærf. (1): 194.18 = 237 B<sup>1</sup>.
1ætan, allow (7): Wærf. (1): 294.6 = 356 A<sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 250.215; XXX. 443. — Mk.
    (1): 7.27^a. — Lace. (1): 101.12. — Gen. (1): 2194. — Gu. (1): 1235.
ongietan, understand (3): Bede (2): 330.16 = 252.3; 340.15 = 257.19. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII
    B. 485.
secgan, say, relate (1): Bede (1): 398.15 = 289.7.
tweog(e)an [twyg(e)an], doubt (2): Bede (2): 190.22^{a, b} = 153.5, 6.
twyg(e)an: see tweog(e)an.
willan, wish, desire (1): Bede(1): 322.21 = 246.10.
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AS SUBJECT.

Given in full, both active and passive, in Chapter VIII, pp. 124-125.

IX. The Predicative Infinitive with Dative Subject.

See Chapter IX, pp. 127 ff.

X. The Final Infinitive.¹

.. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

1. With Active Finite Verb.

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

```
abiddan, request: U. (1): — ondrincan, drink (1): — Bede (1): 392.32 = 286.13. — I. (0). æcan: see iecan. æteawan: see æteowan. æteawan [-ea-], show, appear: U. (0). — I. (4): Bede (1): 270.4 = 211.10. — Bl. Hom. (2): 235.4, 24. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 230<sup>b</sup>. ætwindan, escape, fly away: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 84<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>.
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¹ In this section, besides the finite verb (the initial word) I give the infinitive when uninflected, but not when inflected.

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afaran, travel, go: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 385.9 = 300.15.
agi(e)fan [-y-], give: U. (0). - I. (1): Jud. (1): 131.
agyfan: see agi(e)fan.
alædan, lead away: U. (0). - I. (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): De N. T. 21.20.
alefan: see aliefan.
aliefan [-e-, -y-], allow: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 254.9 = 309 \text{ C}^3 (or objective?).
aliesan [-e-, -y-], release: U. (1): — gemunan, remember (1): L. (1): 1.72^{\circ}. — I. (1): L. (1):
     1.72^{a}.
alyfan: see aliefan.
alysan: see aliesan.
aræcan, reach, hand: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 88<sup>t</sup> <sup>3</sup>.
aræran, disseminate: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXV. 111.
arisan, arise: U. (2): — neosan [-io-], visit (1): And. (1): 830. — — siði(ge)an, go (1): And.
     (1): 829. — I. (6): Pr. Ps. (1): 26.4 = 26.3. — Weef. (3): 201.23 = 245 \text{ B}^3; 227.4 = 277
     B; 240.3 = 293 \text{ A}^1. — Bened. (1): 40.11 = 74.19. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 456.233.
asendan, send: U. (1): — drincan, drink (1): \mathcal{E}lf. Hept. (1): Judges 15.18. — I. (13): \mathcal{E}lf.
     Hom. (6): I. 388<sup>m</sup>, 402<sup>b</sup>; II. 74<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 74<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 372<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 452<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (2): De N. T. 19.36; —
     Job VII°. — Ælf. L. S. (4): 104.236; 400.266; XXXVI. 20, 35. — Mk. (1): 3.14.
astigan, ascend: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 388<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 284.13.
aweccan, bring to life: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 443.10 = 370.14.
awendan, translate: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 2^{t}.
beciepan [-y-], sell: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 21.7.
becuman, come: U. (2): — fremman, perform (1): Ermahnung (1): 53. — meos(i)an
     [nios(i)an], visit: (1): Beow. (1): 2366. — I. (3): Bede (3): 22.26 = 296.3; 486.8^{a, b} = 8.10^{a, b}.
becypan: see beciepan.
befæstan, entrust, commit: U. (0). — I. (9): Chron. (1): 80<sup>m</sup>, 886 A. — Wærf. (3): 111.3<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup> =
     B. 140 \text{ C}^4; 254.1 = 309 \text{ C}^2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 554^{\text{t}}. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXVI. 76. —
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 10.453; 15.16 = 0. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 32.4 = 49<sup>†</sup>.
belæfan, leave: U. (0). \longrightarrow I. (1): \mathcal{E}lf. Hom. (1): II. 90^{t}.
beodan, commit, entrust, offer: U. (1): — drincan, drink (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 254<sup>m</sup>. —
     I. (1): Bede(1): 114.19 = 92.22.
beran, bear: U. (2): — drincan, drink (2): Bede (1): 396.8 = 287.26. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
     180<sup>t</sup>. — I. (8): Bede (1): 440.2^{b} = 312.16^{a}. — Werf. (2): 128.11 = B.158 C; 186.24 = 228
     A. — Bl. Hom. (1): 189.8. — Ælf. Hom. (4): I. 60^{t}, 66^{m}, 512^{b}; II. 60^{b}.
betæcan, entrust, commit: U. (0). — I. (16): Oros. (2): 292.28^a = 293.28; 296.2 = 297.4. —
     Chron. (4): 127^{t}, 992 E; 157^{b}, 1023 C^{a}; 253^{t}, 1123 E^{d}, e. — Bened. (1): 90.2 = 158.2. —
     Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 380^{\circ}. — Ælf. L. S. (5): 118.33; 152.67; 484.222; XXXVI. 50, 105.
     — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 39.4. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (2): 8.294; 9.383.
bedurfan, need: U. (0). - I. (1): Boeth. (1): 97.1 = 83.30.
biddan, request: U. (2): — drincan, drink (2): Ælf. Hept. (1): Judges 4.19. — J. (1): 4.9. —
     I. (0).
bi(e)gan, bend, turn: U. (0). — I. (2): Wærf. (2): 218.4^{a, b} = 265 \text{ B}.
bindan, bind: U. (0). — I. (1): Mat. (1): 13.30^{\circ}.
brecan hine, retch: U. (0). — I. (4): Chron. (1): 135^{m}, 1003 E. — Læce. (3): 51.22; 53.2;
     81.8.
bringan, bring: U. (0). — I. (6): Bede (3): 108.16 = 0; 294.21 = 226.4; 366.24 = 0. — Werf.
     (1): 11.16 = 153 \, \text{C}^3. — Ælf. Hept. (2): Gen. 43.21; — Lev. 1.3.
cuman, come: U. (35): — acsian, ask (1): Gen. (1): 2453. — — asyndrian, separate (1): Mat.
     (1): 10.35. — biddan, ask, request (1): Warf. (1): 251.9 = 308 \text{ A}^2. — clypian, call (1):
     L. (1): 5.32. — — don, make (1): L. (1): 19.10<sup>b</sup>. — — geci(e)gan, call (1): Minor Prose
     (1): Chad (1): 148. — gefon, seize (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 49<sup>b</sup>. — gefyllan, fulfill
     (1): Mat. (1): 5.17^{\circ}. — gehuntian, hunt (1): Elf. L. S. (1): XXX. 49^{\circ}. — gretaen,
     greet (3): Beow. (2): 1646; 2010. — Gen. (1): 2104. —— lædan, lead, bring (2): Beow. (1):
     239 (or predicative?). — Gen. (1): 1774 (or predicative?). — metan, measure, lay out
     (1): Ex. (1): 92. — neosan [neos(i)an, niosian], visit (7): Bede (1): 296.10 = 226.24. —
     Beow. (2): 2074; 2671. — Ex. (1): 474. — Gu. (1): 321. — El. (1): 152. — And. (1): 1389.
     — ræran, raise (1): Gu. (1): 157. — sceawian, see, examine (1): Gen. (1): 1679.
     — scyöðan [sceððan], injure (1): And. (1): 1047. — sec(e)an, seek (3): L. (1):
     19.10<sup>a</sup>. — Beow. (2): 268; 1597. — secgan, say (1): Gen. (1): 438<sup>b</sup>. — sendan, send
     (1): L. (1): 12.51. — stenan [stænan], adorn (1): El. (1): 151. — styran [-ie-],
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restrain (1): Ex. (1): 416 (or predicative?). — towurpan [-weorpan], destroy (2): Mat. (2): 5.17^{a, b}. — ymsniðan, circumcise (1): L. (1): 1.59. — I. (80): Bede (8): 22.18 = 292.9; 96.8 = 79.30; 158.28 = 132.19; 158.31 = 132.25; 208.21 = 163.4; 220.13 = 169.15; 388.10 = 283.15; 422.14 = 303.17. — Greg. (4): 185.17 = 138.19; 187.7 = 140.1; $307.17^{a, b}$ = 236.6, 7. — Pr. Ps. (1): 41.9^{b} . — Chron. (4): 12^{b} , $448 F^{a, b}$; 18^{t} , 565 A; 238^{m} , 1103E. — Laws (3): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49^{b. c, d}. — Wærf. (5): 46.2 = 180 B²; 113.16 = B. 144 B; $235.2 = 285 \, \text{C}^2$; $236.24 = 288 \, \text{C}$; $343.30 = 418 \, \text{C}^1$. — Bl. Hom., (3): 11.3; 71.26; 113.19. — Mart. (1): 72.19. — Ælf. Hom. (15): I. 142^b ², 320^t ^{1, 2}, 548^b, 582^t ^{1, 2}; II. 12^m, 236^b, 388^m, 454^m, 470^b ², 578^t, 586^t, 596^b, 598^t. — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXIII B. 625; XXIV. 182; XXIX. 44. — Ælf. Hept. (5): De N. T. 13.43; — Gen. 42.12; — Ex. 2.16; — Num. 22.6; — Job XI. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.45. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (4): 1.78; 4.11, 92, 156. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 18.222. -Gosp. (16): Mat. (9): 2.2; 8.29; 9.13; $10.34^{1,2}$; 12.42; 18.11; 20.13; 26.55; -Mk. (3): 1.24; 14.8; 15.36^b; — L. (2): 4.34; 11.31; — J. (2): 9.39; 12.47. — Wulf. (4): 201.26; 219.26; 222.22; 294.11. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): $30.34 = 47^{b}$. — Ps. (1): 97.8^b.

cyŏan, make known (1): U. (0). — I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 205.32.

don, do, make, put: U. (0). — I. (6): Bede (1): 330.30 = 252.19. — Chron. (2): 256^{b} , 1127 $\text{E}^{\text{c}, \text{d}}$. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 450^{b} · . — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXVI. 202. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Job VII^a.

efstan, hasten: U. (2): — sec(e)an, seek (1): Beow. (1): 3103^b . — -seon, see (1): Beow. (1): 3103^a . — I. (6): Bede (2): 376.6^a , b = 276.25. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 130^m 3. — Ælf. L. S. (3): 312.91 = 312.90; XXIII. B. 784; XXXV. 221.

eowian, show, expose: U. (0). — I. (2): Greg. (1): 277.17 = 210.2. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 522.568.

faran, go: U. (5): — cunnian, try, test (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): $102.35^{b.5}$. — fandian, try (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. $372^{b.2}$. — huntian, hunt (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): $134.12^{b.}$. — lufian, love (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 134.12^{a} (or futurity?). — sec(e)an, seek (1): Met. (1): 26.14. — I. (15): Greg. (1): 89.21 = 60.13. — Oros. (1): $46.17^{c} = 47.16$. — Wærf. (1): 237.11 = 289 B. — Bl. Hom. (2): 229.4; 233.17. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. $372^{b.}$. — Ælf. L. S. (3): 330.138; 398.237; XXV. 402. — Ælf. Hept. (4): Gen. 38.13; — Deut. 11.29; 28.63; 32.47. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 15.91. — Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 31.37.

feran, go, depart: U. (7): — gebiddan, pray (1): L. (1): 6.12. — — gefon, seize, take (1): Mk. (1): 14.48. — — geseon, see (2): L. (2): 7.24, 26. — — sceawi(g)an, see (2): Beow. (2): 840; 1391. — — streonan, beget (1): And. (1): 331. — I. (19): Bede (4): $372.11^{a, b}$ = 274.30; 410.19 = 297.14; 410.29 = 297.24. — Werf. (2): 28.18 = 168 A; 63.29 = 193 B⁵. — Mart. (1): 216.17. — Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 88^{m} , $90^{t \cdot 3}.$ — Ælf. L. S. (5): 404.327; XXVIII. 58; XXXI. 645, 965; XXXV. 329. — Ælf. Hept. (2): Ex. 3.4; Jos. 7.4. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2): Ælf. Int. (2): $155^{a, b}.$ — L. (1): 7.25.

findan, find: U. (0). — I. (1): $\mathcal{E}lf$. L. S. (1): XXXV. 52.

flegan: see fleogan.

fleogan [flegan], $fly: U. (0). - I. (3): Bede (3): 116.32^{a, b, c} = 94.10, 11^{a, b}$.

forestihtian, predestinate: U. (0). — I. (1): Pr. Gu. (1): III. 67.

forgi(e)fan [-y-], give: U. (0). — I. (6): Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 190^t, 364^t ². — Ælf. Hept. (3): Gen. 15.7; 23.6; — Deut. 32.49. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.35^m. forgyfan: see forgi(e)fan.

forlætan, leave: U. (2): — neosan, visit (1): Ju. (1): 554. — weardian, guard, protect (1): Beow. (1): 971. — I. (1): Bede (1): 138.28 = 114.16.

forsendan, send: U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 188^m, 1057 D.

fundian, set out: U. (4): — dreogan, perform (1): Gen. (1): 2270. — secan, seek (2): Beow. (1): 1820. — D. R. (1): 104. — witan, know (1): Spirit of Men (1): 16. — I. (9): Boeth. (1): 98.4 = 83.49. — Greg. (2): 93.24 = 64.10; 127.21 = 90.8. — Solil. (1): 63.20. — Bl. Hom. (2): 93.4^{a, b}. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 6.10. — Læce. (2): 6.15; 46.17.

gadrian, gather: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 474^b ².

gan [gangan, gongan], go: U. (40): — ahyrian, hire (1): Mat. (1): 20.1. — cy8an, make known (2): Jud. (2): 56; 243. — — don, do (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 917^b. — — drincan, drink (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 134.14. — — feccan, fetch (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 176. — gearwian, prepare (1): L. (1): 1.76. — — gegearwian, prepare (1): L. (1): 1.17. — geseon, see (4): Mat. (3): 11.7^b, 8, 9. — Beow. (1):

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396. — gesittan, sit (1): Bede (1): 186.30 = 151.8. — gretan, greet (2): Gen. (1):
    2430. — Rid. (1): 5.6. — — hladan, load (1): Weerf. (1): 115.7 = B. 146 A<sup>2</sup>. — — leor-
    nian, learn (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 134.13a. — neosan, visit (2):
     Beow. (1): 1786. — Jud. (1): 63. — — onlihtan, illumine (1): L. (1): 1.79<sup>a</sup>. — — ple-
    gean, play (1): Greg. (1): 309.14 = 238.10. — rædan, read (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose
     (1): \mathcal{E}lf.\ Gr.\ (1):\ 134.13^{b}.\ --- reccan, narrate (1): Dan.\ (1):\ 159.\ --- sceawian,
    see, examine (4): Greg. (2): 415.14 = 336.13; 415.19 = 336.18. — Beow. (2): 2744; 3032.
     — secan, seek (1): Minor Prose (1): Apol. (1): 28.18 = 45^{b}. — seon, see (2): Beow.
     (2): 387; 920. — — sittan, sit (6): Bede (1): 198.2 = 157.3. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
    242^{b_3}. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 404.348. — Beow. (2): 493; 641. — Jud. (1): 15. — slapan,
    sleep (2): Læce. (2): 58.5; 68.29. — tæcan, teach (2): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf.
    Gr. (2): 150.18 (?); 151.14 (?). - I. (20): Bede (3): 76.12 = 54.24; 162.7 = 136.17; 362.18
     = 269.22. -Greg. (1): 165.25 = 122.1. -Bl. Hom. (2): 165.3, 15. -Ælf. Hom. (4):
    II. 428<sup>t</sup>, 428<sup>m</sup>, 444<sup>t</sup> 1, 2. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXXI. 917<sup>a</sup>; XXXVI. 327. — Ælf. Hept.
     (2): Gen. 2.10; 22.5. — Gosp. (4): Mat. (1): 13.3; — Mk. (1): 4.3; — L. (2): 1.77, 79^{\circ}.
      -A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 9.276. -A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 15.50 = 209.40.
gangan [-o-]: see gan.
gearcian, prepare: U. (0). — I. (3): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 570<sup>t</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 126.151. —
    Ælf. Hept. (1): Jos. 1.11^{b}.
gearwian, make ready, prepare: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 296.17 = 226.32.
gebindan, bind: U. (0). — I. (3): Warf. (3): 316.2, 4, 11 = 381 A<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>.
gebredan, draw, hence, to feign (reflexive): U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 134<sup>m</sup>, 1003 F.
gebugan, turn, go: U. (0). - I. (1): Oros. (1): 54.1 = 53.34.
gebycgan, buy: U. (0). — I. (2): Bede (1): 274.9 = 213.25. — Mat. (1): 27.7.
geceosan, choose: U. (0). — I. (3): Bl. Hom. (1): 157.1. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIV. 127. —
     A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 2.87.
gecierran [-y-], turn, go: U. (2): — benemnan, declare, certify (1): H. L. (1): 49. — be-
    ran, bear, carry (1): And. (1): 1079 (or predicative?). — I. (1): Bede (1): 12.8 = 92.12.
gecuman, come: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIV. 179.
gedon, commit (?): U. (0). — I. (1): Minor Prose (1): Cato (1): 10 (?).
geemtigian [-æmtigian], keep oneself free: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 52.9 = 185 \text{ B}^1.
gefreogan [-freon], free: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 236.25 = 178.26.
gefultumian, help: U. (0). - I. (2): Bede (2): 124.30, 31 = 107.3<sup>a, b</sup>.
gegripan, seize: U. (0). — I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 167.1.
gehwi(e)rfan, turn: U. (0). - I. (2): Greg. (2): 373.8, 9 = 290.2.
gelæcan, seize: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 4.39.
gelædan, lead: U. (0). — I. (3): Wærf. (1): 301.27 = 364 C<sup>3</sup>. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 46<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>. —
    Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 80.
gelefan: see geliefan.
geliefan [-e-, -y-], believe: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 64<sup>b</sup> (or objective?).
gelogian, arrange: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Int. (1): 286.
gemearcian, mark, plan: U. (0). — I. (1): Gen. (1): 364.
genægan, approach: U. (1): — betan, improve, revive: (1): Ex. (1): 131. — I. (0).
genealæcan, approach: U. (0). — I. (2): Pr. Ps. (1): 26.3 = 26.2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 82^{b}.
gengan, go: U. (1): — sceawian, see, examine (1): Beow. (1): 1413. — I. (0).
geniman, take, accept: U. (0). — I. (2): Wærf. (1): 98.29 = B. 130 A. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II.
    420t.
gesamnian [-o-], assemble: U. (0). — I. (2): Bede (2): 132.6 = 110.14; 362.25 = 269.29.
gescieppan, create, make: U. (0). — I. (3): Greg. (1): 319.1 = 246.1. — Pr. Ps. (1): 18.
    Intr. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 2.3.
gesecan, seek: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 110<sup>m</sup>.
gesellan [-ie-, -y-], give, offer: U. (1): — drincan, drink (1): Oros. (1): 136.16 = 137.10. — I.
     (5): Bede (2): 124.3 = 99.30; 306.26 = 237.9. — Oros. (2): 54.11 = 55.3; 108.28 = 0.
    — Laws (1): 10, Hlothære and Eadric, c. 6.
gesettan, set, establish: U. (0). — I. (6): Bede (2): 66.23 = 49.28; 114.15 = 92.18. — Greg. (1):
    131.15 = 92.22a. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXV. 403. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 3.24. — Chr.
    (1): 1390.
gesiellan: see gesellan.
gesittan, sit: U. (1): — eahti(g)an, consider (1): (or predicative?): And. (1): 1162. — I. (0).
gesomnian: see gesamnian.
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gestandan, stand, stand up: U. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 109.12 = B. 138 C^2.
gesyllan: see gesellan.
geteon [-tion], draw, attract: U. (0). — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 28.28 = 36.21.
getion: see geteon.
geőafian, grant, give: U. (0). — I. (1): Pr. Ps. (1): 43.13 = 43.12.
geunnan, grant, give: U. (0). — I. (1): Oros. (1): 64.26 = 0.
gewendan, wend, go: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 424b.
gewitan, depart, go: U. (54): — beran, bear, carry (1): Beow. (1): 291 (or predicative?). —
       -feran, go, journey (1): Gen. (1): 1746<sup>a</sup> (or predicative?). — — fleon, flee (2): Beow.
     (1): 1264. — Gen. (1): 2262. — — geseon, see (2): Beow. (2): 1126; 1275. — — geografian,
     endure (1): Dan. (1): 633. — lædan, lead, carry (7): Gen. (6): 1357; 1649; 1746<sup>b</sup>;
     1767; 2621; 2870 (or all predicative?). — And. (1): 1044. — neos(i)an [niosian], visit
     (6): Beow. (6): 115; 125; 1125; 1339; 2388; 3045. — — nerg(e)an, save, rescue (2): Gen.
     (2): 2000; 2509. — niosian: see neos(i)an. — sceawian, see, examine (4): Beow.
     (1): 2402. - Gen. (3): 1780; 1920; 2593. - seccan: see secean. - sec(e)an, seek
     (22): Beow. (2): 2820; 2950. — Gen. (8): 1461; 1818; 1966; 2006; 2020; 2099; 2266;
     2293. - Dan. (1): 441. - And. (4): 226; 698; 977; 1677. - Ph. (1): 320. - Rid. (3):
     3.2; 17.2; 93.9. 	— Brun. (1): 55. — S. & S. (1): 204. — Wife's Compl. (1): <math>9^{b}. — seon,
     see (2): Gen. (2): 1743; 2084. —— sigan, descend (1): Gen. (1): 1461<sup>b</sup> (or predicative?). —
     — tredan, traverse (2): Beow. (1): 1964 (or predicative?). — Rid. (1): 14.11b. — — wlitan,
     look (1): Gen. (1): 1794. — I. (0).
gewyrcan, make: U. (1): — gefegan, join (1): Gifts of Men (1): 66 (?). — I. (0).
gi(e)fan, give: U. (1): — drincan, drink (1): Ps. (1): 79.5. — I. (4): Bede (3): 236.1 = 177.30;
     242.7 = 192.17 (or with noun?); 262.8 = 207.4. — Chron. (1): 117^{\text{m}}, 963 E<sup>e</sup>.
habban [nabban], have [not]: U. (0). — I. (19): Bede (1): 420.2 = 301.28. — Greg. (2): 121.18
     = 84.24; 127.19 = 90.6. — Laws (5): 38, Ælfred, Intr., c. 36<sup>a, b</sup> (or with noun?); 116, Inc.
     c. 60; 366, II Cnut, c. 79<sup>a, b</sup>. — Bened. (1): 88.12 = 156.14. — Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 430<sup>b</sup>,
     534<sup>m</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (2): XXIII B. 354; XXXI. 655 (or both with noun?). — Ælf. Hept.
     (1): Gen. 1.30. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 215.14 (or with noun?) —
     A.S. Hom. & L.S. I (1): 3.520. - L. (1): 14.28. - Minor Prose (2): Apol. (2): 24.21, 24
     =42^{b_{1,2}}.
healdan, hold, keep: U. (0). \longrightarrow I. (2): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 10.56. \longrightarrow \text{Elf. } L. S. (1):
     60.163.
hladan, load: U. (2): — drincan, drink (2): Greg. (1): 469.7 = 0. — Werf. (1): 220.22 =
     269 A^2 - I (0)
iecan [æcan], increase: U. (0). — I. (2): Ps. (2): 50.90, 91 (Cot.).
iernan, run: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Int. (1): 217.
ingan [-gangan, -gongan], go in: U. (0). — I. (2): Bede (2): 438.14, 15 = 311.25, 26.
ingangan : see ingan.
lædan, lead: U. (0). - I. (4): Bede (1): 356.31 = 266.27. - Mart. (1): 64.24<sup>b</sup>. - Ælf. L. S.
     (1): 418.85. - Mat. (1): 27.31.
læfan, leave, entrust: U. (0). — I. (3): Ælf. Hom. (2): II. 90^{t}, 450^{b} <sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Job
lænan, lend: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): 358.328. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr.
     (1): 135.8.
lætan, leave: U. (0). — I. (2): Boeth. (1): 24.11 = 33.46. — Oros. (1): 46.22 = 47.20.
lecgean, lay: U. (0). - I. (1): Greg. (1): 143.14 = 102.21.
libban, live: U. (0). — I. (3): Bede (3): 66.5^{a, b} = 49.10^{a, b}; 408.17 = 296.9.
licgan, lie, recline: U. (1): — ætlutian, hide from (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Judges 4.18b (or
     predicative?). — I. (0).
li(e)htan, light: U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 266^{m}, 1140 E^{a}.
logian, arrange, frame: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 454b. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Job XII
     (=6.26).
                      -I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 340<sup>m</sup>.
lufian, love: U. (0). —
nabban: see habban.
niman, take: U. (0). - I. (1): Greg. (1): 381.24 = 296.25.
niðerastigan, descend: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 105.11 = 72.16.
ondfon, receive: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 98.18 = 81.17.
onfindan(?), receive: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede(1): 16.9 = 0.
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                                   THE FINAL INFINITIVE.
onfon, receive, undertake: U. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 265.11 = 324 A.
onginnan, begin: U. (0). — I. (1): A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 10.448.
onlænan, lend, grant: U. (0). — I. (2): Boeth. (2): 19.22, 23 = 0.
onsendan, send: U. (1): — ondrincan, drink (1): Bede (1): 398.1 = 288.20. — I. (2): Bede (1):
     150.8 = 126.4. - Dan. (1): 76.
ontynan, open: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 349.19 = 270.11.
ræcan, reach, seize: U. (0). — I. (3): Chr. (3): 1621<sup>a, b</sup>. 1622.
reccan, care: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): De V. T. 6.27.
sceawian, grant: U. (0). — I. (1): Chron. (1): 176^{t}, 1048 E^{d}.
scieppan, create, make: U. (1): — healdan, hold, preserve (1): Gnomic Sayings (1): 129. —
   I. (0).
scyndan, hasten: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 62.14^{\circ} = 47.23^{\circ}.
secan, seek: U. (0). — I. (5): Bede (2): 50.11^{a}, b = 30.17^{a}, b = 30.17^{a}, b = 30.17^{a}. — Bl. Hom. (1): 73.15^{a}. — Ælf.
     L. S. (1): 368.78. — Mat. (1): 2.13.
sellan [-ie-, -y-], give: U. (257): — cyssan, kiss (1): Laws (1): 387, Ordal, c. 4, § 1. —
— drincan, drink: (203): Bede (5): 30.7 = 13.4; 156.7 = 129.18; 178.8 = 145.20; 192.14
= 153.32; 204.33 = 161.8. — Greg. (2): 329.3^b = 254.4; 459.18^a = 392.16. — Oros. (1): 136.1
= 135.35. — Werf. (1): 161.5 = B. 188 A^1. — Bl. Hom. (2): 229.9, 14. — Mart. (2): 44.8;
94.20. — Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 574<sup>t</sup> <sup>3</sup>, 582<sup>b</sup>; II. 108<sup>m</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 312.70, 77. — Ælf. Hept.
(2): Gen. 21.19; — Ex. 2.19. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 111.6. — A. S. Hom.
& L. S. II (2): 16.55, 224^{\rm b}. — Gosp. (7): Mat. (4): 25.35^{\rm b}, 42^{\rm b}; 27.34, 48; — Mk. (1): 15.36^{\rm a};
-J. (2): 4.7, 10. -Wulf. (1): 288.32. -Lace. (170): 8.21; 9.6; 18.24, 26, 29, 30, 31; 19.15,
17, 18, 32, 33, 36; 20.1, 4, 15, 26, 33, 34; 21.10; 24.21; 28.5, 7, 10, 13, 18, 23, 25, 27; 30.20,
23, 26; 31.24; 33.17, 39; 34.3, 5, 8, 15, 16; 35.27; 37.23, 29, 31, 33, 37, 39; 38.22, 29; 41.1b;
42.28; 56.9, 10, 33, 36, 37, 41; 57.4, 7, 11, 22, 39; 61.8, 20<sup>b</sup>; 62.24; 64.13, 19, 25, 28, 30, 33,
38; 65.1, 4, 6; 66.3; 68.40; 69.3, 10, 16, 22, 24; 70.30; 71.19, 25, 27, 31, 36, 40; 72.1, 14, 22,
32; 75.6, 7, 9<sup>a, b</sup>, 22, 36; 76.5; 77.15; 80.2, 17, 30, 31; 81.33; 82.19; 83.10, 18, 20, 21; 86.22;
87.2, 7; 96.14; 97.27, 31; 98.2a, 5, 10, 38; 99.10, 23b, 26; 100.9, 19, 35, 36; 101.6; 102.10, 29,
34<sup>b</sup>; 103.1; 104.11, 31; 108.23; 109.3, 11; 123.17; 125.25; 127.37; 128.13; 129.14, 22<sup>b</sup>, 27<sup>b</sup>;
130.6, 25<sup>b</sup>, 32; 131.7, 9; 135.14, 18; 136.3, 16, 19; 140.33; 141.10; 142.16, 26; 143.12, 23; 144.14;
146.5, 8, 18; 151.17, 33; 152.3, 20, 22. — Rid. (2): 13.5; 72.7. — etan, eat (40): Greg. (2):
329.3^{a} = 254.3; 459.18^{b} = 392.16. — Mart. (1): 82.6^{b}. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 16.224^{a}.
— Gosp. (9): Mat. (3): 14.16^{\rm b}; 25.35^{\rm a}, 42^{\rm a}; — Mk. (3): 5.43^{\rm a}; 6.37^{\rm a}, ^{\rm c}; — L. (2): 8.55^{\rm b}; 9.13; —
J. (1): 6.31. - Lace. (27): 21.39; 28.6; 39.26; 54.27; 79.37; 80.22; 95.38; 96.16, 20, 30; 97.29;
98.2<sup>b</sup>; 99.5; 100.28<sup>a</sup>; 101.4<sup>a</sup>; 103.7; 109.9; 128.28, 31; 130.25<sup>a</sup>, 27; 131.3, 15; 141.12; 143.26;
145.18: 149.30. — gewundigean, wound (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Jos. 11.6. — supan, sup,
drink: Læce. (8): 37.19; 81.11; 82.26; 100.28b; 101.4b; 103.3; 143.15, 27, — Sicgan,
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1731 (or with noun?). — Ps. (1): 54.6. — Wids. (1): 134 (or with noun?).

sendan, send: U. (8): — bodian, preach (4): Bede (2): 54.31 = 42.22; 226.11 = 172.26. — L. (2): 4.18^a, 19. — gecegan [-ie-], call (1): Bede (1): 250.21 = 199.26. — gehælan, heal (2): L. (2): 4.18^b; 9.2^b. — gretan, greet (1): Bede (1): 2.1 = 5 (heading). — I. (47): Bede (13): 2.3^{a, b}, $4^{a, b} = 5.3^{a, b}$, $4^{a, b}$; 10.2 = 42.10; 10.14 = 63.1; 104.14 = 85.6; 142.23 = 116.28; 172.17^{a, b} = 142.19, 20; 244.30 = 194.20; 250.20 = 199.25; 468.30 = 333.12. — Greg. (3): 49.3 = 26.9; 49.17 = 26.22; 405.34 = 326.4. — Oros. (4): 96.12 = 0; 138.8 = 139.5; 188.10, 11 = 189.7. — Chron. (5): 20^b, 604 A; 32^b, 656 E^e ; 222^b, 1086 E^g ; 227^m, 1092 $E^{a, b}$. — Laws (1): 42, Elfred, Intr., c. 49, § 1^b. — Elf. Hom. (8): I. 206^b, 372^b, 380^t, 520^t, 578^t; II. 74^b1, 202^b, 372^t1. — Elf. L. S. (3): 436.76; XXV. 470; XXIX. 163. — Elf. Hept. (2): Gen.

take (food, medicine), drink, eat (4): Læce. (4): 55.34; $69.21^{a, b}$; 150.6. — I. (76): Bede (15): 16.14 = 0; $76.30^b = 55.10$; 76.34 = 55.13; 104.29 = 85.29; 158.29 = 132.21; 232.25 = 176.18; 272.9 = 212.21; 396.4 = 287.21; 438.24 = 312.5; $454.9^{a, b} = 324.9$; 456.19 = 325.15; 464.5 = 329.23; 480.29, 30 = 357.11. — Greg. (1): 369.14 = 286.17. — Oros. (1): 42.29 = 43.29. — Pr. Ps. (1): 38.10 = 38.9. — Chron. (2): 34^t , 669 A; 72^b , 874 A. — Laws (3): 14, Wihtræd, c. 22, 23; 48, Ælfred, c. 1, § 2^b . — Wærf. (6): 201.1 = 245 A³; $206.5^b = 252$ A³; 253.13 = 309 B¹; 253.14 = 309 B²; 253.28 = 309 C¹; 336.3 = 404 C³. — Mart. (1): 54.22. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 244^t 3. — Ælf. L. S. (2): 330.149; XXVI. 264. — Ælf. Hept. (6): Gen. $28.20^{a, b}$ (or with noun?); — Ex. 6.8; 16.15; Num. 11.4 (or with noun?); Deut. 1.27. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.42^t . — Gosp. (5): Mat. (1): 27.26^b ; — L. (1): 20.20; — J. (3): 6.52^b ; 17.4; 19.16. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (2): 10.547; 18.238. — Læce. (25): 8.24; 8.27; 9.2; 17.11; 54.36^a ; 56.39; 57.14; 65.8; 65.26, 29; 66.11; 69.13; 71.13, 30; 72.12; 75.1, 35; 79.15; 80.25; 85.7, 21; 86.20, 26; 87.8, 10. — Minor Prose (1): Chad (1): 235. — Beow. (1):

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46.5; Num. 13.17. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (3): Ælf. Int. (2): 377, 473; — Napier's Ad. to
Th. (1): 101.319^{\text{m}}. — Gosp. (3): L. (1): 9.2^{\text{a}}; — J. (2): 1.33^{\text{a}}; 4.38. — Wulf. (2):
295.32<sup>a, b</sup>.
settan, set, place: U. (0). — I. (3): Chron. (1): 115b, 963 Eb. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 404t. —
     Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 16.33^{\circ}.
siellan: see sellan.
sittan, sit: U. (1): — bidan, await (1): Gen. (1): 842 (or predicative?). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom.
     (1): I. 542^{m}.
sidian, travel, go: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 222.39.
sniðan, cut open: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 367.15 = 284.22.
standan [-o-], U. (1): — healdan, hold, keep (1): Gen. (1): 526. — I. (3): Ælf. Hom. (1):
     I. 48^{\text{m}}{}^2. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Deut. 27.13. — Mk. (1): 11.25.
stician, stick: U. (0). - I. (1): Greg. (1): 171.7 = 126.3.
stondan: see standan.
syllan: see sellan.
teon, make, create: U. (0). — I. (1): Ps. (1): 143.1.
tocuman, come, come to: U. (0). — I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 59.11.
[todælan, distribute: U. (2): Oros. (2): 46.15, 16^b = 47.16. But the infinitives more probably are
     absolute: see Chapter XII, p. 169. — I. (0).]
tofaran, separate, disperse: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 42, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 1<sup>a</sup>.
toferan, separate, disperse: U. (0). — I. (1): Wulf. (1): 21.6.
tosendan, send: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 232^{t}.
Frowian, suffer, endure: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (2): XXIII B. 418, 419.
ourfan, need: U. (0). — I. (1): Solil. (1): 45.5.
utgan [-gangan, -o-], go out: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 114.27 = B. 146 A^{1}.
utgangan [-o-]: see utgan.
wegan, carry, manifest: U. (0). — I. (1): Gen. (1): 2349.
wendan, wend, go: U. (1): — secan, seek (1): S. & S. (1): 20. — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1):
     XXVII. 13.
weorpan, throw, cast: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 194.20 = 237 B^2.
wil(1)nian, desire, wish: U. (0). — I. (1): Boeth. (1): 40.25 = 43.3 (or with noun?).
```

2. With Passive Verbs.

winnan, struggle, strive: U. (0). — I. (2): Greg. (1): 77.21 = 50.22. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXVI. 23.

wyrcan, make, do: U. (0). — I. (5): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 4^t. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXV. 351. —

The infinitive is found both uninflected and inflected.

Wulf. (1): 306.29. - Lace. (2): 8.25 (?); 56.35.

wunian, dwell, remain: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede (1): 388.8 = 283.14.

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aliefan [-e-, -y-], allow: U. (0). — I. (3): Gosp. (3): Mat. (1): 12.4; — Mk. (1): 2.26. —
     L. (1): 6.4.
asendan, send: U. (2): — sprecan, speak (1) and bodian, preach (1): L. (2): 1.19^{a, b}. — I.
    (6): Chron. (1): 11b, 430 E.— Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 194b 1; II. 488b 5, 6, — Ælf. L. S.
    (2): XXIV. 170a, XXXII. 146.
befæstan, entrust: U. (0). — I. (3): Warf. (1): 275.26 = 336 B. — Mart. (1): 114.15. —
     Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 554^{t} 6.
beran, bear, give birth: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): 162.256. — Wulf. (1): 293.23.
betæcan, commit, entrust: U. (0). — I. (3): Chron. (1): 223^{m}, 1087 Eb. — Bened. (2):
    56.4 = 104.19; 84.21 = 152.24.
bringan, bring: U. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 183.26 = 224 \text{ B}^{1}.
ceosan, choose: U. (0). — I. (2): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXII. 223. — Ælf. Hept. (1): De V. T. 7.7.
forgiefan, give: U. (0). — I. (4): Ælf. L. S. (4): 16.100, 107, 108; 218.138.
(ge)beodan, offer: U. (0). — I. (1): Greg. (1): 43.23 = 22.21.
(ge)bringan, bring: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 104.34 = B. 136 A^4.
(ge)gadrian, gather together: U. (0). — I. (3): Greg. (1): 347.6 = 268.7. — Oros. (2): 284.1^{a.b}
(ge) gearwian, prepare: U. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 11.12 = 153 C.
(ge)halsian [-gi-, -healsian], request: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 409, Judicium Dei IV, c. 2<sup>a</sup>.
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(ge)healdan, keep, preserve: \mathbf{U}. (0). — I. (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 58.124.
(ge)lædan, lead: U. (0). — I. (2): Wærf. (1): 301.25 = 364 \text{ C}^2. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 254^{\circ}.
(ge)la\deltaian, invite: U. (0). — I. (2): Bede (2): 394.19 = 287.6; 396.14 = 288.2.
(ge)rædan, advise: U. (0). — I. (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 182.4 (?).
(ge)samnian [-o-], assemble: U. (0). — I. (1); Warf. (1): 315.6 = 380 C.
(ge)sellan, give: U. (0). — I. (6): Werf. (2): 324.24 = 392 \text{ A}^5; 325.1 = 392 \text{ A}^6. — Ælf. Hom.
     (1): I. 534^{\text{m}}. — Mat. (3): 20.19^{\text{a, b, c}}.
(ge)settan, set, place, appoint: U. (1): — bodian, preach (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 157.35. — I.
     (7): Bede (1): 396.28^a = 288.16^a. — Greg. (2): 321.7 = 248.1; 321.11 = 248.5. — Elf.
     Hom. (3): I. 178^{\rm m}, 540^{\rm t}; II. 198^{\rm t}. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 100.
(ge)smyrian, anoint: U. (0). — I. (1): Mat. (1): 26.12.
(ge)somnian: see gesamnian.
(ge) tacnian, signify, mean: U. (0). — I. (1): Weef. (1): 196.15 = 240 \text{ B}.
(ge) wealdan, govern, instruct: U. (1):—asettan, arrange (1): Gifts of Men (1): 47.—
     I. (0).
(ge)wyrcan, make, build: U. (0). — I. (3): Bede (2): 354.19<sup>a, b</sup> = 265.13<sup>a, b</sup>. — Ælfric's
     Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 101.314^{m}.
gierwan, prepare: U. (0). — I. (1): Warf. (1): 302.10 = 365 \text{ A}^1.
iecan [y-], increase: U. (0). — I. (1): Az. (1): 37.
nacian, make naked: U. (0). — I. (1): Wærf. (1): 287.3 = 348 \text{ B}^4.
onfon, receive: U. (0). — I. (1): Bede(1): 232.5 = 175.32.
onsendan, send: U. (0). — I. (4): Bede (2): 16.21 = 0; 16.30 = 201.1. — Greg. (2): 429.15
     = 354.3; 441.30 = 368.27.
ontendan, kindle: U. (0). — I. (1): Laws (1): 36, Ælfred, Intr., c. 27.
sellan, give: U. (0). — I. (5): Bede (2): 480.26, 27 = 357.9. — Werf. (3): 309.2<sup>a, b</sup> = 372
     D^{1, 2}; 327.9 = 393 C^{1}.
sendan, send: U. (0). — I. (9): Bede (7): 108.23 = 89.5; 160.7 = 135.18; 260.12 = 205.3;
     260.13 = 206.1; 272.25^{a, b} = 213.9; 420.15 = 302.14. — Chron. (1): 55^{t}, 785 E. — Bl.
     Hom. (1): 137.25.
todrifan, drive: U. (0). — I. (1): \mathcal{E}lf. Hept. (1): Ex. 5.12.
ycan: see iecan.
ymbsellan, surround: U. (0). — I. (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 11.25.
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B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

No clear example has been found.

XI. The Infinitive with Adjectives.

A. THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Normally the infinitive is inflected, but sporadically it is uninflected.

1. Uninflected.

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gearo [-u], ready (3): Bede (1): 56.21 = 43.21. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 534^{\text{b}} <sup>3</sup>; II. 130^{\text{t}} <sup>2</sup>. wierðe [-u-, -y-], worthy (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 138.353^{\text{b}}. wurðe wyrðe }: see wierðe.

2. Inflected.

æmetig, at leisure, free (1): Greg. (1): 191.24 = 144.2. æðele, excellent, valuable (1): Læce. (1): 89.18. ana, only one (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 182.225. andrysnlic, terrible (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 33.5.
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arwyrölic, venerable (1): Bede (1): $144.17^a = 117.29^a$. bealdra, bolder (1): Greg. (1): 361.14 = 280.6.

fus, ready, prepared (2): Gu. (2): 1051; 1053.

behydigest, most solicitous (1): Bede (1): 466.26 = 332.4. betere, better (4): Greg. (3): 457.7 = 388.21; $459.9^{a.b} = 392.7$, 8. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. II (1): 14.16.

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betst, best (3): Wulf. (1): 49.21 (or predicative with beon?). — Læce. (2): 5.33 (?); 44.29.
biterre [ — and grimre], bitter (and distasteful) (1): Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 189<sup>a</sup>.
deaflic [deflic], suitable (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): De V. T. 7. 41.
deflic: see deaflic.
deop, deep, profound (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 448<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Pref. to Gen. 23.3.
digle, mysterious (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 188<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
earfe\delta(e): see earfo\delta(e).
earfoo(e) [earfeo(e)], difficult (9): Boeth. (4): 81.3^{a, b} = 0; 92.24 = 79.77; 147.23 = 0.
     Chron. (2): 218^{m}, 1086 E^{a}; 222^{m}, 1086 E^{f}. — Bened. (1): 138.27 = 0. — Ælf. Hom.
     (2): I. 188<sup>t</sup>; II. 542<sup>b</sup>.
earfo\(\text{dest}\), most difficult (1): Boeth. (1): 127.3 = 107.6.
earfo'olic, difficult (1): Chron. (1): 186b, 1056 C.
eatolice, terribly (1): Bede (1): 240.21 = 191.29 (or predicative with beon?).
eaðe: see ieðe.
eadelic: see iedelic.
egeful, terrible (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 182<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>.
egeslic, terrible (1): Chr. (1): 919<sup>a</sup>.
eðe: see ie \eth e.
fæger, fair, beautiful (3): Oros. (2): 32.14a = 0; 74.13 = 75.11. — Bl. Hom. (1): 113.22.
feald [god and—], suitable (?) (2): Læce. (2): 87.15, 16.
feorr, far(1): And.(1): 424.
freora, freer (2): Greg. (1): 131.16 = 92.22^{b}. — Solil. (1): 36.11.
from, energetic (2): Bede (2): 410.4^{a_1}, 5^a = 296.28.
frymful, beneficial (1): Læce. (1): 146.28.
fus, ready, eager (1): Beow. (1): 1805.
gearo: see gearu.
gearu [-o], ready (34): Bede (2): 60.29 = 47.6; 98.4 = 80.28. \longrightarrow Boeth. (1): 107.32 = 93.69. \longrightarrow
     Greg. (6): 45.9 = 22.28; 173.5, 8^{1/2} = 126.24, 26; 203.12 = 152.10; 423.28 = 346.21. —
     Solil. (1): 11.11. — Pr. Ps. (1): 7.13. — Chron. (1): 139b, 1009 Ec. — Laws (1): 166, V
     Æthelstan, Prol., 1. — Wærf. (1): 80.27 = 205 \, \text{C}^2. — Ælf. Hom. (8): I. 128^{\text{m}}, 128^{\text{b}},
     190<sup>t</sup> <sup>2</sup>, 406<sup>b</sup>, 534<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>; II. 32<sup>t</sup>, 122<sup>t</sup>, 130<sup>t</sup>.—Ælf. L.S. (7): 228.144; XXIII B. 468; XXV. 113<sup>a, b</sup>,
     605; XXXVI. 171; XXXVII. 110. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Num. 15.40. — A. S. Hom. &
     L. S. II (1): 15.104 = 210.90. — L. (1): 22.33. — Dan. (1): 129. — And. (1): 73.
gecoplic, fit, suitable (1): Warf. (1): 49.9 = 184 A.
gecweme, agreeable (1): Wulf. (1): 280.5a.
gedyrstig, daring, audacious (1): Pr. Gu. (1): XX. 73.
gehendast, most convenient (1): Oros. (1): 116.7 = 117.2.
gehyð, convenient (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 783.
gemyndig, mindful (1): Pr. Ps. (1): 9.12 = 9.13.
geornful(1) [giorn-], eager, desirous (3): Boeth. (1): 51.9 = 50.14. - Greg. (2): 281.5^b = 60.14.
     212.9^{a}; 381.19 = 296.21.
geornost, most eager (1): Laws (1): 280, I Cnut, c. 2, § 1<sup>b</sup>.
geris(e)ne, suitable(1): Bede(1): 274.7 = 213.24.
gesom, agreed (1): Rid. (1): 88.29.
getrewe: see getriewe.
getriewe [-trewe], true, safe (1): Boeth. (1): 16.13^a = 25.36.
geoancol, thankful (1): Ps. (1): 50.7 (Cot.).
gewuna, accustomed (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 614 (?).
gifre, eager (2): Boeth. (2): 50.24^{a, b} = 50.8.
giornfull: see geornfull.
glæd, bright, clear (1): Boeth. (1): 14.14 = 23.12.
glæshlut(t)or, clear as glass (1): Boeth. (1): 14.13 = 23.8.
god, good (7): Bened. (1): 127.7^a = 194.13. - \text{Elf. Hept.} (1): Gen. 3.6. - \text{Læce.} (5): 29.21;
     32.36; 34.10; 74.26; 88.3.
grimlic [ — and egeslic], terrible (1): Chr. (1): 919<sup>b</sup>.
grimre [bittere and —], distasteful (1): Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 189<sup>b</sup>.
hal, whole (1): Solil. (1): 28.1.
halwende, beneficial (1): Bede (1): 214.24 = 166.16.
hræd [ — and geornfull], quick, ready (2): Greg. (1): 281.5^a = 212.9. — Wulf. (1): 148.2^b.
hræ\delta, quick (1): Pr. Ps. (1): 13.6 = 13.3.
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iede [eade, ede, yde], easy (3): Boeth. (2): 16.13^b = 25.38; 92.27 = 79.79. — Beow. (1):
ieoelic, easy (3): Greg. (1): 419.10 = 340.22. — Wærf. (2): 27.8, 9 = 165 C<sup>3</sup>.
ieore, easier (6): Greg. (3): 239.10, 11 = 180.21; 277.25 = 210.10. — Oros. (3): 80.11, 12^{a, b} =
     81.8<sup>a, b</sup>.
læne, fleeting, deceptive (1): Wulf. (1): 189.4.
læt. slow (2): Greg. (1): 281.6 = 212.9^{b}. — L. (1): 24.25.
lang [-o-], long, tedious (3): Mart. (1): 130.11. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 302^{\rm m}. — Wulf. (1):
     298.22.
langsum [-o-], long, tedious (6): Ælf. Hom. (3): II. 170<sup>b</sup> 1, 2, 536<sup>b</sup>. — Ælf. L. S. (1): 98.139.
     — Ælf. Hept. (1): De V. T. 10.4. — A. S. Hom. & L. S. I (1): 7.243.
latheort, slow of heart (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose: Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.34<sup>t</sup>.
leof. dear (2): Bede (2): 450.3^{a, b} = 322.8, 9.
leofost, dearest (3): Bl. Hom. (3): 55.18; 111.26a, b.
leofra, dearer (3): Oros. (2): 286.8^{a, b} = 287.8^{a, b}. — Bl. Hom. (1): 195.8.
leoht, light, easy (1): Greg. (1): 23.13 = 2.3.
leohtest, most light, most active (1): Wids. (1): 72.
licwierde [-u-], pleasing, acceptable (1): Wulf. (1): 280.5b.
licwurde: see licwierde.
listhendig, skillful (1): Gifts of Men (1): 96.
liðe, pleasant (1): Chr. (1): 914.
            : see lang, langsum.
longsum
lustbære, pleasant, desirous (3): Boeth. (1): 50.10 = 50.1. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 130<sup>m</sup>. — Ælf.
     L. S. (1): 96.117.
lustbærre, more pleasant (1): Greg. (1): 303.9 = 0.
lustfull, desirous (1): Oros. (1): 100.27 = 0.
lustfullic, pleasant (1): Weerf. (1): 129.7 = B. 158 D^2.
lustlic, pleasant (1): Oros. (1): 120.9.
lustlicre, more pleasant (1): Bened. (1): 3.3 = 6.7.
lustsumlic [ — and fæger], pleasant (1): Oros. (1): 32.14^{b} = 0.
lytel, little, insignificant (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 140<sup>b</sup>. — Doomsday (1): 9.
mære, glorious, famous (1): Dan. (1): 321.
manigfeald [menig-, monig-], manifold (2): Oros. (1): 102.23 = 0. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I.
     448<sup>t</sup> 1.
manigfealdlicor, more manifoldly (1): Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 66 (?).
menigfeald: see manigfeald.
micel, wonderful (2): Oros. (1): 82.3 = 81.24. — Ælf. Hept. (1): De N. T. 14.10.
mi(e)htig, mighty, powerful (2): Greg. (2): 91.15<sup>a, b</sup> = 62.3, 4.
monigfeald: see manigfeald.
myrige, pleasant (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 182<sup>t</sup>, 182<sup>b</sup> 1.
nedőearf: see niedőearf.
nedőearflic: see niedőearflic.
niedbedearfost, most necessary (1): Greg. (1): 7.7 = 0.
niedőearf [ned-], necessary, useful (2): Greg. (1): 283.25 = 214.20 (or subjective?). — Laws
     (1): 44, Ælfred, Intr., c. 49, § 5 (or subjective?).
niedőearflic [ned-], necessary, useful (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 225.26.
nyt(t) wier \delta e [-y-], useful (2): Greg. (2): 275.14, 15 = 208.8.
nyt(t) wier olic [-y-], useful (1): Greg. (1): 255.12 = 192.23.
nyt(t)wyr\delta e: see nyt(t)wier\delta e.
nyt(t)wyr\delta lic: see nyt(t)wier\delta lic.
onderslic, terrible (1): Bede (1): 144.18^b = 117.29.
open, open (1): Greg. (1): 431.9 = 356.2^{b}.
rædlicost, most advisable (1): Wulf. (1): 305.34 (or predicative with beon?).
reow [reoh], fierce (1): Gu. (1): 377.
rihtlic, just, proper (1): Wærf. (1): 345.14 = 421 \text{ A}^{1}.
scearp, sharp, eager (2): Bede (2): 410.4^{\text{b}}, 5^{\text{b}} = 296.28.
scir, white (1): J. (1): 4.35.
selast } : see selost.
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selost [-ost, -est], best (3): Laws (2): 280, I Cnut, c. 2, § 1a; 470, Grid, Inscr., c. 1.—Beow.
selra, better (2): Beow. (1): 1851. — S. & S. (1): 406.
soolic, true (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): 182.226.
strang [-o-], strong, given to (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 322<sup>m</sup>.
strengra, stronger (1): Wulf. (1): 207.24.
swete, sweet, pleasing (2): Boeth. (1): 51.5 = 0. — Bl. Hom. (1): 59.10.
swift [ — and hræd], swift (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 296<sup>b</sup> <sup>2</sup>. — Wulf. (1): 148.2<sup>a</sup>.
til, excellent (1): Gifts of Men (1): 76.
toweard, toward, coming (6): Bede (2): 224.21 = 172.5; 270.2 = 211.7. - Bl. Hom. (2):
    81.35, 36. — Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 190b. — Minor Prose (1): Chad (1): 188.
trum, firm, strong (1): Greq. (1): 249.6 = 188.10.
dearlic, painful (1): And. (1): 1136.
Surhwæccendlic, very vigilant (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 44.
unaberendlicre, more intolerable (1): Greg. (1): 343.11 = 264.23.
uneade: see uniede.
ungearu [-o], unready (1): Greg. (1): 173.11 = 126.28.
ungeliefedlic, incredible (1): Oros. (1): 74.14 = 75.12.
ungewunelic, unusual (1): Wærf. (1): 17.28 = 160 \text{ B}^2.
uniede [-eade], difficult (5): Greg. (3): 385.10, 11 = 300.16; 409.20 = 230.1. - Bl. Hom. (1):
    59.15. — Minor Prose (1): Alex. (1): 30.
unrihtlic, wrong, wicked (1): Wærf. (1): 209.23^a = 256 \text{ C}^1.
unscende, honorable (1): Wald. B. (1): 21.
unwerodre, more unsweet (1): Greg. (1): 447.19 = 376.9.
unwynsum, unwinsome (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 184<sup>t</sup>.
weorde: see wierde.
wered [-od], sweet (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 15.25b.
wierde [-u-, -y-], worthy (8): Bl. Hom. (1): 163.14. — Ælf. L. S. (3): 138.353<sup>a</sup>; 180.196;
     XXVII. 119. — Mat. (1): 3.11. — Minor Prose (2): Alex. (2): 22, 75. — Gen. (1): 622.
wierdelic [-y-], worthy (1): Werf. (1): 230.16 = 281 B.
wierost [-u-, -y-], most worthy (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 637.
winsum winsumre : see wyn-.
wrætlic, wonderful (1): Rid. (1): 40.25.
wundorlic, wonderful (1): Wulf. (1): 15.14.
wurde
wurdelic \ : see wierd-.
wurdost J
wynsum [-i-], winsome, pleasant (6): Bede (1): 346.4 = 260.32. — Solil. (1): 51.11. — Ælf.
    L. S. (1): XXX. 315. — Ælf. Hept. (1): Gen. 2.9. — Minor Prose (1): Neot (1): 48. —
    Met. (1): 21.19.
wynsumre [-i-], more winsome, more pleasant (1): Boeth. (1): 52.8 = 0.
          : see wierð-.
wyr\delic \
yðe: see ieðe.
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THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE. В.

Given in full in Chapter XI, p. 158.

XII. Other Adverbial Uses of the Infinitive.

Given in full in Chapter XII, pp. 160 ff.

The Infinitive with Nouns.

THE ACTIVE INFINITIVE.

Normally the infinitive is inflected, but sporadically it is uninflected.

1. Uninflected.

anweald, power, authority (1): L. (1): 12.5. myne, purpose, intention (1): And. (1): 1538.

```
need, need (2): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 372<sup>m 2</sup>. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to
     Th. (1): 102.35^{b} 4.
                                            2. Inflected.
æcer, field (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 135.7 (or final?).
æht, property, possessions (3): Bened. (2): 55.7 = 102.19; 104.8 = 170.17. — Ælf. Hom.
     (1): I. 580^{t}<sup>2</sup>.
æðelo, habit (?) (1): Boeth. (1): 91.20 = 79.56.
andefn: see ondefn.
andgit, intellect (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 344^{\rm m}.
anweald, authority, power (12): Ælf. Hom. (4): XXXIV. 322a, b, 328, 329. — Gosp. (8):
     Mat. (1): 9.6; — Mk. (3): 2.10; 3.15^{a, b}; — L. (2): 5.24; 10.19; — J. (2): 10.18^{a, b}.
ao, oath (1): Chron. (1): 242<sup>m</sup>, 1109 E.
auht, aught (1): Boeth. (1): 13.14 = 22.35.
bewerenis, prohibition (2): Bede (2): 86.13^{a, b} = 60.12^{a, b}.
bieldo [-y-], boldness (2): Wærf. (2): 243.10 = 296 A<sup>2</sup>; 295.3 = 356 C<sup>2</sup>.
bisn [bysn], example (1): Greg. (1): 307.9 = 234.27.
bliss, bliss, joy (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 368<sup>m</sup>.
cild, child (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Ælf. Gr. (1): 151.13 (or final?)
cyre, free-will (2): Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 212<sup>t</sup>; II. 490<sup>m</sup>.
drenc, drink (1): Lace. (1): 42.1.
drinc [-y-], drink (1): And. (1): 23.
drync: see drinc.
eage, eye (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Deut. 29.4<sup>a</sup>.
ealdorlicnes, authority (1): Bede (1): 206.13 = 161.22.
eare, ear (8): Ælf. Hept. (1): Deut. 29.4b. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to
     Th. (1): 102.32^{t}. — Gosp. (6): Mat. (3): 11.15; 13.9, 43. — Mk. (2): 4.9, 23; — L.
     (1): 14.35.
fæc, period of time, interval (1): Bede (1): 190.26 = 153.10.
fela, much (4): Greg. (1): 237.13 = 178.28. - J. (3): 8.26^{a, b}; 16.12.
feoh, money (2): Oros. (1): 116.15 = 0. — Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 178^{t}.
fierst [-y-], period of time (3): Warf. (1): 53.16 = 185 D. — Wulf. (2): 202.1<sup>a, b</sup>.
flæsc, flesh (1): Ælf. Hept. (1): Ex. 16.12.
forebeacen, portent (1): Mk. (1): 13.22.
fultum, assistance (2): Solil. (2): 39.15, 16.
fyrst: see fierst.
gast, spirit (1): Greg. (1): 263.21 = 198.22.
gealdor, charm (1): Læce. (1): 93.22.
gelærednes, learning, skill (1): Bede (1): 362.28^{b} = 269.32.
genog [onoh], sufficiency (1): Chron. (1): 264<sup>m</sup>, 1137<sup>a</sup>.
genoh: see genog.
geornfulnes, eagerness, desire (2): Bede (2): 206.11, 12 = 161.21<sup>a, b</sup>.
gesceadwisnes, intelligence, discernment (1): Solil. (1): 16.21.
getydnes, skill (1): Bede(1): 362.28 = 269.32.
geotht. thought, intention (1): Greg. (1): 71.22 = 46.1.
geoyld, patience (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 135.
geweald, power, authority (3): Pr. Gu. (1): V. 227. — Gen. (1): 281. — Ermahnung (1): 36.
giefu, gift (1): Bede(1): 20.22 = 258.25.
giemen [gimen], care (1): Bede(1): 482.1 = 357.13.
gierd [-y-], rod (2): Greg. (1): 127.1 = 88.14. — Warf. (1): 20.27 = 161 C.
gimen: see giemen.
gleawnes, intelligence (2): Bede (2): 206.10<sup>a, b</sup> = 161.20<sup>a, b</sup>.
God, God (2): Ælf. L. S. (2): 478.93; XXXV. 117.
god, good (1): Boeth. (1): 94.24 = 80.107.
gryre, horror (1): Bede (1): 364.5 = 270.6.
gvrd: see gierd.
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heafod [hæfed], head (2): Chron. 258, 1127 Ef, g.
hiht: see hyht.
                                                     hlaf, bread (1): Mk. (1): 3.20.
hol, hole, cave (1): Boeth. (1): 19.8 = 29.14.
hwæt, anything (1): Oros. (1): 142.25 = 0.
hyht [-i-], hope(1): Bede(1): 366.32 = 272.7<sup>b</sup>.
ielden [ylden], respite (1): Bede (1): 190.30^a = 153.13.
intinga, cause, sake (5): Bede (3): 82.19, 21<sup>a</sup> = 58.22, 24; 120.7 = 97.21. — Mart. (2):
     86.5<sup>a</sup>, b.
lac, offering (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): I. 584^{m}.
læcedom, remedy, medicine (3): Læce. (3): 4.41; 48.8; 52.37.
lacnung, medicine (2): Læce. (2): 49.32; 70.33.
lamb [-o-], lamb (1): Bl. Hom. (1): 23.26.
land [-o-], land (1): Boeth. (1): 40.21 = 0.
lar, instruction, advice (1): Bede(1): 160.8 = 135.21.
leaf, leave, permission (16): Boeth. (1): 120.28 = 102.76. — Greg. (1): 397.26 = 316.8. —
     Chron. (1): 260<sup>t</sup>, 1129 E. — Laws (1): 483, Wilhelm I, c. 1<sup>b</sup>. — Wærf. (7): 10.2 = 0;
     31.27 = 169 \text{ B}^1; 198.17 = 241 \text{ C}^4; 200.4 = 244 \text{ C}^1; 211.20^{\text{a. b}} = 257 \text{ C}^2; 295.4 = 356 \text{ C}^3.
     Bened. (1): 21.17 = 42.17. — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXIII B. 442; XXXI. 384, 385. — Ælf. Hept.
     (1): Gen. 42.34.
leafnes [-nis], leave, permission (7): Bede (7): 62.8^{a, b}, 9 = 47.16, 17^{a, b}; 112.6 = 91.9;
     256.10^{b} = 203.15; 400.8^{a, b} = 289.29.
lomb: see lamb.
lond: see land.
lufu, love (1): Bede (1): 82.25 = 58.29.
lustbærnes, desire (1): Boeth. (1): 74.7 = 66.16.
mæg(e)n, power, strength (4): Greg. (1): 399.21 = 318.6. — Oros. (1): 174.12 = 0. — Wærf. (2):
     178.4 = B. 204 C^3; 244.1 = 297 C^1.
mæl, time (1): Beow. (1): 316.
mæð, power (1): Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 456b.
mare [more], more (1): Chron. (1): 264b, 1137 Eb.
meaht: see miht.
mete, meat (1): J. (1): 4.32.
miht [meaht], might, power (11): Bede (1): 146.22 = 120.20. — Pr. Gu. (1): V. 212. — Ælf.
     Hom. (6): I. 322^{\rm b}, 560^{\rm t} 1, 2, 588^{\rm b} 1, 2; II. 244^{\rm t}. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXXI. 484. — J. (2):
     19.10^{a, b}.
mildheortnes, mercy (1): Bede (1): 206.14 = 161.24.
mod, mind, mood (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXIII B. 540.
more: see mare.
naht, naught (1): Werf. (1): 290.21 = 352 \text{ A}^3.
nanwiht [-wuht], naught (3): Boeth. (1): 24.16 = 33.49. — Solil. (2): 12.12; 46.6.
nanwuht: see nanwiht.
neod, need (9): Laws (1): 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42. — Bened. (2): 94.16 = 0; 127.7<sup>b</sup> = 194.14. —
     Ælf. Hom. (1): II. 372<sup>m</sup> 1. — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXIII B. 70, 220, 222. — Ælfric's Minor
     Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.35^{b} 3. — Mat. (1): 14.16^{a}.
niedőearf [nyd-], need (1): Pr. Ps. (1): 15.1.
nydőearf: see niedőearf.
ondefn [an-], capacity (1): Greg. (1): 95.1 = 64.12.
onlegen, medicinal application (2): Lace. (2): 54.36b, 37.
onoh: see genoh.
pening, penny (1): Greg. (1): 327.18 = 252.22.
petraoleum, petroleum (2): Læce. (2): 52.30, 31.
riht, right, reason (1): Bede (1): 470.11 = 345.31.
rod, rood (1): Ælf. L. S. (1): XXVII. 118.
rum, space of time, opportunity (1): Jud. (1): 314.
son, musical sound (1): Bede(1): 258.24 = 205.11.
sorg, sorrow, grief (1): Greg. (1): 431.8 = 356.2^a.
sped, opportunity (1): Bede (1): 256.10^a = 203.15.
spell, matter, material (1): Oros. (1): 94.16 = 95.16.
spræc, speech (1): Greg. (1): 197.2 = 146.24.
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stow, place (7): Bede (4): 230.17 = 175.13; 238.24 = 180.1; 436.7, 8 = 310.23°, b. — Wærf. (2):
                226.23 = 277 A; 231.14 = 281 C. — Minor Prose (1): Neot (1): 43.
strengto(o), strength (1): Warf. (1): 214.28 = 261 C.
tid, time(10): Bede(4): 262.21^{a, b} = 207.19, 20; 366.31 = 272.7^{a}; 444.7 = 314.23. — Mart.(1):
               42.13. — Ælf. L. S. (3): XXIII B. 403b, 478a, b. — Minor Prose (2): Chad (2): 71, 72.
tima, time (9): Ælf. Hom. (7): I. 602<sup>t 1, 4</sup>; II. 340<sup>t</sup>, 360<sup>b 1, 2, 3, 4</sup>. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (2):
                Ælf. Gr. (2): 135.3, 151.11.
tol, tool (1): Boeth. (1): 40.16 = 0.
ŏæt, which (1): Ælfric's Minor Prose (1): Napier's Ad. to Th. (1): 102.40b.
Trans. The second respectively. The second 
               Ælfred, c. 34; 256, VI Æthelred, c. 42, § 2. — Wærf. (1): 79.6 = 205 A. — Bl. Hom. (2):
               63.5; 97.17. — Wulf. (5): 52.3<sup>a, b</sup>; 78.9; 179.19; 308.22. — Gen. (1): 279.
Transport The state of the st
Transfer of Search Search (3): Bede (2): 258.31 = 205.18; 472.27 = 347.18. — Beow. (1): 1941.
Transfer Teaching [Tenung], service, office (3): Bede(3): 300.30 = 230.7^a; 402.30^a, b = 291.18^a, b = 291.18^a.
denung: see degnung.
derf: see dearf.
ŏing, thing (11): Ælf. Hom. (3): I. 222t; II. 178b, 500b. — Ælf. L. S. (1): XXX. 167. — Ælf.
                Hept. (1): Num. 11.6. — Ælfric's Minor Prose (3): Ælf. Gr. (2): 119.10<sup>a. b</sup>; Napier's
               Ad. to Th. (1): 101.316^{b}. — Gosp. (3): L. (2): 7.40; 24.41; — J. (1): 4.11.
wegnest, provisions for a journey (1): Wærf. (1): 338.1^a = 408 \text{ A}^2.
wela, wealth, riches (1): And. (1): 1160.
wen, hope, expectation (1): W \text{ erf.} (1): 114.1 = B. 144 C<sup>2</sup>.
weorc, work (1): Bede (1): 418.27 = 301.23.
willa, will, desire (4): Boeth. (2): 107.13 = 0; 111.7 = 0. — Ælf. Hom. (2): I. 394^{t}, 580^{t}.
wundor, wonder (1): Bede (1): 164.27 = 138.9.
ylden: see ielden.
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B. THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE.

No example has been found.

stæf, stick (1): Greg. (1): 127.2 = 88.15.

Note. — Less Regular Examples of the Inflected Infinitive Modifying a Noun are given in Chapter XIII, pp. 180-181.

Note: Doubtful Passages. — Owing to the corruptness of the text, it is impossible for me to classify the infinitive in the following: — (1) in the prose: Pr. Ps. 26.5^{a, b}: geseon and ongitan; Chron. 128^b, 995 F^{b, c}: sprytan and wyrcan; Bl. Hom. 179.31: sellan [syllan]; — (2) in the poetry: Gen. 2038: feallan (or should be feollon, as Grein gives it?); Ju. 289: sellan [syllan]; Chr. 24: sprecan; And. 1025: neosan. — The context shows that we probably have a finite verb, not an infinitive, in the following passages: Solil. 14.2: gecyrran; Læce. 128.7: teon (should be teo?); Pr. Ps. 16.14^b: healdan (though it is possible that healdan may be an infinitive of purpose).

APPENDIX B.

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APPENDIX C.

ADDENDA.

Just as the preceding pages were about to go to press, two articles appeared that call for an additional note.

In the latest issue of *Englische Studien* (vol. XLVI, p. 8), Mr. Olaf Johnsen has the following note concerning the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon:

"In Anglo-Saxon I have come across one instance of the infinitive mark to being used elliptically, that is with the infinitive understood from the foregoing: 7 gif us hwa abylgo, onne beo we sona yrre, 7 willao oxt gewrecan gif we magon, oxah we beotiao to, 'though we threaten to' (Blick. 33)."

Possibly, as claimed by Mr. Johnsen, we have here an elliptical infinitive; if so, it stands alone in Anglo-Saxon literature so far as my observation goes. As the editor of the Blickling Homilies, Dr. Richard Morris, indicates, the text of the passage in question is defective. The earliest examples hitherto cited of the elliptical infinitive are centuries later: see Borst, 2 l. c., pp. 413-418; Jespersen, 2 l. c., § 211; and the New English Dictionary, as cited below. With Professor Toller, in his "Supplement" to Bosworth-Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, sub v. beotian, I consider that to belongs to beotiat, not to an infinitive to be supplied from the preceding part of the sentence.

The second article is that on to in the most recently published fascicle of the New English Dictionary (Ti-Tombac), "B. To before an infinitive (or gerund)," pp. 87-90.

Concerning the differentiation of the uninflected infinitive and the inflected infinitive and the subsequent confusion of the two forms, there is given this interesting statement, under "History," p. 87:

"Originally, to before the dative infinitive had the same meaning and use as before ordinary substantives, i. e. it expressed motion, direction, inclination, purpose, etc., toward the act or condition expressed by the infinitive; as in 'he came to help (i. e. to the help of) his friends,' 'he went to stay there,' 'he prepared to depart (i. e. for departure),' 'it tends to melt,' 'he proceeded to speak,' 'looking to receive something.' But in process of time this obvious sense of the preposition became weakened and generalized, so that to became at last the ordinary link expressing any prepositional relation in which an infinitive stands to a preceding verb, adjective, or substantive. Sometimes the relation was so vague as scarcely to differ from that between a transitive verb and its object. This was especially so when the verb was construed both transitively and intransitively. There were several verbs in Old English in this position, such as onginnan to begin, ondrædan to dread, bebeodan to bid, order, bewerian to forbid, prevent, geliefan to believe, dencean to think, etc.; these are found construed either with the simple (accusative) infinitive, or with to and the dative infinitive. There was also a special idiomatic use (sense 13a) of the infinitive with to as an indirect nominative, where logically the simple infinitive might be expected. From these beginnings, the use of the infinitive with to in place of the simple infinitive, helped by the phonetic decay and loss of the inflexions and the need of some mark to distinguish the infinitive from other parts of the verb and from the cognate substantive, increased rapidly during the late Old English and early Middle English period, with the result that in modern English the infinitive with to is the ordinary form, the simple infinitive surviving only in particular connexions, where it is very intimately connected with the preceding verb (see below). To a certain extent, therefore, i. e. when the infinitive is the subject or direct object, to has lost all its meaning, and become a mere 'sign' or prefix of the infinitive. But after an intransitive verb, or the passive voice, to is still the preposition. In appearance, there is no difference between the infinitive in 'he proceeds to speak,' and 'he chooses to speak;' but in the latter to speak is the equivalent of speaking or speech, and in the former of to speaking or to speech. In form, to speak is the descendant of Old English to specanne; in sense, it is partly the representative of this and largely of Old English specan."

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With this general statement should be compared the section on "the Differentiation of the Two Infinitives" in my several chapters, especially that in Chapter II on the Objective Infinitive, pp. 60 ff.

I am glad to see that the explanation of the differentiation of the two infinitives as subject is substantially identical with that offered by me, pp. 20 ff. above. Under 13a, p. 89, "with infinitive as subject, or as object with complement, introduced by it or an impersonal verb, in quotations c. 1205 without it," we read:

"Here the infinitive apparently originally depended on the adjective or substantive in the it clause (as in sense 9), or on the impersonal verb, and was therefore put in the form with to. Thus hwilum &a leohtan scylda bio& beteran to forlætenne, 'sometimes the slight sins are better to let alone' (K. Ælf. Pa. C. 457), might also be expressed hwilum hit is betre &a leohtan scylda to forlætenne (cf. hit is god godne to herianne, quotation c. 890), 'sometimes it is better to let alone the slight sins;' and this easily passed into the later 'to let alone the slight sins is sometimes better,' where the infinitive clause becomes the subject as in b."

Under 14, p. 89, "with infinitive as direct object of a transitive verb," we read:

"Old English normally had the simple infinitive, like modern German... Many of the verbs which in Old English took the simple infinitive could also be followed by to with the dative infinitive. But the auxiliary verbs (see *History* above) have always been followed by the simple infinitive; e. g. *Hwæt can ic sprecan?* 'What can I speak?' We magon gehyran, 'We may hear.'"

But see Chapter IV, pp. 79 ff., where I have tried to demonstrate that the inflected infinitive is occasionally found with auxiliary verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

In 15a, p. 89, two examples are given of the inflected infinitive as the predicate of a subject accusative in Anglo-Saxon, one after *tæcan*, 'teach,' and another after *læran*, 'teach.' See section IV, p. 338, below.

As to the syntactical uses of the infinitive, the classification, given at the end of "History," p. 87, tallies in the main with that given by me:

"The infinitive with to may be dependent on an adjective, a substantive, or a verb, or it may stand independently. To an adjective it stands in adverbial relation: ready to fight = ready for fighting; to a substantive it stands in adjectival or sometimes adverbial relation: a day to remember = a memorable day; to a verb it may stand in an adverbial or substantival relation: to proceed to work = to proceed to work = to like working."

It is clear that, in the large, these groups correspond respectively to the adverbial, the adjectival, and the substantival uses as given in my "Introduction," pp. 2 ff. Later, on p. 89, the *Dictionary* gives a fourth use, "with infinitive equivalent to a finite verb or clause," which in part corresponds to my predicative (or more verbal) use of the infinitive.

But several noteworthy differences appear when we come to the delimitation of the several groups. Under "I. With infinitive in adverbial relation," the differences are fewer and less significant than under the remaining three groups. The subdivisions given under I in the *Dictionary* are as follows:—

"* Indicating purpose or intention," in which we have the inflected infinitive occasionally modifying a noun, though regularly modifying a verb or an adjective. Here, too, the *Dictionary* puts the "absolute or independent construction, usually introductory or parenthetic," of which the earliest example given is c. 1305, from *St. Kenelm*, 266: "& to telle hit wiooute rym ouse wordes rigt hit were." See Chapter XII, pp. 169 ff., where I have given several examples of the absolute use of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.

Indicating objectivity," in which the inflected infinitive is "dependent on various verbs, chiefly transitive, passive, or reflexive, with weakened sense of purpose," on various adjectives, and on various abstract substantives (as nouns of action).

"*** Indicating appointment or destination," in which the infinitive is dependent on verb, adjective, or substantive. No example is given from

Anglo-Saxon, the earliest in the Dictionary dating from 1380.

"**** Indicating result or consequence," especially after so, such, enough, No example is given from Anglo-Saxon; 1 but see Chapter XII, pp. 162 ff. above, where numerous examples are given of the consecutive infinitive in

Anglo-Saxon.

"***** Indicating occasion or condition," which corresponds to my infinitive of cause and my infinitive of specification: see Chapters XII and XI, pp. 160 f. and 149 ff. The Dictionary's earliest example of the causal infinitive is from the fourteenth century (The Seven Sages and Chaucer). Under this heading, the *Dictionary* includes, also, the conditional use of the infinitive, of which, however, no example has been found in Anglo-Saxon by the author of the article on to or by myself: see p. 171 above.

Clearly the chief difference between the classification of the *Dictionary* and of the present monograph, in group I, arises from the inclusion by the former of certain infinitives modifying substantives, concerning which this explanation is offered on p. 88 (1c): "The adverbial use may be explained as qualifying the adjective 'intended, adapted' before to." While not denying the permissibility, perhaps even the desirability, of this subdivision, I am inclined to believe that, in some of the Anglo-Saxon examples quoted, the infinitive is adjectival rather than adverbial in use.

But, under "II. With infinitive in adjectival relation" (pp. 88-89), the Dictionary includes not only the infinitive immediately modifying a noun, as in Greg. 127.1, 2 (gif vær vonne sie gierd mid to vreageanne, sie vær eac stæf mid to wredianne), but also the infinitive used "as predicate after the verb to be" and "expressing duty, obligation, or necessity," as in Chron. 215, t 1083 E (8a munecas . . . nyston hwet heom to donne wære). As was stated on p. 5 above, the infinitive of necessity is by most scholars² put under the predicative (or more verbal) use; nor does the Dictionary seem to me to justify its departure here from the general custom. The subdivisions of group II, as given by the *Dictionary*, are:

"a. Expressing intention or appointment (cf. I, 6), and hence simple futurity (thus equivalent to a future participle)," as in Greg. 127.1, 2 above. See, too, Chapter XIII, pp. 173 ff., above.

"b. Expressing duty, obligation, or necessity," as in Chron. 215, 1083 E

above.

"c. Expressing possibility or potential action," of which the following is given as an example in Anglo-Saxon: — Ælf. Hept.: Gen. 28.20: Gif Drihten . . . sylo me hlaf to etenne and reaf to werigenne.

"d. Expressing quality or character," of which no example is given from Anglo-Saxon, the earliest in the Dictionary belonging to the fifteenth century. "12. With infinitive equivalent to a relative clause with indicative; chiefly

The earliest example in the Dictionary is from 1300 (A Sarmun).

² Mr. Onions, however, l. c., § 169, puts this infinitive under the adverbial use.

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after first, last, or the like (in this case = in with gerund): as the first to come = 'the first in coming,' 'the first who comes or came.'" The earliest example given is from Coverdale (1535): 2 Sam. 19.11: "Why wyl ye be the last to fetch the kynge agayne unto his house?"

Under "III. With infinitive in substantival relation," the *Dictionary* gives two larger subdivisions:—

- "13a. With infinitive as subject, or as object with complement, introduced by it or an impersonal verb; in quotations c. 1205 without it:" see the paragraph on the differentiation of the two infinitives as subject, in the present note.
- "b. With infinitive as direct subject or predicate, or in apposition with a substantive or pronoun, or after than: often replaceable by the gerund or verbal substantive in -ing." Of this use no example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but see Chapter I, pp. 7 ff., and Chapter III, pp. 73 ff., above, where examples are given from Anglo-Saxon.
- "14a. With infinitive as direct object of a transitive verb," of which examples are unnecessary here. See the paragraph on the differentiation of the two infinitives as object, in the present note, and Chapter II, pp. 28 ff., above. The *Dictionary* puts here, allowably, the infinitive with auxiliary verbs, while I have put this under the predicative use: see p. 79 above.
- "b. Rarely as object of another preposition, instead of the verbal substantive or gerund. (Probably imitating French use.)" No example is given from Anglo-Saxon; nor have I found any clear example. But see Chapter III, p. 78, above.
- Under "IV. With infinitive equivalent to a finite verb or clause," we have these subdivisions in the *Dictionary:*—
- "15. With infinitive as complement to a substantive or pronoun, forming a compound object or substantive phrase, corresponding to the 'accusative and infinitive' construction in Latin and Greek."
- The Dictionary states that the prepositional infinitive is found in this construction (a) "after verbs of commanding, teaching, desiring, causing, allowing, or the like; equivalent to a that-clause with the substantive or pronoun governing a verb in the subjunctive;" also "after the passive of such verbs, the substantive or pronoun then becoming the subject;" (b) "after verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, perceiving, or the like; equivalent to a that-clause with verb in the indicative;" also "after the passive of such verbs, and after intransitive verbs of like meaning, as seem, happen, etc." The Dictionary gives only two examples from Anglo-Saxon, one after læran, 'teach,' and one after tæcan, 'teach.' But see Chapter VIII, pp. 118–119, above, where these and other examples are given. The Dictionary states, also, that more commonly, after each of these groups of verbs, the simple infinitive occurs in this construction in Anglo-Saxon.
- "16. With infinitive after a dependent interrogative or relative; equivalent to a clause with may, should, etc. (Sometimes with ellipsis of whether before or in an alternative dependent question.)"

No example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but the following is given from Chaucer's Man of Law's Tale, 358: "She hath no wight to whom to make hir mone."

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"17. In absolute or independent construction, with subject expressed (in nominative) or omitted: in exclamations expressing astonishment, indignation, sorrow, or (after O or other interjections) longing."

Again, no example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but compare my comment on Oros. 45.15–16, p. 169 above. The earliest example given by the Dictionary is dated 1450, and is from the Coventry Mysteries, viii. 77: "I to bere a childe that xal bere alle mannys blyss... ho mythe have joys more?"

"18. With infinitive immediately following the subject, in vivid narrative, equivalent to a past tense indicative; almost always with go and verbs of like meaning."

No example is given from Anglo-Saxon, but the following is from Layamon's Brut, 21655: "Ah Arður com sone mid selere strengðe, And Scottes to fleonne feor of ðan ærde." See my note concerning supposed examples of the historical infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, p. 6, above.

As implicitly stated already, I should put under group IV the infinitive with auxiliary verbs and the infinitive of necessity with been (wesan), although the Dictionary puts the former under the substantival (objective) use and the latter under the adjectival use.

Besides these four chief groups, the *Dictionary* has another group, "V. Peculiar constructions," subdivided as follows:—

"19. To was formerly often used with the second of two infinitives when the first was without it, especially after an auxiliary, with words intervening between the infinitives. (See also note s. v. than, conj.¹)"

The earliest example given is from Layamon's *Brut*, 1220: "Swa he gon slomnen & der æfter to slepen." For a somewhat similar phenomenon in Anglo-Saxon, see pp. 77 and 147 above.

"20. Occasionally an adverb or adverbial phrase (formerly sometimes an object or predicate) is inserted between to and the infinitive, forming the construction now usually (but loosely) called 'split infinitive.' (See Onions, Advanced English Syntax, 177.)"

The earliest example given is from the Cursor Mundi, 8318 (Cott. & Fairf.): "To temple make he sal be best." See p. 148 above, where I have given a brief note on this construction in Anglo-Saxon.

"21. Used absolutely at the end of a clause, with ellipsis of the infinitive, which is to be supplied from the preceding clause. Rare before 19th century; now a frequent colloquialism."

The earliest example given is from the fourteenth-century *Minor Poems from Vernon Manuscript*, xxxiii. 74: "De soules of synners, . . . Ser to take and resseyue so As Sei on eorSe deserveden to." See, at the beginning of the present note, the quotation from Mr. Olaf Johnsen and my comment thereon.

"22. Instead of the dative infinitive, the gerund in -ing was sometimes used after to: probably originating in a phonetic confusion of -en and -in(g), but later perhaps with the notion of a future action (cf. 11a); as to coming = 'to come,' or 'coming:' see also come, v., 32 β (after c). Obsolete."

The earliest example given is from Wyclif, Num. 32.7: "Thei doren not passe into the place that the Lord is to gyuynge to hem."

M. C., Jr.

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APPENDIX D.

SYNOPTIC TABLES OF THE USES OF THE INFINITIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

2. IN POETRY. 1. IN PROSE. The Active Infinitive with Active Verbs in Anglo-Saxon: Synoptic Table of the Uses of.																																																						
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